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**RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

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*New Delhi, 14—19 October 1963*

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## DR. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW

The National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the sad death of the veteran national leader Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, the hero of Jallianwalla Bagh, builder of the freedom movement in the Punjab and tireless fighter for national unity. In his death, the country has lost a great fighter for national independence and one of the most outstanding champions of world peace.

Dr. Kitchlew's great contribution to the freedom struggle made his name famous in every part of the country. After independence, Dr. Kitchlew's tireless work for the peace movement won him worldwide recognition: first President of the All-India Peace Council, he was the first Indian recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize.

The Communist Party sends its heartfelt condolences to Begum Kitchlew and the bereaved family.

## COMRADE D. V. VARPE

This meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sorrow at the death of Comrade D. V. Varpe and pays homage to his memory. Secretary of the Sangamner Taluka Committee (District Ahmednagar, Maharashtra State) of the CPI, Comrade

Varpe was an extremely devoted and a rising young Party functionary.

His record in collecting signatures on the Great Petition was the highest in the district. On his way to Delhi for participating in the Great March he met with tragic death in a railway accident. The National Council sends its condolence to his bereaved family.

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction certain important developments that have taken place in the national and international field which have positive significance for the wellbeing of the people.

The partial test ban treaty has been a valuable step towards the reduction of international tension and a victory for the forces of peace against the forces of war. It has created a new climate for the further strengthening of the movement for disarmament and peace.

On the national scene, the imperialist intrigues and machinations which developed in a big way immediately after the Chinese aggression and which initially found a favourable soil are now getting increasingly exposed and meeting with democratic resistance. The failure of imperialist powers to barter away Kashmir to Pakistan, their failure to impair seriously India's policy of nonalignment, their inability to draw India under their own air umbrella or even to clinch successfully the VOA deal are significant facts.

Although Right reactionary forces are still well-entrenched, both inside and outside the Congress, these forces have received a setback and the progressive forces have begun to gain ground. The removal of the two outstanding pillars of reaction, Morarji Desai and S. K. Patil

from the Union Cabinet, has a significance for the democratic movement that should not be underestimated.

The substantial modification in the CDS (Compulsory Deposit Scheme) and the Gold Control Order and the cancellation of surcharges on land revenue in certain States have been positive gains for the exploited masses.

These changes have taken place in the background of mass popular actions against high taxes, soaring prices and against the growing attacks of monopoly vested interests, actions which were symbolised by the Great Petition and the March, the Bombay Bandh and the Calcutta hartal.

Signs of differentiations on political and economic issues have begun to appear within the Congress. This is a significant development.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to assume that the setback received by the forces of reaction means the end of the menace of the Right. Unless there is a genuine and decisive shift away from the policies which help to strengthen monopolists and other vested interests to the detriment of the country's development and people's wellbeing, the menace of Right reaction would continue.

The present national scene offers great opportunities to the Communist Party to intervene more effectively in the situation and bring about decisive shifts in favour of the forces of progress and against reaction.

To realise these opportunities and carry forward the improvement in the situation, the following tasks have to be fulfilled:

(1) *Rout the Right.* Indian Right reaction has only suffered a setback but it is not routed.

Successful struggle against Right reaction demands that all the patriotic and democratic forces also unite despite their own ideological and party differences. The CPI will continue to campaign for such unity in action, on issue to issue and in any democratic form acceptable to others.

The Communist Party, in unity with all other democratic forces, will continue to campaign against imperialist intrigues and manoeuvres and in defence of the basic national policies of nonalignment, secular democracy, planning, state sector and welfare of the people.

The Communist Party will continue to campaign for a peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute on the basis of the acceptance of the Colombo proposals.

(2) *Change reactionary policies.* The reactionary elements grew strong because for years they succeeded in winning concession after concession in the interests of the vested interests. This spread frustration and demoralisation among the common people whose righteous indignation has been demagogically exploited by forces of reaction.

Successful struggle against Right, both outside and inside the Congress, demands that a clean break is made from reactionary policies and progressive policies adopted in line with accepted national aims.

The Communist Party will not only campaign for such changes but will welcome and support all such moves from inside the Congress and from other democratic forces.

The Communist Party will campaign for the ending of the emergency and the release of the communist detenus.

(3) *Defend the people.* In order to further defend the interests of the working masses in a positive way, it is necessary to undertake big mass campaigns on certain vital issues affecting the welfare of the people. The National Council hopes that all mass organisations will unite and strive to carry out such campaigns.

The realities of life of the working people, their constant urge to improve their lot is inexorably driving the workers and peasants of India into new great battles against the burdens heaped on them by the monopolists.

In order to weaken this concentrated power of monopoly and prevent it from further aggrandisement, struggles in defence of the working people have become essential.

The unprecedented rise in prices is not compensated by commensurate rise in dearness allowance and wages. As a result, the monopolists are making huge super profits.

The Indian working class, in several organised industrial sectors, has won dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index on a sliding scale. That has acted as a restraint on the price in some areas where D.A. is linked to cost of living index. But in order to destroy this gain of the workers and the general economy, the monopolists have succeeded, by influencing the official machinery, in keeping a cost of living index which is fraudulent and does not faithfully reflect the changes in prices. Thereby the workers have been robbed of crores of rupees in wages.

Where the wages are frozen and there is no sliding D.A., the terrible expropriation of the workers and the vast super profits of the monopolists are still going unchallenged.

There is now a growing and strong demand that everywhere there should be a D.A. linked to cost of living and the index where it is shown to be fraudulent, must be corrected. This was one of the demands in the Bombay Bandh strike and Government has already set up a committee to examine the problem. Even the INTUC has announced the policy that it demands a sliding scale in every industry to be given the worker immediately.

The realisation of this demand would not only curb the power of the monopolists and their super profits; it would also raise the whole wage structure of the country to a higher level. It would contribute to better production and to the gain of national economy as a whole.

Therefore, the trade union movement must be moved into an all-India action on this question. Our trade union workers must explore the possibility, in united front with others, of bringing about all-India one-day protest strike on the demand of D.A. linked to cost of living and correction of the fraudulent indices where they exist.

In this, the state sector industries are the most blame-worthy. In spite of good production, even exceeding the targets in some cases, in spite of the workers' willingness to help the state sector and its growth as a national political asset, the deal given to the workers by the Government and the state sector bureaucrats is on the whole highly injurious for the workers' living conditions.

For example, the state sector steel industry pays only governmental wage scale of the D.A., as if steel production and government office work are of the same importance in the national economy.

Hence, all workers in state sector industries must combine with those in private sector industries and act to win better wages and a sliding scale of D.A.

No doubt there are many other demands of the working class, but *this one is the most urgent*.

Along with this, an annual bonus on a minimum basis must be introduced from this year and in all industries.

Nothing short of an all-India united action will help in this.

Along with the working class, the peasantry also must be brought into action in defence of its interests and against the same offensive leading to growing burdens. The non-application of the CDS to the peasant population was a gain no doubt; but there are revenue surcharges and rising taxation by Zilla Parishads for the withdrawal of which struggles would have to be conducted in many States.

The common demands which affect all sections of the landholding peasants, tenant-cultivators and land labourers are connected with the question of prices.

The peasant must be assured a fair price for the food crops and the main commercial crops he grows, e.g. jute, cotton, sugarcane, etc. The inadequate growth of foodgrain production, coupled with profiteering and blackmarketing by the monopolist private traders, has resulted in great

hardships for the peasantry. While the grower is robbed of his produce at low prices, the consumer is faced with unavailability and high prices of foodgrains. Rice crisis in West Bengal is a case in point.

In the case of cash crops such as jute, cotton, sugarcane, tobacco, etc., which form the main source of income for a large number of peasant growers, the situation is even worse. The cash crops are the biggest source of superprofits for the bankers and monopolists. Monopoly private traders in these crops rob the grower of his fruits of labour by artificially lowering the prices when the peasant is forced to sell. They reap high profits by cornering the stock and by speculating. The entry of the State Trading Corporation in this field has not had any effect so far.

Struggles for securing just prices for the peasants producing cash crops must be led and organised. The following demands have to be focussed in this connection:

- (i) *abolish* forward market in foodgrains and stop the speculation in the *mandis*;
- (ii) state should *take over* the wholesale trade in foodgrains and also bulk trade in jute, cotton, tobacco, oil-seeds, etc.
- (iii) *fix* fair floor prices for the main money crops such as cane, cotton, etc., ensuring a reasonable return to the grower;
- (iv) *nationalise* the banks, without which advances to the speculators would not stop and investments for the Plan and for industrial and agricultural development would not be available.

In the case of rural population, the rise in the price of consumer goods has to be counteracted by the state opening a chain of fair price consumer goods shops, supplying these goods in adequate quantities to the peasants and agricultural labour population at reasonable prices and thus acting as a check on the profiteering by private traders.

The demands which affect most vitally the interests of the landless labourers and poor peasantry are:

- (i) distribution of fallow lands to the landless labourers and poor peasantry and making available adequate subsidies and technical aid to them and to their cooperatives.
- (ii) minimum living wage for the agricultural labourers on State and other agricultural farms.

The Communist Party should also organise a broad-based mass campaign in support of the 17th Amendment which is being opposed by all reactionary forces.

The Communist Party will support these campaigns with all its might as its elementary duty towards the toiling people from where it has arisen and whose cause it is pledged to advance.

The Communist Party earnestly hopes that all progressive elements will support the people in their just struggles, which would help to knock out the mass base of the Right and create the climate for progressive advance.

## ON THE NEW KERALA LAND REFORMS BILL

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly protests against the attempt of the Government of Kerala to thrust upon the people of the State a totally new and utterly reactionary Land Reforms Bill.

The Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, which is sought to be replaced by the new Bill, was first sponsored by the Communist-led Government of Kerala in December 1957. It was welcomed by the vast majority of the peasants in the State and acclaimed as a progressive piece of legislation in the interests of the peasants.

The Act was strictly in accordance with the principles of

reform of land relations as laid down by the Planning Commission in the Second Five Year Plan. It was with the prior concurrence of the Central Government (in the Ministry of Home Affairs) and the Planning Commission that the then Kerala Government introduced the Bill in Kerala State Assembly. It was thoroughly discussed in the State Assembly and was referred to a Select Committee. The Select Committee held sittings throughout the State and gathered voluminous evidence on the various clauses of the Bill. Again it was discussed in the Assembly and passed. It was only after such elaborate and thorough discussion that the Bill was finally passed in June 1959.

Even after the Bill was passed, the reactionary landlord interests tried their utmost to sabotage it. Several deputations waited upon the President of the Indian Union, urging him not to give his assent to the Bill. The President, after a detailed and thorough examination of the various provisions of the Bill, returned it to the newly-elected Assembly with directives to make certain amendments which, in effect, went against the interests of the toiling peasants. The State Legislative Assembly again discussed the Bill and finally in October 1960 adopted it, with the amendments suggested by the President. Thereafter, President's assent was given and the Act came into force in February 1961.

The Agrarian Relations Act of Kerala was thus not a hasty piece of legislation, nor was it a partisan legislation. It was a piece of legislation thoroughly discussed and approved by two successive, elected legislatures in the State. The Communist-led Ministry, as well as the Coalition Ministry which succeeded it, after the mid-term elections had a hand in shaping it. It had got also the approval of the Central Government and the Planning Commission. No other piece of legislation in the whole of India could claim such thorough scrutiny and such universal approbation.

And yet the present Congress Ministry in Kerala wants to bury it and bring in a new legislation. In order to justify

their totally indefensible act, they assert that they were compelled to do so because of the judgement of the Kerala High Court and the Supreme Court, holding certain provisions of the Act unconstitutional. The Central Government has come forward with the 17th Constitutional Amendment Bill, proposing to include the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act in the 9th Schedule to the Constitution, to remove the legal difficulties following from the Supreme Court judgement. Despite this, the Kerala State Government persists in bringing forward a new piece of legislation.

The persistence of the Kerala Government for bringing a new bill to replace the Agrarian Relations Act, despite the 17th Amendment Bill, can only be explained by their determination to deprive the tenant-cultivators of the benefits bestowed upon them by the Act and thus help the interests of landlords and capitalist cultivators.

The new Kerala Land Reform Bill is an utterly reactionary and anti-peasant measure which seeks to deprive the peasants of Kerala of very valuable rights they had won through decades of heroic struggle, like fixity of tenure, reasonable fair rent and the right to purchase ownership of land. The net result of the new Bill, when passed into Act will be: (a) to enable the landlords to effect large-scale eviction of tenants under various pretexts; (b) to enable the landlords to enhance rent up to 100 per cent; (c) to deprive the *kudikidappukars* of their hutments in which they are living today; (d) to make the provisions for fixing a ceiling a mere farce.

The new Bill has already given rise to a wave of resentment among all sections of people and the peasants are preparing for a struggle to defend their interests. The Communist Party, the RSP, the K.T.P. (i.e., Peasant-Labour Party) have joined in a common front of struggle. The PSP, although not joining in the front, has expressed its opposition to the new Bill in no uncertain terms. Various kisan organisations are coming out in opposition to the Bill. Even

sections of Congressmen have reacted very violently against some of the provisions of the new Bill. Several of them have jointly and separately submitted memoranda to the Planning Commission against the Bill.

The National Council of the CPI calls upon the Kerala Government, even at this late hour, to retrace their steps in view of the universally expressed opposition to the new Bill, to drop the Bill and proceed to bring the old Agrarian Relations Act alive again and get it included in the 9th Schedule of the Commission.

It calls upon all the political parties and mass organisations and all democratic-minded people, including Congressmen, to unite in a mighty struggle to bring pressure upon the Kerala Government to drop the Bill and revive the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act.

The National Council takes note of the fact that, while keeping the 17th Constitution Amendment Bill on the agenda, the Central Government has given permission to the Kerala Government to frame their new anti-peasant bill and proceed with it. There is every reason to believe that the game behind their step is to have the new legislation ready by the time Parliament takes up the 17th Amendment Bill and include it in the 9th Schedule in place of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act. By allowing the Kerala Government to proceed with the new Bill, the Central Government has succumbed to the pressure of the landlords and vested interests and thus betrayed their own declared policies and programmes on the land reform question. The National Council calls upon the Central Government to direct the Kerala Government to drop the new Bill and to implement the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act without any delay.

The National Council of the CPI extends its full support to the struggle being waged by the heroic peasants of Kerala in defence of their rights.



The National Council instructs the Central Executive Committee to appoint a delegation to meet the Home Minister and Planning Commission to represent the Party's viewpoint on the Kerala Land Reforms Bill.

## THE FOOD CRISIS IN WEST BENGAL

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the serious food crisis in the State of West Bengal, expressed in the acute scarcity of rice and unprecedentedly high prices of Rs. 50 and over per maund, on the one hand and an almost complete breakdown of the Government's modified rationing scheme on the other.

Conditions of near-famine distress are reported to be prevalent throughout the West Bengal countryside, while even in the Calcutta industrial area rice has become practically unobtainable during the past two or three weeks except in the blackmarket and at prices far beyond the reach of the overwhelming mass of the population.

For this state of affairs, the Central and State Governments are now engaged in blaming each other, while the people are starving. The Food Ministry of the Government of India claims to have allotted large rice supplies to West Bengal during August and September and implies that it is the State Government's faulty administration and distribution system which have led to malpractices and cornering of rice by wholesalers for profiteering. The State Chief Minister, on the other hand, pleads absolute deficit in rice as his defence, confesses his total inability to replenish Government stocks so as to maintain even the modified rationing scheme.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the firm opinion that the present crisis in West Bengal is an acute manifestation of the basically anti-people food policy pursued for years by the Congress Governments at

the Centre and in the States under the direction of Shri S. K. Patil. So long as these policies continue, even though Shri Patil no longer holds the portfolio, there can be no relief for the people. Open patronage of big traders and wholesale dealers in foodgrains, giving them unfettered opportunities to hoard, speculate and profiteer, refusal to go in for State purchase of foodgrains, particularly in deficit areas, and overall State-trading, refusal to adopt firm legislative and administrative measures for unearthing hidden stocks and punishing the big hoarders and profiteers; reluctance to associate popular and democratic parties and organisations with the execution of food policy — all these have combined to make West Bengal the unfortunate victim of today's alarming crisis.

The National Council, therefore, demands that the following measures be adopted without a moment's delay to cope with the West Bengal situation, particularly as during October and November scarcity conditions are likely to get aggravated. Central intervention must be directed to:

- (1) Rush stocks of rice as an emergency assistance measure, to West Bengal from all available sources, indigenous as well as by importing, if necessary, from Burma, Nepal and other friendly countries.
- (2) Tighten up the entire machinery of distribution inside West Bengal to ensure a guaranteed minimum weekly supply of rice to the entire population through the modified rationing and fair price shops at Rs. 22 per maund.
- (3) Institute effective check up and control over the stocks of wholesale dealers and traders and take all necessary measures, including use of the Defence of India Rules to unearth hidden stocks and drastically punish the big hoarders and profiteers.
- (4) Immediately make a public policy declaration of Government's firm intention to go in for large-scale State

purchase of rice from the next 'aman' crop at fair prices for the peasants.

(5) Invite all popular bodies like political parties and mass organisations to cooperate in setting up People's Food Committees to be actively associated with the execution of the above and other measures.

(6) Nationalise all banks in order to stop speculative trade and to finance State-trading in foodgrains; immediate ban on bank advances against foodgrains and on forward trading in the next crop's paddy.

The National Council realises that to get the Government's present food policy reversed or even substantially modified is no easy task. It is, therefore, essential that the people of West Bengal should themselves carry on a massive, united movement for ventilating their demands and compelling their acceptance by the Government. The Council greets all the parties and organisations in West Bengal, which, acting together or separately, have conducted such recent mass actions on the food issue as the successful statewide hartal of 24 September 1963 and numerous big rallies and demonstrations. It also congratulates the Calcutta citizens who have been taking initiative to locate rice stocks and get them distributed at Rs. 35.00 per maund and condemns the use of police repressive measures against them by the State Government. It is the democratic and inalienable right of the people to conduct peaceful struggles for their burning demands and the National Council hopes that even more effective broad-based united and militant mass actions will be organised in West Bengal in the coming days so that the Government is compelled to heed the people's voice and to discharge its fundamental responsibility of feeding them, instead of protecting and encouraging the anti-social hoarders, profiteers and speculators in foodgrains.

## CAMPAIGN FOR RELEASE OF COMMUNIST DETENUS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India fully endorses the call given by the last meeting of the Central Executive Committee for a sustained and vigorous mass campaign for the release of communist detenus, for the mobilisation of all sections of the people for this campaign.

The Council welcomes the steps taken in several States to intensify this campaign, and in particular the mass rallies organised this month by the Party in Bombay and Calcutta.

The Council, while noting with satisfaction the recent further releases of a number of communist detenus in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, draws the urgent attention of the Indian people to the fact that several detenus still remain behind the bars in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Tripura and Manipur.

The issue involved is a vital one of the personal freedom and fundamental rights of Indian citizens. Eminent jurists of the country have given their unequivocal opinion that the Defence of India Act under which these Communists are being detained is against the provisions of the Constitution, guaranteeing fundamental rights. Even the Supreme Court has recently held that the Act is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution on fundamental rights. Despite this, however, the Supreme Court has expressed its inability to grant any remedy because of suspension by Presidential order of the right of the detenus to go to court for enforcing their fundamental rights.

The National Council demands the immediate repeal of these provisions and the release of all those detained under this unconstitutional law. The Council calls for the further intensification of the release campaign all over the country

and particularly in those States where communist leaders still continue to be in detention.

## ON THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with deep concern and anxiety the serious turn which the ideological differences in the international communist movement have lately taken. The world communist movement is today not only armed with a common ideology — Marxism-Leninism. It has common goals and is also equipped with a common programme, brilliantly set forth in the November 1957 Moscow Declaration and the November 1960 Moscow Statement. Moreover, the international communist movement, which has registered stupendous success and victories is enriched by the living experience of the international working class and all other world revolutionary forces. Under these circumstances, there is no reason why the differences in the ranks of the communist movement should have at all reached the present critical stage, threatening a split in the movement.

The National Council of the CPI considers it necessary to state here that this present disturbing situation has arisen primarily because the leadership of the Communist Party of China has now moved far away from the collective, general line of the international communist movement, launched an all-out offensive against this unanimously agreed line and confronted the entire movement with its own so-called general line, particularly elaborated in the 14 June Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This alternative line, unilaterally decided by one single party, runs counter to the Moscow

Declaration and Moscow Statement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Further, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has chosen to push its own line through methods which defy the norms laid down in the Moscow Statement and violate the international discipline of the revolutionary working class.

For a long time now the international communist movement and its general line have not been faced with such a challenge from within its ranks. Beginning with the divergent views on some separate questions, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has extended its differences to a wide range of principles, raised new questions and elaborated a dogmatic, sectarian and adventurist platform which is being pressed forward as the only correct line for the world communist movement.

The National Council of the CPI is of the opinion that when the collective view of the world communist movement is so challenged and assailed, it becomes the internationalist duty of all Marxist-Leninist parties to defend the common line and unwaveringly uphold it. Without this the fraternal parties cannot discharge their responsibilities towards the working people of their own countries and to the international working class movement. For, adherence to the general and the collective decision of the world communist movement are inseparable from the tasks of determination by the fraternal parties their concrete policies and tactics — in short the political line — for their respective countries. In view of these considerations, the National Council deems it necessary to briefly examine the so-called general line of the CPC leadership and state the views of the Communist Party of India on it.

The National Council of the CPI is fully conscious that a correct, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the character of our present epoch is essential for working out the strategy and tactics of the international working class and world revo-

lutionary movement. This task has been magnificently discharged by the November 1957 and November 1960 Moscow meetings of the communist and workers' parties and the conclusions are set forth in the Declaration and the Statement.

The main content of our epoch is that it is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The most distinctive feature is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. These factors eminently signify the great change in the balance of world forces, giving rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. The CPC leadership discounts, if not virtually ignore these two highly important aspects of the present epoch. It appears that the CPC leadership still understands the epoch as one of only imperialism and proletarian revolution. Naturally it almost passes over the real opportunities which are the offspring of the epoch and this incorrect appraisal would seem particularly pronounced when it comes to the questions of concrete policies and practice. This departure of the Chinese leaders would perhaps explain the root of their dogmatic and sectarian position on many other important questions of both theory and practice.

The National Council of the CPI notes that the CPC leadership has radically revised the collective, Marxist-Leninist standpoint about the main contradiction in modern society. According to the CPC leaders, the principal contradiction is not between capitalism and socialism but between imperialism and national liberation. This departure on the question of main contradiction leads to another erroneous conclusion. The Chinese leaders contend that the focal points of the contradiction in the world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national liberation struggles are being conducted. The Chinese leaders have gone to the length of saying that the whole cause of the international proletarian revo-

lution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles in these areas. All this is a complete misinterpretation of the contradictions in the modern world and is contrary to the propositions of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Even before the world socialist system came into existence, the contradiction between capitalism and socialism was regarded by Marxists-Leninists as the main contradiction. With the emergence of the world socialist system and the tremendous manner in which it is influencing the world developments, as well as the advance of the international working class movement, this contradiction has immensely sharpened. It is astonishing that the CPC leadership should have abandoned the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding now of all times.

The National Council of the CPI fully acknowledges the great revolutionary role of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the shattering blows they are delivering to imperialism. There must be no underestimation of this great revolutionary force. But with all these, the decisive role in the development of human society and the world revolutionary process is not played by the national liberation struggles but by the international working class and its chief creation — the world socialist system. It is not difficult to see that the national liberations by themselves do not end the socio-economic basis of imperialism — state-monopoly capital — in the imperialist countries. This is a task for the revolutionary working class of these countries to accomplish. Further, it is the international working class movement and the socialist camp which ensure the success of national liberation.

The Chinese view of the focal points of contradictions is again wrong and contrary to Marxism-Leninism. The National Council is of the opinion that the focal points are precisely those where the main contradictions of our epoch are being resolved — that is, the contradictions be-

tween capitalism and socialism. These being resolved, first and foremost where the most organised and powerful forces of socialism stand face to face with the forces of imperialism. This means that the contradictions between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system are focal points, if one would prefer this description. The line of the CPC seeks to replace the social class standpoint by a geopolitical approach. The National Council naturally rejects this view of the Chinese leaders.

The National Council notes the new proposition of the so-called 'intermediate zone' which the Chinese leaders have advanced. At the very outset, the Council considers it necessary to point out that such concept does not find even a mention in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Chinese leaders put the USA in one bracket and all the other imperialist powers, advanced capitalist countries and the newly liberated nations in another bracket to describe them as constituting the so-called 'intermediate zone.' This is a perverse and politically misleading picture of the present-day world. No one will deny the inter-imperialist contradictions between the USA and other imperialist powers, nor the US designs of world domination. But it is highly misleading to present the other imperialist powers as if they are mere objects of such designs of the US imperialists.

The Moscow Statement, which the CPC leaders have revised even on this point, however, lays stress on the imperialist military blocs such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO which are first and foremost spearheaded against the socialist camp, as also against other countries, especially those in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese concept of 'intermediate zone' is liable to lead to an underestimation of dangers posed by the imperialist blocs and to the blunting of vigilance against them. This thesis of the CPC underplays the neo-colonialism of Britain, France,

West Germany, Japan and so on. It underplays the grave threat arising from the revenge-seeking West German imperialism to which the Moscow Statement draws particular attention. The National Council cannot accept this wholly wrong and harmful thesis of 'intermediate zone.'

In this connection, the National Council cannot but point out that, while inventing an unrealistic and harmful thesis about the so-called 'intermediate zone', the Chinese leaders and the 14 June Letter do not say a word about the vast peace zone, comprised of the socialist countries and the nonaligned, newly liberated nations pursuing the broad policy of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism in the world arena. Their contributions are highly appraised by the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement but the CPC leaders seem to have written them off.

The Moscow Statement regards the fight for peace as the prime task of all Communists. The communist and workers' parties, in their Declaration and Statement, firmly hold the view that the real possibility has arisen for averting a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. To fight for preventing world war demands, above all, active struggles and efforts in all directions for peaceful co-existence. General and complete disarmament is a principal way of ensuring peaceful coexistence.

From their various theses and pronouncements, as well as from their concrete policies and actions, it is apparent that the Chinese leaders, while verbally recognising the possibility of preventing war, do not look upon the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence in the confident spirit of the Declaration and the Statement or from the standpoint of these programmatic documents of the world communist movement. In the first place, they put more or less equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and on the possibility of its breaking out, whereas the clear position of the world communist movement is that the possibility for the prevention of war is already greater and

is growing day by day. The Chinese view is that war cannot be eliminated from the life of the society so long as imperialism exists. This is in flat contradiction with the line of the Statement which recognises the possibility of eliminating war, even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The position of the CPC in effect amounts to the acceptance of inevitability of war so long as imperialism remains.

The Moscow Statement says that the only alternative to a destructive war is peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and calls upon all Communists, especially the Communists in socialist countries, to conduct resolute struggles for the victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence, for compelling the imperialists by such struggles to accept peaceful coexistence. In their view of the burning problem of war and peace facing mankind, the November 1960 Appeal and the Statement regard peaceful coexistence as the 'cornerstone' and the 'foundation' of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The Chinese leaders repudiate this approach and declare that it 'is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.' The National Council of the CPI considers that this departure from the common line not only greatly weakens the role of the socialist countries in the world affairs, but complicates the struggle for peace.

General and complete disarmament is regarded by the international communist movement as a principal way of ensuring peaceful coexistence. There exists the real possibility for the realisation of this objective, although the task is by no means easy. The Moscow Statement presents this as a 'fighting slogan of the masses' but the Chinese leaders say that it is 'illusion' to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. Even while con-

ceding that there may be 'some kind of agreement on disarmament', the CPC leaders understand the struggle for disarmament not as a question of principle but only as a means to expose imperialism. The line of the CPC leaders on such a vital issue is thus clearly a repudiation of the Moscow Statement. The National Council of the CPI is of the view that the Chinese position can only weaken the struggle for disarmament and minimise the importance of concrete steps in this direction.

In this connection, the National Council of the CPI cannot but take serious note of the line of the Chinese leaders on the Moscow nuclear test ban treaty. Although the 14 June CC CPC Letter ostensibly recognises the possibility of banning nuclear weapons, they have nonetheless chosen to attack this important constructive step which, in addition to restricting nuclear tests and hindering the nuclear arms race, brightens the prospects for further struggles for total ban on all tests and for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Although the rocket-nuclear shield created by the Soviet Union ensures the security of all socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China, the CPC leaders would like the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries equipped with nuclear weapons. But this can only help the acceleration of the nuclear arms race on the part of the imperialists. For taking the initiative and signing the treaty, the Soviet Union is equated with the imperialist powers — USA and Britain and all these are indiscriminately described as a 'nuclear monopoly.' Further, the leadership of the CPSU is accused of 'allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of countries to oppose the peoples of the world.' These slanderous and absurd statements would lay bare the real attitude of the Chinese leaders towards the struggle for resisting the nuclear arms race, the banning of such weapons of mass destruction, for

disarmament. The National Council of the CPI repudiates the stand of the CPC leaders and acclaims the test ban treaty as one of the most significant, constructive steps in the direction of nuclear disarmament. This step has already contributed to some palpable relaxation of international tension and strengthened the forces of peace. The test ban treaty eminently conforms to the interests of all peace-loving people.

The National Council would like to recall here the attitude of the CPC leaders in the critical days of the Caribbean crisis. When the Soviet Union first took all practical steps for the defence of the Cuban Republic against an impending invasion and then, after foiling it, took wise measures to prevent a thermonuclear flare up, the Chinese leaders assumed the role of critics. They called the delivery of missiles to Cuba, which was an important factor in thwarting the imperialist invasion plan as 'adventurism', and they decried the withdrawal of the missiles which averted the nuclear war as 'capitulationism.' The international communist movement rightly criticised the behaviour of the CPC leaders in relation to the Caribbean crisis, for from the beginning to the end it was highly irresponsible and contrary to the line of the world communist movement.

The National Council of the CPI has already stated its views on the policy of the CPC leaders in regard to the India-China border question and has always considered the Chinese line as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Declaration and the Statement, as contrary to the guiding principles of peaceful coexistence. The National Council has also pointed out the great damage the Chinese leaders have done by their nationalistic and adventurist policy, to the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, to the common front against imperialism and to the democratic movement within India. Only beneficiaries of this policy have been imperialism and reaction; democratic and progressive forces

suffered all along the line. The National Council would only like here to add that in the case of India, the Chinese leaders have demonstrated how not to work for Afro-Asian solidarity or for the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The attitude of the Chinese leaders on the India-China question had given a foretaste of some of their theses now elaborated in their so-called general line.

The policy of peaceful coexistence calls for purposeful and painstaking efforts in all directions for mobilising all peace forces in a common struggle against imperialism and war. In this context, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement highly evaluate the positive role of the newly liberated, nonaligned nations. It is in particular the task of the socialist countries to draw these nations closer to the socialist camp. But the so-called general line of the CPC leadership discounts the role of these nonaligned countries in the struggle for world peace, against imperialism and colonialism. It is no wonder that the CPC leadership should have adopted such a negative and harmful attitude towards India in clear violation of the line of the world communist movement.

Further, an active policy of peaceful coexistence is inconceivable without negotiations and even, on occasions, without certain concessions and compromises. But the CPC leadership more often than not denounces the moves for the relaxation of international tension and against cold war, for improving the East-West relations, etc., as 'embellishing imperialism', 'cowardice', 'surrender to nuclear blackmail', 'betrayal of revolution' and so on. These groundless accusations not only underline the special, divergent line of the CPC leaders but are apparently aimed at discrediting the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The National Council further notes that in putting themselves against the line of the Declaration and the Statement, the CPC leaders often ascribe views to the leaderships of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties which they, in

fact, never hold at all. For example, the CPSU leadership and others are accused of renouncing class struggle in pursuance of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But they have always maintained that, far from renouncing class struggle, peaceful coexistence presupposes intensified ideological, political and economic struggles between socialism and capitalism in the world arena. Further, peaceful coexistence also implies sharp class struggles within the capitalist countries, which indeed are also facilitated by the struggle for peace. It is a pure invention on the part of the Chinese leaders that some people in the international communist movement have proposed peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples fighting for national liberation and the oppressors, the imperialists. On the contrary, the CPSU and other fraternal communist parties have always held that the national liberation struggles should be intensified and that they help the struggle for peace just as the latter creates favourable conditions for the success of national liberation movements. Policy of peaceful coexistence only means that the debate between socialism and capitalism in the world arena must not be settled through war. As far as the world communist movement is concerned, it regards peace as an ally of socialism — a conclusion which one altogether misses in the Chinese statements.

On the question of 'local wars', the CPC leadership confuses the issues by mixing up the local wars started by the imperialists with the just, national liberation wars which are not only necessary but inevitable so long as imperialism and colonialism remain. The Communists have always supported such just wars of national liberation and will continue to do so. But it is the confirmed view of the international communist movement that the possibilities have arisen today for bridling the imperialists and preventing them even from starting local wars.

The National Council is with the rest of the world com-

munist movement in taking a very serious view of such aggressive local wars, for a local war in the present thermonuclear age, may easily touch off a nuclear conflagration. It is evident from the Chinese statements that they do not take the same view about the possibility of preventing local wars but on the contrary, are at pains to explain how some local wars in the recent years have not led to a world war. This is a dangerous approach and is contrary to the standpoint of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

The National Council also disagrees with the attitude of the CPC in regard to the assessment of the nuclear weapons and the character of a thermonuclear war. The Council is of the definite opinion that in order to rouse and activate the masses against nuclear weapons and a thermonuclear war, it is absolutely essential to inform them of the destructive powers of these weapons. Hence the Council is of the view that the declarations such as 'atom bomb is a paper tiger' or 'atom bomb is not terrible at all' can only mislead the people and disorientate the active struggle for nuclear disarmament and against nuclear war. Equally does the National Council disagree with the statement that a civilisation thousand times superior will be built on the ruins of imperialism destroyed by a nuclear war. The Communists want to build a better civilisation not on such ruins but without having to go through a nuclear destruction. The National Council is of opinion that such statements do not help to rouse the masses with the boundless confidence that war can be prevented and imperialism wiped off the face of the earth without a world war. Such observations are liable to create wrong impression about Communists and are not in conformity with their historic mission to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

The National Council of the CPI finds that on the question of national liberation struggles, the CPC leadership has advanced a number of formulations and theses contrary to the Declaration and the Statement. They manifest-



ly contradict the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In their latest theses, the Chinese leaders do not recognise that it is the international working class and world socialist system which ensure rapid and decisive victories for national liberation struggles and the consolidation of the newly won independence. The Chinese leaders also ignore the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the Moscow Statement which highlights the fact that the struggles of the working people building socialism and communism in the socialist countries, the revolutionary movement of the working people in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and the general democratic movement merge into the powerful current that undermines and destroys world capitalism. The CPC leaders view the national liberation struggles not as component of this integrated world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working class movement. They counterpose the national liberation struggles to the struggle for peaceful coexistence, to the democratic struggles of the working people in the capitalist countries as well as to the policies pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in defence of world peace. The Chinese leaders minimise the great role of the socialist camp and of the working class in the imperialist countries in supporting and quickening the process of national liberation. This line of the CPC leaders can only lead to the isolation of the national liberation struggles and weaken them. From the theses of the Chinese, the most urgent task of strengthening the bonds of national liberation movement with the socialist camp and the working class and democratic movements in the capitalist countries does not at all emerge. The National Council of the CPI cannot but feel deeply concerned at such an erroneous approach and such theses.

The national liberation is not completed with the attain-

ment of political independence. It is continued in the newly liberated countries in the manifold anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic tasks for winning economic independence and generally for national rebirth. All these tasks are a part of the worldwide national emancipation process, undermining the very foundations of imperialism and colonialism. In fulfilling these tasks, the friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries and the newly liberated nations, especially the disinterested economic assistance by the socialist countries to the latter are of decisive importance. Such assistance, as has been seen, plays a great anti-imperialist role. The international communist movement attaches great importance to this aspect of national liberation struggles. But the 14 June CC CPC Letter simply ignores all this. The National Council of the CPI takes it as a serious deviation from the common line of the world communist movement. In this connection, the Council repudiates the irresponsible criticism of the Chinese leaders against the Soviet assistance to India. The Council would like to emphatically state that economic assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has played a singularly useful part in consolidating India's independence and in resisting imperialism and domestic reaction on the part of the Indian people. It is surprising the CPC leaders should have guided themselves by some exclusive, narrow considerations, which have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

The November 1960 Moscow Statement outlines the prospects of non-capitalist development as the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve the living standards of the people in the countries which have newly won their political independence. The Statement, however, elaborates the concept of the state of national democracy which, given the correct political line and militant struggles of the people, may serve as a form of transition to the road to socialist development. But the 14 June CC CPC

Letter and the so-called general line it adumbrates brush aside this concept and prescribe the slogan of 'people's democracy' for all newly liberated countries, irrespective of their stage of development. The Chinese leaders do not explain as to how people's democracy which is a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, can be established in those newly liberated underdeveloped countries where there is no working class or a Communist Party. The slogan of people's democracy for these countries cannot but lead to the weakening of the national democratic front.

The National Council of the CPI thoroughly disagrees with the one-sided, dogmatic approach of the Chinese leaders in regard to the question of form of transition to socialism. While fully taking into account the possibility of both peaceful and non-peaceful transition, the Declaration and the Statement explain what is particularly new in the situation. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the relation of world forces in favour of socialism, possibilities have arisen in a number of countries to win state power by the working people through peaceful means and without a civil war. No one has, of course, suggested that the ruling classes are going to relinquish power voluntarily or capitalism will 'automatically disappear'. The Marxist-Leninist view is that, whatever the form of transition, peaceful or non-peaceful, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for transition to socialism. And it goes without saying that a socialist revolution cannot be accomplished without sharp class struggles and without a militant mass revolutionary movement. It is, therefore, entirely wrong for the CPC leaders to suggest that the leaderships of the CPSU and of some other parties have given up the concept of class struggle or socialist revolution.

The departure of the Chinese leaders from the Declaration and the Statement lies in the fact that they do not recognise the possibility of the peaceful way and all their

arguments are precisely aimed at justifying their own view that non-peaceful means is the only way and negating the line of the Moscow Documents. According to them, the thesis about peaceful transition is based on 'historical idealism' and they argue that there are no historical precedents for peaceful transition. It should be stated here that Marxists-Leninists never guide themselves by mere historical precedents. Nor can an advanced theory be developed only on the basis of what happened yesterday.

In this connection, the National Council would like to state that what form the transition will take in this or that country depends on a whole complex of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. It is for the communist parties of the countries concerned to decide the question of form and not for other fraternal parties to dictate. The Chinese polemics against the fraternal communist parties like the Italian and the French communist parties on the question amount to interference in their internal affairs.

The National Council of the CPI notes with amazement the denunciation by the CPC leadership of conclusions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, including the great CPSU Programme adopted by the latter. The Communist Party of India had welcomed and acclaimed these two historic CPSU congresses and once again records its highest appreciation of them.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU was highly appraised as a historic event by the communist and workers' parties, including the Communists of China not only severally but also collectively. This unanimous appraisal is embodied in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. These two Moscow documents fully appreciate the historic significance of the decisions of the 20th Congress as well as their contributions to the cause of communist construction and in initiating a new stage in the world communist movement. It is further put on record in these documents of the

world communist movement that the decisions of the 20th Congress have promoted development of the entire movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The CPC leadership has now come out against all the major conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and characterised it as 'the first step along the road to revisionism'.

The CPC leadership is particularly up in arms against the struggle against Stalin's personality cult, which the 20th Congress initiated and which has been crowned with great success not only for the CPSU and the Soviet people, but for the entire international communist movement. Despite certain reservations, the CPC leadership had earlier publicly supported, in the main the struggle against the personality cult. Now it has made a complete *volte face* and is decrying the struggle for combating the harmful consequences of the personality cult as something which is 'in effect directed against Marxism-Leninism.' The National Council stands solidly in support of the struggle against the personality cult. This is another crying evidence of the Chinese leaders' break from the collective positions of the world communist movement — from the Declaration and the Statement. Any concessions to the ideology and practice of the personality cult would be extremely harmful and indeed dangerous for the international communist movement. There is no need to revive this question which has already been settled.

The polemics and attacks of the CPC leaders against the historic 22nd Congress, which summed up the great experience of building socialism and charted the course for full-scale communist construction would again seem incomprehensible. The Council considers it necessary once again to state here that the Programme of the CPSU faithfully embodies the conclusions of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and upholds the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The National Council of the CPI is in full agreement with

the fraternal parties that what unites the communist movement is far greater than what divides it. The Council also shares the view that if there is a firm adherence to the general line and the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the differences that may occasionally arise for a variety of reasons in the ranks of the communist movement can be overcome. But the Council is, at the same time, conscious that if the general line is repudiated side by side with efforts to push an alternative line by one or other major Party which is in power, the task of overcoming the differences becomes extremely complicated and difficult. The National Council has, therefore, no illusion that the present differences are going to be resolved either easily or at an early date.

However, the National Council of the CPI still hopes that the fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will ultimately prevail over the departures from them. With this hope, the National Council expresses its full agreement with the CPSU and other fraternal parties which have repeatedly proposed to the CPC leadership for the ending of the open polemics. Here the National Council wishes to put on record its high appreciation of the constructive proposal for ending polemics, which the CPSU leadership made at the bilateral talks last July and which has been since repeated. The Council, at the same time, expresses its regret that the CPC leadership should have turned down the proposal. It is, however, hoped the leadership of the CPC will see reason and agree to ending open polemics in the interests of the entire world communist movement and of its unity. This step is both urgent and essential for further constructive efforts with a view to solving the internal problems of the international communist movement through resumption of bilateral talks between the CPSU and the CPC and if necessary, by holding another conference of the fraternal communist and workers' parties.

## ON COMRADE A. K. GOPALAN'S OPEN DEFIANCE OF THE PARTY

The National Council of the Communist Party of India takes a very serious view of Comrade Gopalan's recent activities in defiance of Party directives and public slander of the Party by him.

The Central Executive Committee in its meeting held from 14 to 17 September had adopted a resolution on the Democratic Convention in West Bengal in which it held that 'calling of such democratic convention was an attempt at setting up a parallel centre of the mass movement, which would inevitably cause disruption in the Party and the existing mass organisations in the State.' The Central Executive Committee in its resolution had, therefore, given the clear directive to all Party members 'to dissociate themselves forthwith from the preparatory committee set up by the Convention and all its activities.'

In defiance of this clear directive, Comrade Gopalan went and addressed a rally organised by that Preparatory Committee at Calcutta on 28 September 1963.

When asked whether in his speech at the rally, Comrade Gopalan did not publicly damage the Party by the way in which he explained policy differences, Comrade Gopalan in a statement to the Central Executive Committee said: 'In the mass rally I did say that it is untrue to say that there is a pro-Dange and an anti-Dange group inside the CPI. I further stated that inside the communist parties, differences arise over policies, whether a policy would lead to being pro-Government or anti-Government, whether its effect would be pro-imperialist or anti-imperialist...'

Later, in the National Council meeting, Comrade Gopalan stated as follows: 'I had refuted the widespread slander that there is inside the Party a pro-Dange or anti-Dange group. I had stated also how differences in *communist parties*—not

the Indian Communist Party—arise not on the basis of individuals but over policies—that whether a particular policy would lead to being pro-Government or anti-Government, etc.'

Comrade Gopalan publicly called for the restoration of the State Council in West Bengal, in opposition to the resolution of the National Council and thus openly defied the Party.

Comrade Gopalan publicly stated in Calcutta that he was unaware of any Central Executive Committee resolution on the Democratic Convention. But when asked to explain, Comrade Gopalan admitted in the Central Executive Committee that he was aware of such a directive and that he had seen the Central Executive Committee resolution before he left for Calcutta. He has also admitted having made the above-noted statements.

Comrade Gopalan has shown no regret for such open and willful defiance and public slander of the Party. He has, on the contrary, defended and justified his conduct.

Comrade Gopalan's justification is that such action on his part was necessary for the sake of the mass movement on people's demands and for the release of our prisoners.

The National Council completely rejects this contention. The Party, on a national scale and in the various States was already leading mass movements on people's demands and release of our detenu comrades. What Gopalan did was to associate with a rival and parallel centre of the movement, a step which inevitably disrupts and harms the mass movement. This becomes all the more clear from the fact that even though the ROC in West Bengal was organising and leading a 'Release Prisoners Fortnight' campaign commencing from the 1st of October and in course of which it had given a call for a mass demonstration on 7 October 1963 for the release of our detenu comrades, the organisers of the rally which Comrade Gopalan attended and addressed

on 28, in the rally itself gave a call for a rival demonstration on the same issue on the 5th of October and even led a separate deputation to the Government.

It is clear, therefore, that Comrade Gopalan's conduct is not only a clear, open, willful defiance of the Party and flouting of its authority but also an act disruptive of the mass movement.

Such conduct has to be firmly put down and punished, howsoever senior may the comrade be. Not to do so would only paralyse and disorganise the Party and weaken the struggle for popular demands.

The National Council, therefore, decides that Comrade Gopalan be censured publicly.

## ON PARTY ORGANISATION IN WEST BENGAL

The National Council of the CPI, took over the authority of the West Bengal State Council in February and appointed a POC to carry on Party activity in the State under the guidance of the Central Secretariat. This was done in view of the special situation in the State in which a large number of members of the State Council were not available to carry on its work due to arrests and other reasons.

A proposal was put forward in the June meeting of the National Council for the restoration of the State Council.

The National Council, however, after due deliberation, decided that the time had not yet arrived for taking such a step. Comrades in jail had not yet been released. Besides, the activity and conduct of a number of Party members in West Bengal, including some prominent comrades and Party units had given cause for serious anxiety and apprehension. During the visit of the Chairman and the General Secretary of the Party to Calcutta, a large number of comrades had

indulged in rowdy and anti-Party behaviour. A clandestine circular emanating from an underground centre styled as PCZ had openly challenged the authority of the POC appointed by the National Council and of the National Council itself. A lady member of the Party had been shockingly insulted in a public meeting. The National Council had to assure itself that the campaign for the Great Petition and March to Parliament would be properly organised in the State.

Under the circumstances, and considering that some of the State Council members who were out of jail were not able to assure the National Council that its policies would be implemented in full, the National Council decided to postpone the consideration of the question of the restoration of the West Bengal State Council to its next session.

Meanwhile, it called upon the members of the West Bengal State Council, as also the District Committees to openly repudiate the PCZ circular, to denounce the Party members who had insulted a woman Party member and also to wholeheartedly participate in the campaign for the Great Petition and the March.

The National Council notes that many of the POCs in West Bengal as also a majority of members of the State Council who are out of jail have neither denounced the PCZ Circular nor the behaviour of the rowdies who insulted the woman Party member. Not merely this. The National Council further cannot fail to take note of the fact that a number of prominent members of the Party took part in organising the so-called Democratic Convention which the Central Executive Committee had correctly characterised as an attempt to set up a rival centre for organising mass movements independently of the Party. On being asked to give an explanation of their conduct, some have given extremely arrogant replies. In fact they advanced further and took part in organising a public rally in Calcutta on 28 September, as also other public meetings.

At the same time, the great majority of the arrested State Council members are still in jail.

Considering all these factors, the National Council had no alternative but to postpone the restoration of the State Council and continue the POC appointed by it for West Bengal.

The National Council wants to assure all Party members in West Bengal that it has not the remotest desire to perpetuate the existing ad hoc arrangement or to prevent them from having a State Committee of their own choice. The National Council took upon itself the responsibility of Party affairs in West Bengal under very difficult and critical circumstances and when the Party's very existence in Bengal was threatened by mass arrests and anti-Party hooliganism. The POC in West Bengal has rendered great service to the Party in undertaking its responsibility under trying circumstances.

Considering the fact that the arrested members of the State Council are still in jail and it is necessary for the National Council to be assured of the execution of its policies in West Bengal, the National Council defers the question of restoration of the State Council until the arrested leaders are released and authorises the Central Executive Committee to take steps to restore the State Council immediately thereafter.

## ON PARTY WRITERS' AND JOURNALISTS' CONFERENCE

For a number of years, the Party has taken no active steps to organise Party writers on the question of literature and arts. Though, as a Party, we may not have done much to give some conscious direction on the cultural and literary front, yet the general influence of the advance of socialism,

of national and international development at least on the basis of progressive humanism has had its impact on the writers in India.

In the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, there is a writers' wing; international conferences of writers also take place. But in India itself, we as a Party have not considered this question seriously for a long time. Individual writers are carrying on their work, on their own without the benefit of any consultation or collective thinking on the crucial problems of art.

The Party had called a convention of Party writers in 1953 in Calcutta and also run a magazine for a very short period. Then there was an all-India fraction meeting of the writers and also of the IPTA in 1961. Certain decisions regarding organisation were taken, but nothing came of them.

Party journalists have several common problems to discuss, specially methods of agit-prop, both through our press, and questions of work in the journalists' organisations.

It is, therefore, proposed that a conference of Party writers and journalists from all States and languages should be organised. The CEC should take the necessary steps such as forming committees, preparing a platform, theses, etc., as a preliminary to the conference, which after due preparations, should meet in December this year or end of January at the latest.

The writers and journalists may meet together on certain common questions — and separately, on their distinct problems.

## ON PARTY EDUCATION CAMPS

The mass mobilisation that was carried out by the Party in the Great Petition and the March has attracted millions of people to the platform of the Party. Thousands and lakhs

of young men came into action during this movement. In the strikes that have recently taken place on the prices and wages issue, in the food movement and anti-high price actions, masses have begun to show new initiative to curb the monopolists, speculators and bankers.

At such a juncture, it is necessary to enroll the newly rising forces as party members and give them conscious aim and direction by educating them in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to carry this out, it is necessary to hold Party education camps or *shibirs*, where at a time, one to two thousand people composing mostly newly-enrolled and partly old members can take a short course in ideological education.

The National Council directs the CEC to arrange for such camps and courses in every State in consultation with the State Committees in each State, as soon as possible, so that the courses and the first instalment of enrolment are carried out before the end of January. This should be undertaken as a major task by all Party Committees.

## MESSAGES

The Central Executive Committee sent the following message to Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba:

Dear Comrade:

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India sends you and the Government and people of Cuba its deepest sympathies on the tragic devastation caused by the hurricane Flora. The entire Indian people fully share in your sorrow and grief.

We are confident that the brave and courageous Cuban people, under the leadership of their socialist government, shall be able to restore their shattered economic life and

rebuild the destroyed provinces in the nearest future with the friendly assistance of the peoples of the whole world.

The Soviet Government has already announced through Prime Minister Khrushchov massive fraternal help. Other friendly countries are following suit.

The Communist Party of India is confident that the Government and all sections of the people of India will do all in their power to render help to stricken Cuba in accordance with our capacity.

Please convey our message of complete solidarity and heartfelt sympathy to the entire Cuban people.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The following message has been sent to Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy:

PLEASE CONVEY DEEP SYMPATHY CONDOLENCES VICTIMS  
TRAGIC DISASTER PIAVE VALLEY. HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES  
RELATIVES OF THOSE WHO LOST LIVES. INDIAN WORKING PEOPLE  
SHARE YOUR GRIEF.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA