

ON THE SEVENTH CONGRESS
OF OUR PARTY

(*Calcutta, 31st October to November, 1964*)

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WEST BENGAL STATE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

On the Seventh Congress of our Party

Calcutta, 31st Oct. to 7th Nov. 1964

The Report on the 7th Party Congress, delivered by Com. P. Ramamurti at the General Body meeting held on the 13. 12. 1964 at the Thyagaraja Hall, Calcutta, is published below.

Comrades,

Reporting on the Party Congress should have been over now, but unfortunately, we know the difficult conditions under which the West Bengal Party has got to work. You know that just on the eve of the Party Congress, a number of leading comrades were arrested. Those arrests were not all as we found that more comrades had been arrested by the Government recently. I am not going into the question of arrests now, but these arrests naturally have dislocated the work immediately after the Party Congress.

Introduction

Comrades, with the Party Congress one phase of our struggle with the revisionists is over, but what is that phase? What is it that the Party Congress decided? We have already told you, before the Party Congress was held, that the main items that would be taken up by this Party Congress would be a political-organisational report, a resolution following from that report, finalisation of the draft programme that we had placed before you, the Constitutional amendments and certain current resolutions on current topics. Within the short period of 7 days, it was not possible to discuss any other question. Anyone who had attended this Congress would have certainly said that this was the most democratic Congress held ever in the history of the Communist Party. I can only remind you of the fact that Comrade Mirajkar who had been to this Congress as an observer, who had not been with us politically, who had been poisoned earlier by other people that we are a set of hard-boiled sectarians, intolerant sectarians, who would not allow any discussion or expression of any divergence of opinion and therefore, we should have nothing to do with these people, had said that he would like to see this Congress. We said yes, come on. All honest people who have still differences are welcome. We are not putting any preconditions that

they must accept our views, but you see and then you decide. Now you know at the end of the Congress, Comrade Mirajkar after seeing the deliberations of the Congress where the fullest opportunity was given for the expression of all types of opinions, fullest opportunity was given for the expression of practically any differences, from this very platform announced that he is totally and completely satisfied about the democratic nature of this Congress. He said, he is completely disillusioned with regard to these people who had given him the idea that we are an intolerant set of people who would not allow any divergence of opinion but on the other hand he is convinced that we want to discuss differences, try to understand the differences, narrow them down and ultimately, on the basis of the agreement, come to some unanimous decisions. He had come to this conclusion. And it was on this basis that Comrade Mirajkar announced from this very platform that from that day onwards he is a member of our Party. Therefore, Comrades, I am emphasizing this aspect because what has been adopted in the Party Congress as our Party programme as well as political-organisational resolution, are the products of the joint efforts of all the party comrades who had participated in the discussion not only here but over a period of nearly six months. When the Programme was announced, it was subjected to criticisms from the right, it has been criticised by Bhupesh Gupta, this has been criticised by Comrade E. M. S. With all these criticisms before the Party comrades, they discussed it in their units, in their district and state conferences and the delegates who came here were representatives elected by these various conferences after full discussion of the draft programme. Therefore, the draft programme that has now been finally adopted and has become the accepted programme of the Party, is the joint effort of the entire Party. It is from this point of view that we

should like to judge this Party Congress. The Party programme that we have adopted is not like the 1951 programme in the making of which we did not have such a big share. Many of the people accepted it because it was at that time stated that in the making of this programme, the Soviet Party had a great role to play. For the first time in the history of our Communist movement, we, on the basis of our direct experience of our movement, on the basis of the direct experience of the Party from the developments taking place in our country and in the world, have drawn up and adopted a programme. This is what I wish to emphasize.

Political-Organisational Report

The first item that we took up for discussion was the Political-Organisational Report. This was the first Party Congress in which such a Political-Organisational Report was actually submitted and discussed. At no previous party Congress either at Palghat or at Vijayawada or at Madurai, or even at Calcutta in 1948, a Political-Organisational Report was circulated and discussion took place.

Normally speaking, a Political Organizational Report would cover the political and economic developments in the country from the time of the last party congress, the reactions of the party to these developments, stand taken by it on the various issues on the basis of the understanding of the resolutions adopted in the previous congresses, the organisational problems faced by the party during this period etc. When the Central Organising Committee took up prepara-

tion of this report, they had to face a lot of difficulties. All the documents pertaining to the party are in the hands of the Dange-group. None of us had kept a complete record. This was the major difficulty.

Many major developments took place in the country since the last party congress at Vijayawada. One of them was the elections. Immediately after that came the border clash and the declaration of emergency. We all know how Dange-group reacted to this development. They were able to take away the entire party from the path of Marxism-Leninism. Even the Vijayawada party congress resolutions were violated. They tried to disrupt the mass organisations, particularly the Trade Unions. All these things have to be dealt with in the Political-Organisational Report. Along with that, we felt that it is not enough to trace these things from the date of the last Party Congress only. The penetration of revisionism in our organisation has been there since the last ten years. We have, therefore, tried to show from their own documents how the revisionist leadership tried to influence the party bit by bit. But they were defeated on most of the occasions. Ultimately, even at Vijayawada they were defeated. But then came the India China Border Clash. They got an opportunity, exploiting the prevalent atmosphere of national chauvinism in the country, to completely smash the party.

In the discussion at the Party Congress very valuable suggestions were made. It was stated very correctly by many delegates as to how revisionist tendencies were allowed to have such a big grip inside the party. Does it mean that every time we have been correct in our policy towards revisionism all these years? Have we not shown, individually at times and collectively at other times, an attitude of compromise towards the revisionist clique? Perhaps this

political-organisational report has not gone into the whole question. In the light of the discussion, it was therefore decided that the Central Committee should be charged with the job of going into the full details of the fight against revisionism inside our party for the last 10 years and prepare a document which will be a powerful means of education for the rank and file of the party, in its fight against revisionism. It was also decided that such a document should be finalised within the course of next two months.

I have to tell you that this document is getting ready, and in the next meeting of the CC, which will be held on the 3rd of January in Kerala, this document will be finalised and it will be released. This is an important document.

The second point was that flowing from this, we adopted a resolution on the political and organisational tasks of the party. Now this resolution, you will find, is not of the type of resolution that we used to adopt in the party, comprising of forty to sixty pages. We have adopted a short political-organisational resolution, firstly pointing out what is the state of our politics and economy in the country, i.e. the national political-economic situation. Secondly, we have mentioned the stand of the different political parties in this national political situation, i.e. their role, their stand, how they react in the national political situation. On that basis, what is the stand of the Rightists on many questions? On that basis what political and organisational tasks emerge for the party in this particular period? A short resolution we have adopted. That resolution has already been published. I will come to that resolution later on.

Now comrades, you will find once again that this resolution was also adopted unanimously.

On Party Programme

Now, let me come to the discussion on the draft programme. We spent a great deal of time in discussing the draft programme. I do not want to spend my time in once again going into the formulations of the draft programme. It is not necessary now for me to go into them. Later on, we have to have a series of classes where each aspect of the programme has to be taken up for intensive explanation and a fuller understanding of the programme by the entire party.

What I would like to point out is what the party did with regard to the draft programme. Because in the press, there had been a lot of speculation, a lot of kite flying. The press carried the news that there are very deep differences between Com. EMS on the one hand and the other people on the other. Unfortunately, the trouble with us is that we have not got over the legacy of our having been in the Dangeite Party for a very long time, because in the Dangeite Party, for nearly about 3/4 years, whatever discussions took place inside the Party organs, used to be leaked out to the press, the bourgeois press. Today, fortunately for us, and unfortunately for the press, what happened is that no discussion taken place in the party organs or in the Party Congress so far has leaked out to the press. This is a good thing and since nothing leaks out, press people have begun manufacturing news. I will give you an instance. Before the Party Congress, the Central Organising Committee was meeting in Delhi. Our meeting was on a Thursday morning. On Wednesday, since comrades came only in the afternoon, we met actually at 4 o'clock and we met only to decide the agenda and decided that we would meet from day next that morning at 9 o'clock. You know, if you read the 'Link' of date the 'Link' saying that inside the Central Organising

Committee such discussions had taken place, Comrade EMS said something, PR said something, etc. 'Link' is published on Sunday. Sunday means that is dated Sunday. It is actually printed on Thursday evening and on Friday it is despatched so that it is available throughout the country on Sunday. Now our meeting began on Friday morning. 'Link' published the entire proceedings of the meeting which was not yet held. Since we are accustomed in the Dange party to things being leaked out and when 'Link' publishes the report which these people have manufactured, Party comrades think there must be something in it. But at the same time, we must also get over the legacy of the past, namely, of giving some kind of credence to the reports published in the press. Many reports so far appeared about our discussions inside the Central Committee and in the Party Congress are pure speculations. Similarly, as far as the Communist Party is concerned the bourgeois press have got "Riga correspondents". Now therefore, what really happened at the Party Congress? Was there any unprincipled compromise with any one? Comrades, it is not possible for me to go into every amendment that we discussed. That is not necessary, but what were the main things discussed?

(a) Regarding transfer of Power and after it :—

In the beginning of the Party Programme, we have assessed what is the situation after the transfer of power, what was the nature of that transfer of power in 1947 and the causes that led to the transfer of power and after the transfer of power what has really happened. We pointed out that the transfer of power took place in a changed world situation when imperialism had become weakened. It had become further weakened with the rise of the colonial liberation movement of which India was a part. In that background a compromise took

place between imperialism on the one side and Indian bourgeoisie on the other. As a result of that compromise, power was transferred. The nature of the compromise had also been pointed out. The nature of the compromise was that imperialism's economic stranglehold in the country would not be uprooted, they would be protected and also a compromise with feudalism was arrived at.

Apart from certain amendments which strengthened the programme, there was not any change in the basic understanding given by the draft programme.

At the time when the programme was drafted first it was not felt necessary to include in it an analysis in regard to the abolition of princely states. But after that, the Dange programme came wherein the abolition of princedoms and Sardar Patel's measures were taken to be wonderful measures by the bourgeoisie. We then felt that we should also say something about that in our programme, because according to us theirs was a wrong assessment. We then put an amendment on that aspect, pointing out that this abolition of princely states took place in the background of rising peoples' struggle, and if the bourgeoisie had not intervened feudalism might have been completely wiped out. It was in this background they, under the leadership of Vallabhai Patel, took this measure and entered into a compromise with the erstwhile princes. Only by bringing this compromising attitude, we thought, we could combat the Dange's appraisal of this measure effectively. This only strengthened the basic understanding of the programme.

(b) Re : Economic developments in the Country :—

In the programme we have also tried to analyse the economic developments in the country since the transfer of power. The total effect of five-year plans, public sector

industries, agrarian reforms etc. in our economy has been analysed. The conclusion that we have drawn from this analysis is that in spite of this big talk of 5-year plans, public sector etc. what has really been done is an attempt to build a capitalist economy in our country. In a period when the world capitalism is in the third stage of general crisis, here in our country the bourgeoisie is attempting to build a capitalist economy. We have pointed out that these five-year plans and the public sector are specific instruments in the hands of the bourgeoisie in building capitalism, because our country is not like the classic capitalist countries. To-day when our capitalists have no foreign markets for capital accumulation, the only way to build capitalism is by looting the people. As a result, the rate of exploitation will be ever increasing. At the present stage, when the world capitalism is in the third stage of its general crisis, the state has become the biggest instrument in the hands of the capitalist class for exploitation. In the early days of capitalism in England and elsewhere, the state did not play this role, as it is now doing in our country. Plans have become necessary for the capitalist class to build capitalism in this country and we should not, therefore, be misled by the talk of 5-year plans, public sector etc. Through these plans the people are taxed more and more and money gets accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class. The state therefore, plays the biggest and most powerful role in building capitalism in India to-day. It is this understanding that we have tried to incorporate in the programme and in the discussion that took place no major amendments were made to this understanding. Certain amendments that were made only strengthened the understanding of the danger of penetration of western capital into our economy, which increases the dangers of a neo-colonialism in our country.

Yes, there were certain changes made. For example, we deleted all the figures of foreign capital, growth of monopoly, etc. It was decided that we should not give them in this programme, because the figures that were given in the draft programme, by the time of the Party Congress, had become outdated. More foreign capital has come in. It is not necessary to give these figures but you can give as an appendix, and in the course of every new edition, bring them up-to-date. So we had removed all the statistical materials from the body of the Programme and we give it in explanatory documents. I wish to emphasize that there has been no change in the analysis of the developments that took place in the country after the transfer of power. Similarly, what is happening in the agrarian sector? There has been no change in the understanding. Whatever changes or amendments have been made are in the nature of strengthening that understanding.

(C) Foreign Policy

Then, after all these, comes the question of the foreign policy that this Government has been pursuing. Now comrades, the Draft Programme had given certain understanding. What is that understanding? The draft does not accept the 1951 understanding that this Government in its foreign policy acts according to the dictates of British imperialism. Why? Because we said that the foreign policy of any Government in the ultimate analysis will reflect the interests of the class or classes which is in state power.

And we have come to conclusion that the leading force in the State is the big bourgeoisie, and the other classes occupying state power are the bourgeoisie and the landlords. So we pointed out therefore that the foreign policy in broad outlines will reflect the interests of these classes. Now, the interests of a particular class is pursued not in the vacuum. It pursues its interests in a certain situation. Now therefore, our bourgeoisie which is in State power pursues its class interests in a certain given world situation and in a given internal situation. All these factors go to make up the foreign policy pursued by the State. Now there is no doubt that our bourgeoisie wants to develop itself and a bourgeoisie that wants to develop itself does not become totally subservient to somebody else, but its capacities are also limited by the situation. Therefore, what is the situation prevailing in the world? We pointed out that the world is divided into two camps. Today, with the powerful socialist camp, with the emergence of the colonial countries as Independent countries, with the weakening of imperialism on world scale, and the internal situation—all these factors helped them to assert a certain amount of independence. Therefore, in these conditions, it follows also what it calls non-alignment, i.e. it does not associate itself with either of the blocks militarily.

Now, do not take it that non-alignment will remain the something for all time. We had pointed out in the programme the various phases the non-alignment has passed, the conflicts that are responsible for these changes in the non-alignment policy, that without joining either blocks militarily, how changes take place which helps imperialism more at one time and which did help the peace forces more at another time. Between 1954-1958, the stand India had taken at Bandung, certainly helped the forces of peace and weakened the forces of imperialism. That was the phase of non-

alignmsnt in a specific situation. It was a specific phase of non-alignment, when imperialism had received powerful blows at the hands of socialist countries, when in Korea, imperialist arms were defeated, when in Vietnam powerful blows were struck against French imperialism. It was precisely in that particular alignment of forces when imperialism was on the run that this Government was pursuing a particular phase of the non-alignment policy, which helped the forces of peace. But later on, since 1958, a change took place and after 1962, the change had been more pronounced. Now many of the positions it takes are helping the forces of imperialism rather than the forces of peace and we also asked why? Why is it taking place? The two powerful camps are still there. Compared with 1947-54, the forces struggling against imperialism have become much stronger. In Africa, country after country has become independent and powerful blows are now being struck against Imperialism. In Vietnam, for example, liberation movement in South Vietnam has tremendously grown. In spite of these things, this new phase takes place in the Government of India's foreign policy which is helping more the forces of imperialism than the forces of peace. Why? We had pointed out certain developments and the chief-development is that the Government is relying more and more on imperialism. Because it is developing capitalism in our country, an impossible task, it is facing crisis after crisis in our internal economy, its plans are floundering, etc. And precisely because of this, the policy of this Government is to approach imperialism more and more for aid. It is actually in 1957 that the Aid India Club was formed. It relies on imperialism for the fulfilment of its plans and this has intensified in this period. This is one aspect. Another aspect which we have to take into account in a very guarded manner is the fact that while on the one hand, crisis is

developing inside the country, making the Government unable to solve any problem, precisely in this period, in the socialist countries, particularly in China, a country like ours, which got its independence two years later than ours, they have solved these problems. There is no unemployment. There is no food crisis as we see here and development is taking place tremendously. People see what is happening inside our country. They are becoming more and more critical and opposed to the Government's internal policies.

The third factor is the contradictions between our people and the Government. The formation of the Communist led Government in Kerala showed the high water mark of that contradiction. So precisely as a result of these things, the Government does not entirely want to become subservient to imperialism. Imperialism will not give anything without something in return. The government still wants to bargain. It uses socialist aid as a bargaining counter. So its capacity also gets fixed. It is precisely because of these, in this period, the foreign policy underwent a new phase.

Now, comrades, in the Party Congress, was there any change with regard to this basic understanding regarding our foreign policy? There were certain amendments which stated more or less that the foreign policy of our Government today is the same as the foreign policy formula ted in 1951. We said no. But at the same time, there is an understanding inside the Party that non-alignment means consistently anti-imperialism, consistently pro-peace, consistently anti-colonial, consistently pro-socialist. All this understanding unfortunately is there inside the Party. Non-alignment is certainly not a Marxist phraseology. This non-alignment is a term which has come into being during the last 15 years in a new set up of world situation where the new emerging states of the world remain without being

attached militarily either to the socialist or imperialist countries. And there is non-alignment ranging from the non-alignment pursued by Mali, Ghana on the one hand, by Cuba in another way and also to that pursued by India. This is not the same thing. Therefore, in order to shatter any such wrong understanding that our comrades will have, namely, that non-alignment means a completely and consistently anti-imperialist, pro-peace policy, we have made certain amendments here in order to clarify the matter. Non-alignment is interpreted by the bourgeoisie which is in charge of the State from time to time according to what it considers, serves its interests best.

As regards the policy of non-alignment followed by the Government of India, we have pointed out that we do not take even this policy, though limited in its extent, completely granted for all time to come. For the last 10 years this policy has been shrinking and shrinking in its extent. Increasing dependence on foreign imperialism for its plans and the subsequent penetration of foreign capital into our economy has made this policy all its real meaning. But there is always the danger that even this non-alignment may get completely and totally defeated. Therefore, we felt that any wrong understanding with regard to this has got to be removed.

(d) Stage of our Revolution :

Now comes the question of the stage of our revolution. We had pointed out that the stage of our revolution is not socialist, because still the basic task of bourgeois democratic revolution has got to be fulfilled. If you have the understanding that this is a socialist stage, certain alignment of forces has to be there. In that stage, no section of the bourgeoisie will have any place in the society. Rich peasantry,

who is interested in building capitalism, is the enemy of socialist revolution. Even small shop-keeper is a petty-bourgeois and in the socialist revolution all these people will have to be treated as enemies. But, analysing the class alignment obtaining in the country at present, we say that the stage is not a socialist one.

Although our revolution remains within the framework of bourgeois democratic revolution, unlike other colonial countries, in India development of certain amount of capitalism had taken place before independence. Even during that period, particularly during the second world war, monopolies have started to grow. After the transfer of power, these monopolies have tremendously grown ; not only that, they are forces which have got strong links with imperialists in as much as every development project in this country has to take place with foreign collaboration. On the basis of that foreign collaboration, it is growing to be big monopolies. Because of these circumstances, in our country democratic revolution has to fight monopoly and foreign capital and smash the economic and political position of big bourgeoisie. Only by destroying their stranglehold on our economy, their political position can be smashed. The edge of our revolution should, therefore be directed against not only imperialists, not only against feudalists, but against the monopoly capital also. In the draft programme the anti-monopoly edge of the revolution was not clearly stated in the portion defining the nature of the revolution. Therefore, some amendments were moved by us to sharpen this.

From this comes the nature of class alignment. On this there were differences. Comrade E. M. S. had some differences of opinion on this point. He moved a series of amendments and we gave him fullest opportunity to state his views. Comrade E. M. S. has had the opportunity to attend

a number of district conferences and state conferences. Moreover, before the party congress we discussed with him the differences for two days. These discussions helped to narrow down the differences.

(e) **Re : Class-alignment and Building of People's Democratic Front.**

Comrade E. M. S. had no differences with regard to the understanding given in the draft programme as regards the nature of changes that have taken place after the transfer of power. He also agreed that our revolution should be anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly and democratic. But with regard to the composition of democratic front he had some differences. We pointed out that the Peoples' Democratic Front will be composed of working class, peasantry, middle class and anti-monopoly section of the bourgeoisie who have no strong link with imperialists. Leading role in the revolution will have to be played by the working class.

Why cannot bourgeoisie lead the revolution? In the conditions prevailing in our country, although it is in the economic interest of the bourgeoisie to smash feudalism, they are afraid of losing their political position. With the powerful growth of socialist world and when capitalism is passing through the third stage of its general crisis, the bourgeoisie finds that the socialist consciousness of the working class is increasing tremendously and as a result, afraid of losing its political position, it enters into a compromise with the landlords.

Now, I have to point out that the compromise the bourgeoisie entered into with imperialism is different from the one entered into with feudalism. The compromise it entered into with imperialism is an economic compromise

whereas the compromise entered into with landlords was not economic compromise because the landlords are not going to give the bourgeoisie technical know how of developing the industries. They are not going to give bourgeoisie capital. The bourgeoisie wanted compromise with landlords because it wanted to retain its political position in the country and it can retain its political position only if it enters into compromise and the landlords will not give up their positions unless it gets a share in political power, which means that no agrarian reforms will take place. Therefore, you understand the difference in the nature of the two compromises.

Now comrades, we pointed that it is the working class which should be the leader of the Front. Comrade EMS also pointed out that he has no disagreement on this point. The difference according to Comrade EMS was only this. He said precisely because we are in the third stage of the world capitalist crisis, all contradictions will be intensified. Contradictions between our people and the Government will be intensified, contradictions between imperialism and the people will be intensified, contradictions between imperialism and our Government including the big bourgeoisie will get intensified in this period, because otherwise what is meant by the third phase of the general crisis of capitalism? The Third phase precisely arises because with more and more countries becoming free, the sphere of capitalist-imperialist exploitation shrinks in the world. The first phase of the crisis started after the Soviet Union was born. The second phase started since the second world war, with more and more countries becoming free and the capitalist world market shrinking further and further. Now in this period capitalism will not automatically commit suicide. What it will do is to seek to intensify the exploitation, where it can be exploited. The more foreign capital comes, the more foothold it gets. This is how

new-colonialism comes. Therefore, EMS pointed out, if our bourgeoisie does not want to be completely squeezed out by imperialism, all the contradictions are likely to be intensified. Although he agreed with us that the most important contradiction obtaining in our country is the growing contradiction between the Indian people and the bourgeois State. This is the biggest contradiction on which the movement has to be based. But nonetheless the contradiction between imperialism and big bourgeoisie is likely to be developed.

We stated that we agreed with it and we have pointed out in the draft programme that this contradiction will have to be utilised, not for the strategic object of completing the democratic revolution, but it has a tactical importance. Imperialism wants Kashmir to be given up, our Government does not want to give it up and utilising this contradiction, we try to isolate imperialism. Then EMS said, if this is so, in that case you cannot rule out any section of the big bourgeoisie at some time or other as because of the development and intensification of the contradictions between imperialism and big bourgeoisie, some sections may come into the Front. In the third phase of the general crisis of capitalism, contradictions between our big bourgeoisie and imperialism are likely to be developed at some time or other ; therefore, do not shut out the possibility of one section or another of even the big bourgeoisie coming over to the Democratic Front in order to fight imperialism. Therefore he said while this front must consist of the working class, peasantry, middleclass and the bourgeoisie in the main, you should not say that only these classes will be there. It will be led by the working class, no doubt. Therefore he said that the Front will consist of all those patriotic elements in our society, who are prepared to come, motivated by patriotism and take their positions in the Democratic Front.

We said that we do not agree there. This is the crux of the differences. We said that it is true that the contradictions between imperialism and our own big bourgeoisie will be intensified, but from this to imagine that any section of the big bourgeoisie will come, motivated by patriotism, that it will give up its class position, it will be willing to commit suicide, and join the front is unimaginable, because you have a programme which says that we want to eliminate monopoly. May be, some odd cranks may bethere. Therefore, we stated that we do not accept this. Therefore, you will see there is no such thing as an opportunist compromise.

In the amendments EMS gave, there were many good things, although the conclusion he drew was wrong. In one of the amendments, EMS had pointed out that in the earlier days, the bourgeoisie performed a historical task. What is that historical task? This is the task of eliminating all pre-capitalist formations in society. In our country, unfortunately, what has happened? Imperialism came here, it developed certain amount of capitalism, but it did not destroy the pre-capitalist formation—the cast system, etc. which is a special type of pre-capitalist formation peculiar to our country. The bourgeoisie did not destroy this. The destruction of these pre-capitalist formation of society is one of the essential tasks that has to be performed in order to advance to the modern society. We therefore said that all these pre-capitalist formations which had to be destroyed by the bourgeoisie and which our bourgeoisie did not perform, now it has fallen to the lot of the working class in its fight for people's democracy, to fight against these pre-capitalist formations and their ideological ramifications in our society and completely rid our society of all these. Simply because EMS said this and because EMS had a wrong understanding with regard to the content of the PDF, should we say that we are not prepared

to accept this formulation? We consider it to be totally a wrong approach.

Similarly, for example, is the bourgeoisie democratic revolution, used to work for the unity of the nation? What is happening today? After independence, whatever unity was there in the anti-imperialist struggle is getting disrupted because of the bourgeoisie attempts to develop capitalism and what is happening is national disruption, and it is only the working class with its programme of People's Democracy that will be able to carry out all these duties because the working class is not interested in any particular nationality and therefore will come forward to observe and pursue a correct policy of equality between nationalities of this country, equality of languages, equality of development. Therefore, we have pointed out that the bourgeois policy is not leading to national integration but to national disintegration and it is only the working class that can unify the nation.

There was another important amendment about people's democratic state. Depending on the alignment of forces a number of interim slogans will have to be given by the party. These interim slogans should not be confused with slogans of people's democracy. Situations may arise in our country when we have to give slogans of alternative govts. in many states like Kerala, W. Bengal etc. It was felt that a proper understanding of these slogans must be there in the programme. It will be wrong to imagine that by achieving these slogans, we can gradually reach our goal. That would be only a revisionist understanding. What should be our understanding regarding these interim slogans? These slogans help in mobilising the whole people. It should be utilised as a powerful weapon for building and strengthening people's democratic front. Unless this is properly understood, the people will be misled by wrong ideas which will help only Dangeite revisionists. A revolutionary conception of these slogans is necessary and that is why we have agreed with the amendment of Comrade EMS. in this regard and incorporated it in our programme

On the whole, you will find that the Congress was a principled congress. While accepting all the amendments which were correct, it did not make any opportunistic compromise for any factional purposes—either to the left or to the right.

On Pol.-Org. Tasks Resolution

The crisis that has enveloped our economy, the crisis of the five year plans, the crisis of no objective being fulfilled, the crisis with regard to internal resources, the crisis of foreign exchange, the crisis on the food and the price front—we say that this crisis has come precisely because the Government is trying to develop our economy on capitalist basis. Now, the economic crisis need not necessarily led to and it will not automatically lead to political crisis.

The bourgeoisie tries to meet this crisis in two ways, on the one hand by sowing illusions among the People, by slogans such as the fourth plan with Rupus 22,000 crores, Bhubaneswar Democratic Socialism, Kamraj Plan, etc. This is one aspect.

What is the other aspect? Illusions cannot live long. Therefore, struggles are breaking out and to meet this, it is intensifying repression. These are the two specific weapons that the bourgeoisie uses to meet the crisis.

We have pointed out that these illusions are not succeeding because these are completely exposed on the basis of the direct experience of the people. In this, we expose them on the one hand on the other, enable the people to stand up against repression and fight.

What are the other parties doing in this concrete condition? We pointed out that the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh are soft-peddalling their approach to the Congress. They are not as vocal as before. They are afraid, they are more and more soft-peddalling their position and trying to come to some understanding. Then comes the Socialist Party. After the merging of the SP and the PSP, they are adopting the position of co-operation and there is struggle going inside that party between Madhu Limaye and those following him and the old PSP on the other. We want that

Madhu Limaye group should win. In mass struggles it wants our co-operation. It is taking up a more militant position against the Government. It is true that in foreign policy, it has its own position. These are the factors which should be taken into consideration. On this basis we laid down the basic tactics of U. F. While we make special efforts to unite with S. P., on issues we will unite with any one. I want this to be emphasized. For example, if the Jan Sangh tomorrow takes up the question of corruption charges against Biju Patnaik, the Communist Party cannot say that since Bajpay has taken up the issues, we will not unite with him on this issue. On the other hand the Communist Party judges each question on its merits. Then we say that we are prepared to unite on this issue. Do not allow these parties to run away with the masses because by your not going there, they become leaders before the people.

What is the basic nature of the situation? Struggles are taking place spontaneously. During the last six months, many struggles have developed without any Leadership. If you go through working class strike statistics, you will find that during the last year, the INTUC has led more strikes than the AITUC. Why? It is not that the INTUC gave calls for strike, but because the workers went on strike. Many 'gherao's have taken place without any leadership. People in Kerala, in Tamilnad, in Andhra, in U.P. and in many other places have stopped lorries and transport and taken over the rice contained therein and distributed the rice to the people. This has happened on a mass scale. So this is an important element in the situation and it is likely to grow and it is precisely because this movement is taking place without leadership or organisation, that the Government finds it easy to suppress them.

It is pointed out in the resolution in this concrete political

economic situation in our country, when different parties take different stands, if the Communist Party during the last ten years had played its part properly, then it would have come to the leadership.

In these conditions, the major and most important task of the Communists has got to be discharged. To be with the masses in their struggles, whatever the struggles, go to the masses in their spontaneous struggles. If you find that somewhere in Calcutta some struggles have taken place, the first task of the Communist Party is to go to these people, find out the problems and be with them. Let the masses see that you are with them. That is the first task you have to perform. Secondly, we point out that only by being with them, you will not be able to give leadership and organisation. Leadership comes not by saying that you accept me as your leader. You work and earn your leadership and build the organisation. This is the most basic task that has got to be fulfilled. This aspect has been concretised on different fronts, the working class front, Kisan front, student front etc. Beyond giving this general direction with regard to the different fronts namely, the working class, peasant, front we have given certain general directions also. For example, in the working class front, what is the position? We pointed out that in this period struggles of a general nature are breaking out. Precisely because of the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the working class in this period that opportunities are increasing and we have to take up the questions of bonus, grade, DA. These are of tremendous importance to the working class. Even the INTUC has been forced to come out in struggle for bonus in the jute industry. These demands assume tremendous importance and if we go forward as the champions by concretely formulating demands, by mobilising around it our people and fraternisation with

other workers, then we will be able to force the INTUC also to join the struggle and enforce working class unity. So this should be the general direction but at the same time, we point out that in the trade unions, we have special responsibilities.

To-day, Dange group, despite their declarations, are following policies that lead to disruption in Trade Union Movement. It is our task to prevent disruption in trade union front. If we say that we do not have anything to do with Dange group in Trade Union movement, lack of confidence comes in the working class. Unity of the Trade Union movement can be kept only on the basis of democracy in Trade Unions. I do not mean formal democracy. The political resolution that we have adopted points out that one of the greatest weaknesses in trade unions is the development of Trade Union bureaucracy. Even in the unions in which we are dominating, this bureoucracy is there.

Another important question that was discussed was concerning membership. On the basis of actually enrolled membership, we find that to-day our party has got 1,04,000 members out of 1,76,600 members at the time of Vijayawada congress. In a period when the entire bourgeoisie is carrying on propaganda that we are Chinese agents, in a period when there is tension between our country and China and the entire country is in grip of national chauvinism, this figure of membership which we have achieved is of tremendous significance. It is out of this understanding that we are saying that we are the real Communist Party of India.

We also say that we should not take an attitude of hostility to other members who have not yet enrolled with us. The bulk of these people have got their own fears, some of them are poisoned by the Dange leadership. It is our task to bring them to our fold by proper working in Trade Unions and mass movements.

Therefore, do not imagine that these people are against us. By proper approach, by our position in the mass movement, we have to win more and more of these people so that they cannot have anybody of the Communist Party and how do we do that ?

Political organisational and day-to-day struggles and with this, you will be able to promote in the immediate future all those militants that are thrown up, recruit them as party members, giving them party education and develop them to positions of leadership. The composition of the party can change only if we develop the working class and kisan cadres and this cannot be undertaken if there are no mass movement.

Conclusion

Comrades, this has got to be implemented. The way the Government is going, again and again struggles will gather, but it does not mean that these struggles will be one straight line. But if we give this correct orientation and if we begin to discharge the tasks, both organisational and political, then certainly, we will be going forward more and more. Particularly, I want to remind you that comrades in Bengal, in Calcutta, in 24-Parganas, in Asansol, in Howrah, in every industrial areas every party member must find his place in a particular trade union or mass organisation. He need not be holding an official position. There is no such thing as pure party work. If we work on the above lines, what tremendous force you will be able to unleash and the trade union movement here will be immensely powerful. You will be able to frustrate INTUC disruption, you will be able to frustrate Dange's disruption.

There are some wisecracks. The Government knows that in this particular period we are seeking to develop the mass movement. It is also afraid of us and precisely because it is

afraid, the Government seeks to place agent provocateurs in our midst. Particularly in West Bengal, I wish to warn you against these agents provocateurs. They come and tell the people, particularly those comrades who are young and who are not mature, what is the use of this kind of thing? What is needed today is to do what is happening in South Vietnam. You must fight with arms. Armed struggle, with what and how? Marxism teaches that the Communists will resort to armed struggle when—it has won the majority of the people and when the bourgeoisie does not allow the expression of the majority and seeks to suppress the majority and then the working class and the Communist Party will tell the people that you cannot fight the Government by peaceful methods but only by armed methods.

Beware of the people who tell you that what is required now is armed struggle. They are agent provocateurs and gullible people. In order to get the opportunity to smash the Communist Party, because the Government is afraid that we are growing, they send agent provocateurs. We must be very careful about the agent provocateurs. We must not give them any place in the Communist Party. Today the Government of West Bengal is seeking such proof and I have no doubt that the West Bengal Government has sent a number of agent provocateurs inside your Party. They may not have sent inside the party, but on the periphery.

Our difference with Dange consists in this: that we build the mass movement and we also at the same time want to inculcate political consciousness in the working class through these economic struggles, telling the workers, that their problems can be solved only by a new state of People's Democracy and if this state is overthrown. Dange does not want to do this. This is the fundamental difference. The consciousness we will have to develop by propaganda, by day-to-day talks and in this way, the majority has got to be won over. Today, there is great opportunity for development of mass movement on many issues. Remember this comrades.

Thank you,

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12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12

Price : 30 P

Published by Ramen Sen on behalf of the West Bengal State Committee, Communist Party of India and Printed by Samir Das Gupta at Ganashakti Printers (P) Ltd., 33 Alimuddin Street, Calcutta-16