


**RESOLUTIONS OF THE
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST
PARTY OF INDIA**



New Delhi, 10-15 September, 1964

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from 10 to 15 September 1964. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Jayaprakash Narayan. The following resolutions were adopted:

The meeting discussed the report of the Kerala State Committee on the development in Kerala following the fall of the United Front Ministry and the forthcoming general elections in that State.

The meeting also discussed a number of important issues, the most important being the development of the Party's work in the various States, the need for a more active role in the struggle for the liberation of the National People's Front, the preparation of the Party's programme for the forthcoming general elections, and the Central Executive Committee's decision to accept the resolutions adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in New Delhi from 10 to 15 September 1964.

The resolutions adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting in New Delhi from 10 to 15 September 1964 are being published by the Central Executive Committee of the Party in various languages.

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The Central Executive of the Communist Party of India met in New Delhi from September 10 to 15, 1964.

The meeting began by paying homage to the memory of Comrade Maurice Thorez (French Communist Party), Comrade Palmiro Togliatti (Italian Communist Party), Comrade Benjamin Davies and Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (of the CPUSA).

It reviewed the anti-price rise satyagraha launched by the Party and discussed the serious food situation in the country, the call for Bonus Demands Day of the AITUC, the call for an all-India hartal given by the SSP for 25th September and the latest developments in Kerala following the fall of the Congress Ministry and the forthcoming general elections in that State.

The meeting also discussed a number of organisational issues, the most important being the enrolment of new Party members from among those who have worked in the great campaigns and struggles recently conducted by the Party. The Central Executive reviewed the activities of the splitters since the June meeting of the National Council, the situation in the Gujarat and Karnatak units of the Party. A report on the preparations for the 7th Party Congress was also made to the Central Executive Committee.

The resolutions adopted by the Central Executive Committee on these and other issues are being published in this volume for the benefit of Party members and friends.

New Delhi,
September 17, 1964.

SECRETARIAT

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ON 2nd OCTOBER—"FOODGRAINS TRADE
NATIONALISATION DAY"

The Great Satyagraha launched by the Communist Party of India has been a resounding success. It has succeeded in its objectives of giving an organised shape to the mass discontent, of pinpointing the real culprits — the government, the hoarders and banks and stock-exchanges — behind the rise in prices and misery of the people and of bringing pressure on the government to take minimum steps to relieve people's distress. It is the first all-India struggle launched on a countrywide scale since independence in which about 80,000 offered satyagraha and 27,000 were arrested. People in their thousands everywhere supported this great struggle through demonstrations, contributing money, etc.

Apart from this, the historic *bandhs* of Maharashtra, Kerala, Gujarat and UP have shaken the government, the hoarders and the financiers, in which the members of our party played a leading part along with others.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India congratulates all party members, militants and people who have made the *bandhs* and the Great Satyagraha a resounding success, braving police repression and the counterattack of the hoarders and other reactionaries. It enjoins upon the party members and the people not to relax their efforts but to carry on the movement vigorously. It emphasises that if the movement has to gather momentum and strength and achieve its aim, it has now to switch over from the general programme of the food movement to the concrete main demand of the movement, to effective concrete and immediate measures for state-trading in foodgrains and fair prices for the peasant and for the consumer. This can unite the consumers and producers on a common platform.

State-trading in foodgrains has long ago been accepted in principle and practice. Several state governments have in the

past entered the market as purchasers of foodgrains. But the freedom given to private wholesale traders to buy in the market directly from the peasant producers and the landlords has always forced the government to retreat, ultimately forcing the government to buy at the wholesalers' terms.

The proposal of the Food Minister Subramaniam to enter the market to purchase foodgrains through the Foodgrains Corporation to be set up by the government is partial acceptance of the demand that the government take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains in its own hands.

The proposal of the government is seriously defective and will be defeated by the bankers and wholesalers unless it is radically altered and democratically implemented.

The Foodgrains Corporation will be set up in January 1964 and will do only partial buying, allowing the wholesalers freedom to corner the rest of the market. The reason given for this half-hearted show of pressure on the hoarders is that the government has no machinery to purchase and warehouses to store.

There is no doubt that the bureaucratic machinery can be no match to the wholesalers who now command all the *mandis* in India and have extensive contact with the peasants who, due to poverty, sell in advance their standing crops. That the warehousing scheme of the government has also been lagging behind is a fact.

The solution to this is not to surrender to the wholesaler and banker. The government's decision not to buy in this season has already sent the prices up and the traders are threatening the government with a new crisis of supplies and prices.

The Central Executive Committee, therefore, proposes that the government should immediately take the following steps:

1. Close down with immediate effect all the forward markets, forward trading and speculative price quotations in the ready market in all foodgrains, oil-seeds and oils.
2. Prohibit all papers from quoting these rates in their papers and take strong action against kerb-trading.
3. The Foodgrains Corporation should be established within fifteen days for which there should be no difficulty as it is a government concern.

4. The government should draft the services of the purchasing agents who do the actual buying for the wholesalers and give them due remuneration as temporary government employees with prospects of being absorbed in the government Foodgrains Corporation, which will require the services of thousands of such purchasing cadres.

5. Fixation of fair prices to the peasant producer should be immediately done and announced for this very season. The plea that experts are required to calculate costs of production and then fix prices will only lead to sabotaging the quick implementation of the policy. Even a small increase over the wholesalers' purchasing price, if announced and enforced by the government, will bring the peasant-seller to the government buyer. Payment of money to the peasant-sellers must be as quick as that of the wholesalers.

6. The government Foodgrains Corporation should have its centres near the trading *mandis*, but outside their influence and surroundings.

7. The octrois which are charged on the peasant produce coming to the *mandis* should be suspended with immediate effect and the affected towns reimbursed their loss of income from government subsidy. This should apply only to those who sell to the purchase centres of the government Foodgrains Corporation.

8. To requisition the existing godowns of the wholesalers for stocking government grain.

9. From now itself all bank advances to foodgrains trade must be completely banned. For this season and the next, "clean" advances, i.e., advances given to big individuals without security, made by the banks should be banned, despite the reasons for which they are asked. All channels of money used for hoarding foodgrains must be plugged for which some more measures can be suggested.

10. Fair price shops should be established in towns and villages on the basis of one shop for 500 families, for supplying foodgrains and other essential articles to the people. Retail traders have to be utilised for the running of these shops by guaranteeing them reasonable profits.

11. The central and state governments have to undertake the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees at subsidised rates through shops run by the respective government departments.

12. In the same way, the government must compel the private employers to run subsidised shops and supply foodgrains and other essential commodities to their employees as was agreed to at the Tripartite Conference.

13. People's Food Committees, representing progressive parties and mass organisations, have to be established to help in the implementation of the abovementioned measures.

All democratic progressive parties and organisations who support this policy should come together to launch a campaign in the villages and *mandis*—

- * The rank and file Congressmen and good village based leaders should join first in this task, apart from the government machinery, as this task in no way conflicts with the government but helps in the implementation of a national policy for people's food;

- * They will persuade the peasant to sell only to the government Foodgrains Corporation as a patriotic duty to themselves and to the people and the country;

- * People's volunteers without any party labels and rivalries should be enrolled under the aegis of some form of unified organisation to help the peasant to get a fair price, to overcome the lack of machinery to carry out such a big operation, to watch and overcome sabotage from any quarter, particularly the agents of the wholesalers and bankers;

- * Factory workers under the leadership of their unions and organisations should set apart a week or ten days of their paid leave to go to the villages to join in this campaign to defeat the wholesaler and make state buying a success and help the peasant to get a fair price and help the towns to get supplies;

- * All newspapers should be called upon to treat it as a national obligation to display advertisements and propaganda to help in this campaign.

The Communist Party of India is prepared to play its part in

the campaign, along with others, without bringing in the question of political slogans or platforms. It will send its active members and workers in the field along with others. Its workers will rely either on the hospitality of the generous peasantry of our villages or its own supporters, on the same level as those of other parties and organisations.

The Communist Party proposes these steps not only to the government but to all democratic forces in our country who consider it as a national task of immediate importance, vital to the life of the whole people, to curb the profiteering monopoly interests who make people's food and the peasants' labour the object of their lust for money and power, to assure supplies in the hands of the state for the people and to ensure fair price for the producer.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India calls upon all party members to propagate this proposal, influencing friends in other parties, including Congressmen, to study it, call food conferences to discuss this and also other proposals and take other steps necessary to bring pressure on the government not to surrender to the blackmail of the monopolists and hoarders to the detriment of the country's interests. Only people's mobilisation can defeat the anti-national conspiracies of the monopolists and the banker-landlord-hoarders.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon the people — workers, peasants, middle-class employees and other poor people — to unite and observe *2nd October, 1964*, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, as a day of Nationalisation of Foodgrains Trade Day through demonstrations and mass meetings. The Central Executive Committee enjoins upon all party units to make this Day a resounding success.

25TH SEPTEMBER — BONUS DEMAND DAY & HARTAL

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its greetings and congratulations to the thousands of party members and working people who in response to the call of the party participated in the Great Satyagraha struggle of August 24th-28th and braved all the consequences of this peace-

ful political struggle. The masses of India have yet to attain their demands and prepare for future struggles.

The Central Executive Committee having reviewed the *bandh* actions and the satyagraha struggle, resolved that all party units working in the trade unions should observe 25th September as the all-India Bonus Demand Day according to the decisions of the National Campaign Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress and its associates.

The National Campaign Committee is of the opinion that in view of the absence of a unified call for the Bharat *Bandh*, which can be made a success only if all the Trade Union Centres unite in calling for it, the 25th September cannot become a day of general strike. The Bharat *Bandh*, however, remains on the agenda as the natural corollary of the *bandh* actions and the unity displayed therein.

The Central Executive Committee hopes that all political parties and trade unions will unite in preparing for the mighty action of Bharat *Bandh* in the near future in order to give a further rebuff to the policies of the monopolists and the Congress government, which still has not taken steps to curb the vested interests and give relief to the toiling masses and save the country from economic disaster and its political consequences.

A united Bharat *Bandh* will not only unite the working class but also strengthen the democratic and socialist forces in the country and will take the battle against the forces of right-reaction to a new height.

The Central Executive Committee supports the call for all-India hartal given by the Samyukta Socialist Party.

The Central Executive Committee hopes that the bonus demonstration and the hartal will be a powerful, democratic and peaceful demonstration of the solidarity and unity of all the democratic forces in the country.

ON SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India salutes the indomitable struggle of the South African people against the bestial racialist rule of the Verwoerd government.

New sagas of heroism and courage are being written as the battle, under the leadership of the African National Congress, reaches unprecedented heights. A wave of acts of militant resistance is sweeping the country and is preparing the way for higher forms of armed struggle for freedom.

At this moment, there is vital need for a redoubling of international solidarity with the South African liberation movement. The peoples must demand the strict implementation of the numerous international decisions and calls for complete economic boycott of South Africa. The economic and other support which the South African government continues to receive from certain governments, particularly those of the USA and Great Britain, must be stopped. Specially condemnable is the military aid being given to the South African government by the imperialist powers, particularly by the British government.

The pressure of the people must be exerted particularly against the US and British governments to compel them to cease the assistance they are giving to the Verwoerd regime.

India has a proud record of solidarity with the struggle in South Africa. India was the first country to impose an economic boycott of South Africa. The Indian working class has again and again demonstrated its solidarity with the South African workers fighting against apartheid. That record must be carried forward in the new period with concrete moral and material support from the government and people of India.

The government of India must use all the pressure possible on the US and British governments to impress on them the urgent demand of the Indian people that their assistance to the South African government be stopped. The imperialist powers must be told that assistance to the South African government is an act of enmity against all peoples who stand for freedom

and independence, an act of enmity not only against the South African freedom, but also against the Indian people.

The Communist Party of India joins its voice with those of all other democrats in the country in appealing to all sections of the people to intensify the campaign of solidarity with the South African freedom movement.

The solidarity movement in India is taking at this moment the following forms:

1. Holding of solidarity meetings and demonstrations and adoption of resolutions and appeals urging total economic boycott — and drawing pointed attention to the necessity to compel the US and British governments, in particular, to stop the assistance they are giving to the South African government;

2. Sending cables demanding the release of political prisoners and particularly at the moment the cancellation of the death sentences imposed on African National Congress leaders Mini, Khayinga, Kaba and Bongco;

3. Collection for the South African Solidarity Fund launched by the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity to assist in the setting up of an office of the African National Congress in India.

The Communist Party calls upon all its committees and branches to take part in all solidarity actions called by other democratic organisations and to take the initiative to see that these actions are effective and truly reflect the deep fraternal solidarity of the masses of our people.

Text of cable sent to the Minister of Justice, Pretoria (South Africa)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA DEMANDS IMMEDIATE CANCELLATION OF DEATH SENTENCES IMPOSED ON VUYISILE MINI, WILSON KHA-YINGA, ZINAKILE KABA AND WASHINGTON BONGCO—BRAVE FIGHTERS AGAINST APARTHEID, TO CARRY OUT THESE DEATH SENTENCES WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO MURDER AND WOULD BRING ON YOUR GOVERNMENT THE RIGHTEOUS FURY OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE. STRONGLY URGE YOU CANCEL THE ILLEGAL SENTENCES AND RELEASE THE PRISONERS.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

ON MAO'S TALKS WITH JAPANESE SOCIALISTS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has read with alarm and indignation the report of the talk which Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China had recently with a group of Japanese socialist leaders.

This report which has now been published widely all over the world from the August 11 issue of the Japanese journal *Shekai Shuho* has been confirmed by the statement made by Prime Minister Chou En-lai (published in the Japanese daily *Asahi* on August 1), and by Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Wang Ping-nan, who was asked specifically for an explanation.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of all Indians to the dangerous views of Mao Tse-tung as quoted in the report of this talk and in particular, to the following venomous attack on the Soviet Union and on the entire socialist world.

"There are too many places occupied by the Soviet Union. According to the Yalta agreement, the Soviet Union, under the pretext of guaranteeing the independence of Mongolia, has actually placed that country under its domination. Mongolia occupies a considerably larger area than Kurile Islands.

"In 1954, when Khrushchov and Bulganin came to China, we raised this question, but they refused to talk with us. They have appropriated part of Rumania. Having separated part of East Germany, they expelled the local inhabitants to western part. Having separated part of Poland, they included it into Russia, giving to Poland in compensation part of East Germany. The same happened in Finland.

"They have separated everything that could be separated. Some people have stated that Sinkiang area and the territories north of the Amur river must be included in the Soviet Union. The USSR is concentrating troops on its border.

"The Soviet Union occupies an area of 22 million square kilometres and its population is only 200 million people. It is time it stopped the division. Japan occupies an area of 370,000 square kilometres and its population is 100 million people.

"About a hundred years ago, the area east of Baikal became Russian territory and since then Vladivostok, Khabarovsk,

Kamchatka and other places are territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet requested settling this account. As for Kurile Islands, this question is clear for us. They must be returned to Japan."

Such an open call for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union is not only pernicious in its treacherous hostility; it amounts to direct and open assistance to imperialism.

Just as Hitler sought to justify his criminal aggressions by pleading for "living space" (*lebensraum*) for the "growing" German population, so Mao preaches unashamedly on behalf of the Japanese reactionaries. The demand is made for the surrender of Soviet territory because its 22 million sq. km are inhabited by only 200 million people, while Japan's 370,000 sq. km have a population of 100 million.

Mao forgets that the peoples of the Soviet Union, the peoples of the territories he claims for the Chinese leadership, for the Japanese militarists and for all and sundry, have already decided their own destiny and are marching side by side with the rest of the peoples of the Soviet Union towards communism. Mao perhaps imagines that these millions of Soviet citizens can be transferred at his command out of their Motherland to where he wills. Mao's dreams of such dismemberment count without the Soviet people.

Mao not only attacks the Soviet Union. He supports the West German revanchists in their propaganda demanding the cancellation of the Oder-Neisse border and the swallowing of East Germany.

At the other end, Mao extends his support to the Japanese militarists in their claims against the Soviet Union for the return of the Kurile Islands. Mao conveniently has not one word to say about the facts regarding the role of the Kurile Islands as a beach-head used by the Japanese militarists for their aggressive plans against the Soviet Far-East. Mao again says not one word on how the US imperialists are using Japanese territory for their nuclear bases, Japanese ports for visits of nuclear powered submarines and Japanese airports for nuclear armed bombers. In this context, Mao's support for the "return" of the Kurile Islands amounts to direct assistance to the US imperialists

who seek to use the Kurile Islands as an advance base for their plans of war and aggression.

Mao Tse-tung's thesis goes so far as to praise the Japanese imperialists for their "greatness" because of their seizure of so many Asian countries during World War II.

Seen in the context of the publication of the Chinese maps claiming large parts of Asia as Chinese territory, this lauding of Japanese militarism in Asia can have the most sinister meaning, as an attempt to justify as "great" Chinese expansionism itself.

On the one side, the Chinese leadership boosts the West German fascists, on the other, the Japanese militarists—the two ends of the pincers the imperialists seek to use against the socialist world and against the peace of mankind.

Abhorrent to any true communist is also Mao's scandalous attempt to create discord among socialist countries and to rouse anti-Soviet sentiments in all the countries which are neighbours of the Soviet Union.

The rest of Mao's talk deals with other vital questions.

The so-called "intermediate zone" theory is now revealed in all its ugliness—covering up class differences and differences in social systems—all with a view to "justify" the Chinese leaders' growing collaboration with such imperialist powers as Britain and France.

The manner in which Mao Tse-tung deals with the differences with the Soviet Union—"We are ready to continue this war for another 25 years"—shows not the slightest desire for unity. On the contrary, the entire anti-Soviet venom of the Chinese leader indicates his insistence on continuing the campaign of slander and abuse and it is now clear, of unceasing military border provocations against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of India has repeatedly warned against the perilous "historical arguments" being used by the Chinese leaders to justify their expansionism. These "arguments" have now reached atrocious limits in pressing the Chinese leaders' claims on the Soviet Union and in bolstering up anti-Soviet chauvinism in Japan and other countries.

The Chinese leaders are not satisfied with making anti-Soviet-

ism their own main plank. They insist on all the adherents of their wrong ideological positions repeating these anti-Soviet falsehoods and justifying Chinese expansionist claims and activities. It is this which adds to the dangers which today beset the anti-imperialist movement all over the world, arising from Chinese expansionism and chauvinism.

Mao Tse-tung's talk with the Japanese socialists, which has been given worldwide publicity, reveals in a flash the grim truth that as far as the Chinese leaders are concerned, their differences with other the Communist Parties on ideological issues have now become more and more divorced from all Marxist-Leninist principles and are now for a great part a screen for their expansionist policies and aggressive plans.

On November 1, 1962, the National Council of the Communist Party of India, in its resolution on Chinese aggression, had come to the bitter conclusion that it was the national-chauvinism of the Chinese leaders and their repudiation of all the agreed principles of the international communist movement that was at the root of the Chinese aggression against India.

Far from retracing its wrong and dangerous outlook, the Chinese leadership has gone steadily forward on the path of chauvinism till now its entire policies are unmasked before the communists of the whole world as arising from the most fanatical great power desire for world domination.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India joins communists all over the world in condemning the chauvinist and expansionist views expressed by Mao Tse-tung.

ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR PARTY UNITY

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India endorses the unity negotiations conducted by its Secretariat in pursuance of the resolution of its National Council.

The representatives of the Central Secretariat, in their negotiations with the representatives of the Tenali splitters, took a consistent stand of party unity based on the principle of democratic centralism as laid down in the National Council resolution. But the representatives of the Tenali splitters refused to accept

this principled basis of party unity. All that they wanted in the name of party unity was to convert the party into a united front of two parties formally under the same name and flag so that they could paralyse all political and mass movements of the party while carrying on their own disruptive activities unhampered. Thus, the unity negotiations initiated and conducted by the Central Secretariat broke down because of the anti-Leninist approach of the Tenali splitters to the problem of party unity.

The events following the break down of unity negotiations—such as the Tenali convention, open formation and functioning of their separate party inside and outside the parliament, hectic preparations for their separate congress, their public opposition to the Great Satyagraha struggle against rising prices and food scarcity, etc.—have completely exposed their false pretensions about party unity.

The Central Executive Committee congratulates all party members and the working people of India who have rallied round the National Council and given a resolute rebuff to the splitters.

ON THE "32"

The 32 members of the National Council who had been suspended from the party membership following their walk-out from the April session of the National Council and their public declaration of revolt against and disruption of the party have carried forward their disruptive activities to completion.

Having turned down the unity offer of the National Council and its Secretariat, they held their convention at Tenali and gave a formal shape to a separate party of their own.

Activities of this party since then have furnished further proof of their blind hatred and enmity of the Communist Party of India, a party which has been built by the working people through long and innumerable struggles and sacrifices in the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. This blind hatred and enmity is leading them more and more to the position of objectively helping the worst enemies of the

Indian people despite their tall talk and revolutionary phrasemongering.

By their splitting activities culminating in the formation of a separate party, the 32 suspended members of the National Council, as well as all those who have attended the Tenali convention and joined their party have ceased to be members of our Party. Hence, all Party Committees should strike-off their names from the rolls of the party and remain ever vigilant for guarding party unity against their splitting activities.

ON ENROLMENT OF MILITANTS INTO THE PARTY

It has been a longstanding weakness of our party that its organisation does not correspond to its mass influence. The mass influence of the party is far more than what is reflected in its membership. This gap between the mass influence and organisation of the party has to be bridged if it has to discharge its political responsibilities.

There are tens of thousands of militants who have been participating in the mass struggles and movements conducted by the party and yet do not find a place inside our party. Among them, there are some who have been with the party since a long time and will perhaps remain lifelong militants if they are not enlisted into the party. There are also thousands of militants who have been thrown up in the mass movements of the last two years like the Great Petition campaign and the historic March of September 13, 1963, the four-stage struggle against high prices, for increase in DA, etc., conducted by the AITUC which had to be halted after the second stage due to the split in our party, and the Great Satyagraha against high prices of food-grains and many other struggles conducted in the states.

It has been a habit to complain about the political backwardness of party members and militants, while at the same time not doing anything to give them political education. This failure on the part of the party leadership is put up as a justification for not enrolling the militants into the party.

It is only the negligence of our party leadership that is responsible for keeping them outside the party. These militants

have got immense experience of mass movement, love of our party and readiness to undertake work given to them. What is lacking is political education. Hence they must all be taken in at once as candidate members and arrangements have to be made for their political training.

The National Council was forced to hold the Party Congress on the basis of 1962 membership which was closed on 30th June, 1963 because of the objection of the splitters to the new membership and their demand for the Party Congress to be held on the basis of the pre-Vijayawada Congress membership. Because of this controversy also, the efforts for the enrolment have slackened though it is the normal duty of the Party Committees to enrol members into the party whether they get representation at the Party Congress or not.

It is a crime to keep the militants outside the party any longer. They must be enrolled immediately as candidate members of our party. This enrolment should proceed alongside the preparations and holding of branch and taluk, district and state conferences. Each state can observe a week or fortnight of Party Enrolment. We should keep in view the idea that the membership should be at least doubled by the time we meet in the Party Congress in December. In fact, we should present the 7th Party Congress with double the existing membership, calling it the 7th Congress Enrolment.

The National Council had decided to hold the Party Congress on the basis of the membership of 1962 closed on June 30, 1963. This decision will not change. The newly enrolled membership will be candidate members who will become full members after 6 months according to the Party Constitution. But they will attend the taluk or mandal conferences as observers.

The following points have to be kept in view in enrolling the militants into our party:

1. The duties and rights of party members are elaborated in Articles x and xi of the Party Constitution. When once militants are admitted into the party, they will have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion. (Article iv (6))

2. The minimum qualifications for membership as stated in Article iv (1) are as follows:

- a. An Indian citizen of 18 years or above;
- b. Accepts the programme and constitution of the party;
- c. Agrees to work in one of the party organisations and carry out the decisions of the party;
- d. Pays regularly party membership dues.

3. The militants who are admitted into the party are made to sign the following pledge in the GB meetings of the branches *after receiving the membership fee of one rupee* from each candidate member enrolled.

"I accept the aims and objectives of the party and agree to abide by its constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the party.

"I shall strive to live up to the ideals of communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses and the country, always placing the interests of the party and the people above personal interests." (Article v)

All the signatures of the candidate members in a branch can be taken on one sheet of paper on the top of which the pledge is written, instead of each signing a separate pledge. This is suggested to obviate the elaborate procedure written in Article iv and to enlist new members without delay.

Membership cards can be issued later at the convenience of the Party Committee. "By the end of the period of candidature, the Party Branch or Party Committee concerned shall discuss whether the candidate member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party Branch or the Committee concerned may admit candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a candidate member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee may cancel his or her candidate membership." (Article iv (8))

We will have to undertake the political education of these militants who are enrolled and old party members immediately the Party Congress is over. Mass schools, where attendance can be by hundreds or thousands can be held successfully as has been tried and proved in some places. Pamphlets explaining Marxist theory, the Party Programme, etc., have to be produced

which can be understood easily by party members. The Party Centre will provide in English some literature on this. It also plans to organise a Teachers' Training School for organising teachers for the Party Schools and members. Meanwhile, Party Committees have to enrol militants into the party immediately.

ON PARTY SITUATION IN GUJARAT

By the end of July it became clear that the leadership of the Gujarat State Council of the Party was not going ahead with making preparations for holding the 7th Congress of the party in accordance with the instructions of the National Council. Draft documents for the Congress were not being sent for translation.

One prominent member of the State Council and the Secretariat, Com. Chiman Mehta, had gone to attend the Tenali conference of the splitters and he was going about holding general body meetings in certain districts, reporting on the Tenali decisions. He had also issued a public statement (*Indian Express*, Delhi Edition, 22.7.64) denouncing the National Council and calling upon the party members in Gujarat to join the rival party.

The name of another member of the State Secretariat, Com. Vajubhai Shukla, was published in the local press as well as in the journals of the splitters as a member of the preparatory committee of the rival party congress, which they were holding in Calcutta. He has never repudiated the same.

In view of these developments, some 15 members of the State Council made a requisition to the Secretary of the State Council, Com. Dinkar Mehta, to call a meeting of the same. The purpose was to thresh out these issues and to initiate preparations for holding the Party Conference in Gujarat in accordance with the decisions of the National Council and to elect delegates to the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of India to be held in Bombay.

Com. Dinkar Mehta agreed to hold the session of the State Council after the 5th of August, after the Gujarat *Bandh* campaign started by the Sangram Samiti, in which we were participating, was over. A tentative date of 12th August was also given by him. But as our comrades, including Com. Dinkar Mehta were arrested, the decision could not be carried out.

Thereafter, some of the members of the State Council approached Com. Chandubhai, another Secretariat member, to call a State Council meeting and he agreed and has given the date as 25th September.

Meanwhile, further developments have taken place. The Central Secretariat wrote to both Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla (a National Council member) asking them to explain their stand in regard to their participating in the splitting activities initiated by the Tenali conference (both letters of 27th August). No reply has been received from either of them.

On the other hand, the following facts have been reported by comrades which clearly prove that both of them are actively engaged in splitting activities in pursuance of the Tenali conference's disruptive lead to hold a rival party congress.

On 31st August, in a GB meeting at Ahmedabad presided over by himself, Com. Vajubhai is reported to have said: "If I were present in the April National Council meeting, I would have walked out with the 32 . . . policy of 'Dange group' is pro-capitalist and I do not accept its leadership," etc.

Com. Chiman Mehta and Com. Thakorebhai are reported to have made similar attacks on the National Council and its leadership and supported the line of the Tenali splitters.

Com. Chiman Mehta not only reported on Tenali conference to various ward units but he also began organising rival units in Saurashtra region where the supporters of the National Council are in a majority. He has set up a rival unit in Jamnagar and is attempting to do so in Sawar Kundla and Porbunder. In Upleta, he attempted to organise a public meeting to openly denounce the National Council but his plans were foiled by the local party unit.

Com. Thakorebhai runs a weekly paper called *Janatantra* which is a TU paper known to be sponsored by the CPI. But

now-a-days, it gives publicity to material emanating from the Tenali splitters presenting that as the CPI.

In view of all these facts, and in view of the fact that Coms. Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla have not replied to the letters sent to them by the Central Secretariat, it is necessary now for the CEC to take further action in terms of the June resolution of the National Council.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, therefore, declares that both Comrades Chiman Mehta and Vajubhai Shukla have placed themselves outside the pale of the Communist Party of India and have ceased to be its members.

The Central Executive Committee directs the State Council to ask Com. Thakorebhai to tender his explanation and if he persists in his support to the splitting activities of the Tenali conference, that he should be also dealt with in a similar manner.

The Central Executive Committee authorises the Gujarat State Council to strike off the rolls of party membership the names of those pursuing the organisational line of the Tenali splitters and to reorganise the party units wherever necessary. The State Council should proceed forthwith with the work of preparing for and holding its district conferences and State Party Conference in accordance with the decisions of the National Council on the holding of the 7th Party Congress.

ON THE SPLIT IN THE KARNATAK STATE COUNCIL OF THE PARTY

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has given careful consideration to the documents sent by Comrades N. L. Upadhyaya and B. V. Kakkillaya on the events that have led to a split in the Karnatak Unit of our Party, leading to the formation of two State Councils.

It is quite clear that the main reason for the split in the State Council is the opposition of Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya and some other members of the State Council to a perfectly justified resolution moved by Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya and others,

whose main purpose was to safeguard the integrity and unity of our party from the splitting activities of the supporters of the Tenali conference. The resolution only wanted—

1. to reiterate that the Karnataka State Council is a constituent part of the Communist Party of India and pledges to implement the resolutions of the NC;

2. to declare (i) that it is opposed to the decisions of the Tenali conference; and (ii) that those who implement those decisions would forfeit their membership of the party;

3. to condemn and disapprove the action of four State Council members, Comrades S. Suryanarayana Rao, M. H. Krishnappa, H. S. Rama Rao, K. Chandukutty Nair in having participated in the Tenali Conference, disobeying the decision of the State Council Secretariat;

4. to prepare for the holding of the Party Conference in the State and participate in the 7th Party Congress to be held at Bombay;

5. to call upon all the members of the party to unite under the banner of the National Council and implement its resolutions.

What possible objection could there be to the above-mentioned points which are the imperative minimum for safeguarding the integrity of the party from the splitting activities of the organisers of the Tenali conference is beyond one's comprehension.

But Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya and some others chose to oppose them. Over and above that, the Committee led by Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya has given an ultimatum (under the name of an appeal) to the National Council that unless their conditions are accepted, they are not going to abide by the decisions of the National Council. It demanded "Dange to step down from Chairmanship" or at least restoration of "the Secretariat as it existed in 1962 before the emergency", withdrawal of the "suspension of the 32 National Council members unconditionally". It advised the 32 members "to return to the National Council as soon as the conditions in the above appeal are fulfilled." It also threatened that "If Comrade Dange and the National Council do not respond to our appeal, the Provincial

Council leaves the future course of action to be decided by the Provincial Conference of the Party," meaning thereby that they are not bound by the decisions of the National Council, the highest organ of the party.

Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya not only propagated his views in the State Council meeting, but also defended them publicly in the press in his interview to the *Deccan Herald* dated 10th August, 1964. He defended the action of the 4 State Council members in participating in the Tenali splitters' conference and their implementing of its decisions. He made it clear that his State Conference to be held in October would decide in which congress they should participate, either the congress organised by the National Council or the splitters' congress, on the basis of the reply he gets from the National Council to the ultimatum he has given.

He has already given publicity in the press to the resolution of ultimatum to the National Council. Thereby he declared *the independence of the committee he heads from the Communist Party of India. He has already started implementing his line.*

He has not waited for the decision of his conference to be held in October 1964. *He has already reorganised the State Council Secretariat excluding those who have been fighting the splitting activities and safeguarding the unity and integrity of the party. He is allowing party members to be enrolled anew on new cards, is giving recognition to rival party committees formed by the followers of the splitters' convention, is publishing the resolutions and literature of the rival party.*

All this goes to show that Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya has been using his position as the Secretary of the Karnatak State Council not for safeguarding the unity and integrity of our party, but for aiding the splitting activities of the people of the Tenali conference.

The Secretariat considers the whole procedure of the State Council meeting held from 8th to 10th August, 1964 at Bangalore *unconstitutional*. It had no right to allow the four State Council members, who participated in the Tenali splitters' conference and were implementing its decisions since then and thus splitting the party, to participate in the meeting and exer-

cise voting rights. It is also unconstitutional to allow an invitee to the meeting to vote. It is done only to vindicate through all means available one's own splitting activities.

The Secretariat is of opinion that under these circumstances, Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya and other State Council members were left with no other option except to refuse to participate in such a meeting. Inside the party, one can hold any opinion but he has no right to disobey and violate the organisational principles of the party and decisions of the party.

The main point is that the committee led by Com. N. L. Upadhyaya does not consider itself bound to participate in the forthcoming Party Congress and abide by its decisions.

In view of the urgency and gravity of the situation created by this split, especially when the whole party is in the thick of popular mass struggles, the Secretariat decides to take appropriate actions in terms of the following resolution of the National Council:

In view of the emergency created by the organised splitting activities of the left-seceders, the National Council authorises the CEC to take promptly all necessary organisational steps to prevent further disruption of the party in particular where the work of the party and the functioning of the units are obstructed and made virtually impossible by the members who adhere to the platform of the 32. In such cases, the CEC and the Secretariat shall directly deal with the situation and take such organisational measures as would ensure the continued development of the party in cooperation with all those comrades who support the policy of the party and are loyal to it.

All such decisions should be reported to the next meeting of the National Council for consideration and endorsement.

In view of the above facts established by the relevant documents, the Secretariat resolves to *authorise the State Council with Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya as its Secretary to carry on the work of the party in Karnatak pending the final decision of the National Council.*

The Secretariat appeals to Comrade N. L. Upadhyaya and

others to stop their splitting activities and abide by the decisions of the National Council.

The Secretariat calls upon all party units, party members and sympathisers to rally behind the banner of the Communist Party of India and help the State Council, whose Secretary is Comrade B. V. Kakkillaya, to fight disruption and guard the unity and integrity of the party.

ON PARTY CONFERENCES & CONGRESS

(Circular issued by the Secretariat on 3 September 1964, endorsed by the Central Executive Committee)

The National Council in its session held in June 1964, decided to hold the Seventh Party Congress in the last week of November 1964 at Bombay. It left the fixing up of the exact dates to be decided by the Central Secretariat in consultation with the Maharashtra State Council. This resolution on the 7th Party Congress has already been circulated to party units along with other resolutions of the National Council.

But by the time we started making preparations for the Party Conferences, the food problem became serious and the entire attention of our party had to be diverted to build up a mass movement for bringing pressure on the government. Our party has conducted an all-India satyagraha struggle which has roused the entire country as never before. It has played a glorious role in the different *bandhs* that have shaken the country. Now all those who are arrested are being released. In about a month's time, we expect most of the comrades to be out of jail. Very few might be left in jail after that.

We had to delay holding of the Party Conferences because of the food movement. But now we cannot delay it any more.

We have to proceed expeditiously with the Party Conferences and preparations for the Party Congress for important reasons. The preparatory meeting of the World Congress of Communist Parties is going to be held in the third week of December, which has to be attended by the representatives of our party with a clearcut opinion of our party on the problems the inter-

national communist movement is facing today. The Kerala elections are going to be held in February 1965 and not only the Kerala unit of our party has to get prepared for them, but also our party as a whole must be in a position to help Kerala comrades. Hence we have to conduct the Party Conferences under a tight time-table.

The Central Secretariat has decided the following time-table for holding the Party Conferences and Party Congress:

1. Seventh Party Congress will be held in Bombay from, December 10 to 20, 1964.

2. Taluk or mandal or town conferences should be finished by 10th of October.

We suggest that if all the party members in a taluk or mandal are allowed to participate directly in these conferences, instead of the old practice of branch conferences electing delegates to these conferences, it will be more convenient.

In the big cities, conferences might be held in two or three levels, depending upon the organisational pattern of the respective cities.

The branch meetings where branch committees are elected can be held according to the convenience of the respective units.

3. The district and provincial conferences have to be finished by the end of November.

4. We feel that things will be done much more expeditiously if State Secretariats or Executive Committees meet and plan for the Party Conferences and decide the basis of representation of delegates to the district or mandal conferences and other details, if they have not been decided so far, instead of every party committee meeting and doing it.

5. Ideological and programme documents of the National Council have to be discussed at all Party Conferences. Also, at every level, the respective party committees have to present political and organisational review reports from the last conference till the present to the respective Party Conference. They have to be discussed at these conferences.

6. Regarding the basis of membership for the Party Conferences and election of delegates to the Party Congress, we give below portions of the resolution passed by the National Council at its last session:

1. The party membership of 1962 which closed on 30th June 1963 with additions in terms of the National Council resolution of April 1964 but excluding such party members who join the rival party organisations will form the basis of electing delegates to the Party Congress and Party Conferences at various levels.

2. Delegates to the Party Congress will be elected on the basis of one delegate for every 200 party members or a major fraction of it, with a minimum of 5 delegates to every state. The Central Party Headquarters branch will also elect 5 delegates to the Party Congress.

7. The Committees can make provision for allowing a certain number of observers in the conferences from among the candidate members and party members.

8. A Central 'Forum' will be run immediately as a 4-page supplement to the *New Age Weekly*. All suggestions and criticisms not exceeding one page of the weekly will be published in the 'Forum'. Longer documents will be published as separate booklets. This is the most convenient way under the present circumstances.

We suggest that the State Councils should also start forum in their respective provincial organs.

Announcement on Forum

In pursuance of the resolution of the National Council for making preparations for Party Congress, the Secretariat has taken the following decisions regarding FORUM:

Central FORUM will be run immediately as a four-page supplement to the NEW AGE weekly. All suggestions and criticisms not exceeding one page of the weekly will be published in the Forum. Longer documents will be published as separate booklets. This is the most convenient way under the present circumstances.

Comrades sending contributions have to keep the following suggestions in view:

The two draft documents—Ideological controversies in the international Communist movement and Party Programme—are under discussion at present. Hence comrades are requested to send their contributions on these two documents only.

Contributions must be sent in English as there is no arrangement for translations from state languages at the Central Office.

Comrades must remember that only contributions not exceeding one page of NEW AGE weekly will be printed in it and other longer documents will be printed and sent to party units separately. Comrades must also take note of the fact that it is not possible to print all the material that is sent because of lack of space. Hence the Secretariat would choose from among the contributions with a view to give effective representation to different points of view or shades of opinion. The contributions will also be shortened when necessary.

They must send their full name, address and the Party unit to which they belong along with their contributions.

The State Councils have to run FORUMS in their own organs immediately.

Party members must send their contributions to:

The Central Secretariat,
Communist Party of India,
7/4 Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi.