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THREE LAKHS RECORD RALLY

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From OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT



S. A. Dange Addresses Mass Rally At Shivaji Park on December 20
(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

ASSY-GHOSH NAGAR (BOMBAY):
It is just after midnight; December 24 has begun, as the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India comes to a grand and inspiring close.

The slogans are being shouted with a joy and a confidence, which no previous Congress of our Party ever had.

"Communist Party Zindabad!"

"Long Live the International Communist Movement!"

"Seventh Congress Zindabad!"

Every item on the agenda of the Congress has been concluded. Every document—the new Programme, the Political Resolution, the Resolution on Ideological Questions, the Organisational Resolution, the Amendments to the Party Constitution—has been adopted unanimously.

And tonight, to cap it all, the new National Council has been elected unanimously. So has the Control Commission.

S. A. Dange, making the concluding speech of the Congress, stated amidst applause that the most significant aspects of this Seventh Congress were its unity and the clear perspective that it had outlined for the Indian people.

Short farewell speeches were made by Boris Ponomarev (CPSU) and Claude Lightfoot (CPUSA) on behalf of the fraternal delegates, congratulating the delegates and the CPI on the brilliant success of the Congress.

Lightfoot said he had been attending national and international congresses, conferences of Communist Parties in many

countries for the last 30 years. With certainty could be said that the Seventh Congress of the CPI was the most democratic he had ever attended.

S. G. Patkar made a farewell speech on behalf of the reception committee.

Dange extended the Party Congress thanks to the reception committee, the volunteers, the donors and all who had helped to make the Congress a success.

Special mention was made of the Party Headquarters comrades who had done remarkable work in seeing that the large quantity of materials was made available cyclostyled to the delegates in a very rapid manner.

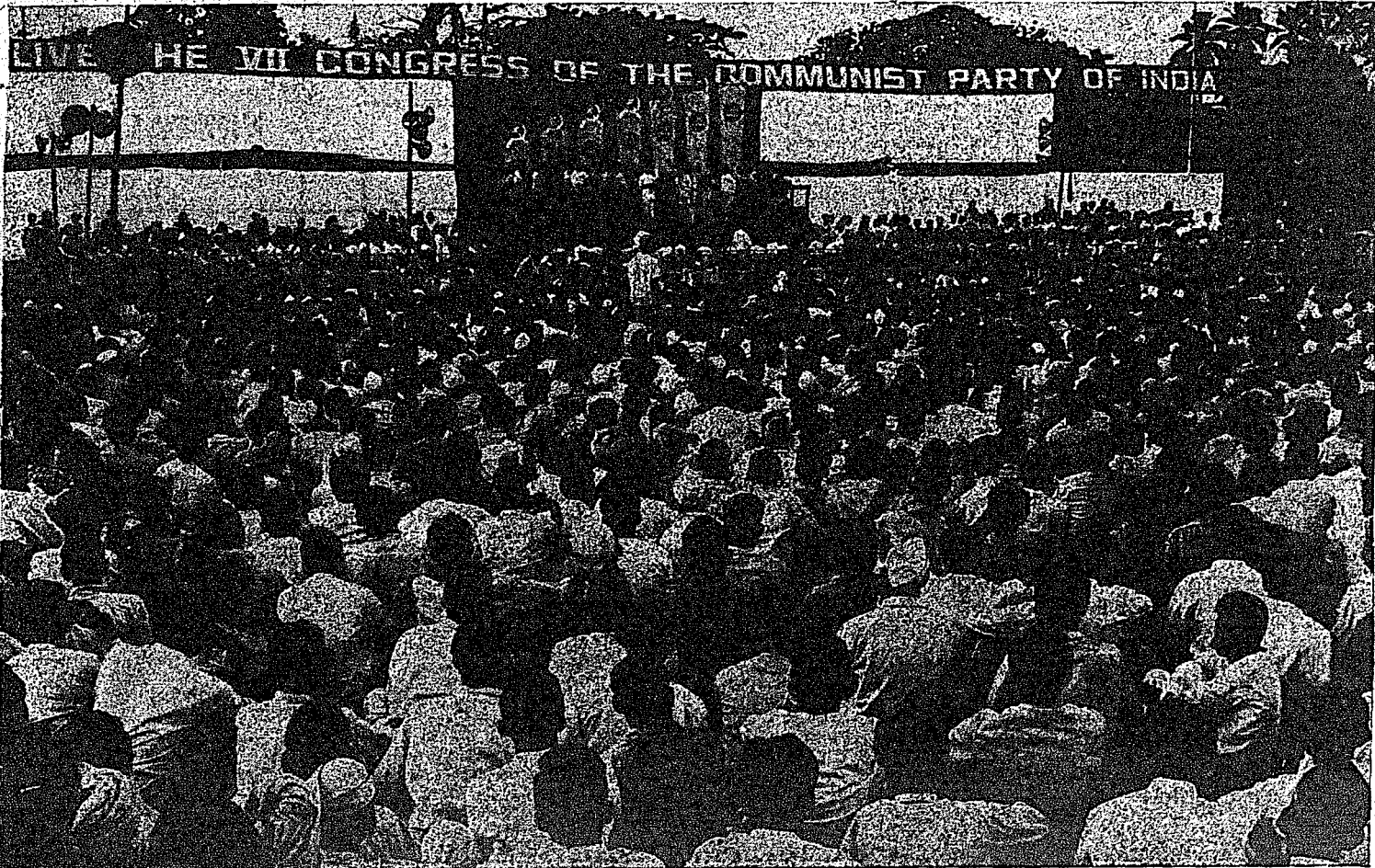
The new National Council meets for the next three days to elect the Chairman, the General Secretary and Secretaries as well as the Central Executive Committee and to take steps for the implementation of the Congress decisions.

Earlier, on December 20 three lakhs of Bombay's citizens poured into the Shivaji Park from all corners of the city for the mass rally organised in honour of the Seventh Congress.

The mammoth crowd was totally unprecedented. It was the biggest rally in the history of the democratic movement in recent times.

And before the rally a huge procession wound its way through the city streets.

Tens of thousands of Bombay's men and women workers marched, led by the delegates and observers to the Party Congress.



Following is the full text of the resolution, On The Ideological Controversies And The Unity Of The International Communist Movement, adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India in its session on December 18:

SINCE the Sixth Congress of our Party, which took place almost immediately after the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, the international Communist movement has been passing through bitter and prolonged ideological controversies. These controversies which came out into the open in 1960 assumed particularly serious dimensions with the publication of an alternative general line for the world Communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the form of its June 14, 1963 letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

The National Council of our Party critically examined and appraised this general line of the world Communist movement embodied in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement. The attempt by the CPC leadership to push this alternative line and impose it on the fraternal Parties created an unprecedented situation and brought the international movement almost to the brink of a split. That situation, unfortunately, still continues.

Like many other fraternal Parties, our own Party too was seriously affected by this ideological offensive of the CPC leadership and its open call for splits. Splitting activities which have accompanied the propagation of this alternative line have been sought to be justified in the name of purity of Marxism-Leninism.

When the collective line of the world Communist movement was thus openly challenged and assailed, it became naturally incumbent upon Marxist-Leninist Parties to defend the common line—the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. This became necessary not only for discharging their responsibilities towards world Communist movement, but also for carrying out their tasks as national revolutionaries in their respective countries.

The ideological struggle for upholding the Declaration and the Statement in the face of open attack on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of China became inseparable in the capitalist world from the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This has been confirmed by the experience of our own Party and the ideological struggles it has had to wage within its ranks.

The alternative general line of the CPC leadership found its most crude and destructive expression in relation to our country. Disregarding the fact that India is a nonaligned country adhering to the peace zone, to which China was allied in principles of Panchsheel, the Chinese armies made massed military attacks across the McMahon Line in an attempt to solve the India-China border problem by armed force.

INTERFERENCE

This had already been preceded by open interference by the Chinese Party in the affairs of our country in the form of pronouncements about the character of the Indian government which went contrary to the declared decisions of our Party at its Vijayawada Congress. Chinese aggression against our country was followed by open slanderous attacks against our Party and call to split it, in the form of the article, "Mirror for Revisionists".

The narrow nationalistic and chauvinist attitude taken up by the Chinese leadership on the border question and its attempt to solve it by armed force caused a major setback to our democratic movement as it created opportunities for the forces of domestic reaction to strengthen themselves and gain vantage positions in the country's political life. This made the struggle against the erroneous ideological and political positions of the CPC leadership all the more urgent in the case of our Party.

As far back as 1959, our Party had drawn the attention of the CPC leadership to their incorrect attitude towards the border question. We subsequently raised the question at the 81 Parties Conference as well.

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It was under such circumstances that our Party came out openly to refute the Chinese line, save the democratic movement of our country from the disastrous repercussions of that line and defend the integrity and unity of our Party.

The National Council of our Party took note of the June 14 CPC letter and reaffirmed our Party's firm adherence to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The Council repudiated the positions of the CPC leadership. In its report "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement" the National Council of our Party again comprehensively discussed the ideological issues and placed its views for discussion by the entire Party as part of the preparation for the Seventh Party Congress. This report has been discussed by many Party conferences at different levels and the discussions have given general approval to the positions taken by the National Council on all questions of principle.

The Seventh Congress notes with satisfaction that these conferences have once again reaffirmed, through free and frank discussions, the Party's complete identification with the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in upholding the programmatic documents of the world Communist movement—the Declaration and the Statement.

In this connection, it is perhaps necessary to recall that the Fourth Congress of our Party had acclaimed the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a new stage in the international Communist movement. Later, the National Council of the Party similarly highly appraised the decisions of the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement were acclaimed warmly in the ranks of our Party.

At the same time it must be emphasised that no effective steps were taken to conduct any ideological discussion among the Party ranks with the result that despite formal acceptance of the conclusions of the CPSU Congress and of the two Moscow meetings of the world Communist movement, the Party ranks remained by and large in the dark as to their full meaning and significance. The ideological struggle within the Party was not undertaken, not even when the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 were being challenged by a section of the leadership within the Party. Further until mid-1963 even crucial documents on vital issues of the world movement including a full and proper report of the proceedings of the 81 Parties Conference as well as of the stand of the Indian delegation on the Sino-Indian border question were not made available to the ranks of the Party. This failure to draw the Party members into discussions on ideological issues contributed in no small measure to making the Party vulnerable to alien trends and splitting activities.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party deem, it necessary to emphasise the supreme importance of drawing the entire Party ranks into ideological discussions, organised on the basis of making all important material available to the entire Party ranks, of conducting principled ideological struggles within the Party and equipping and strengthening the entire Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On the basis of the pre-Congress discussions which have taken place in the ranks of our Party the Seventh Congress deems it necessary to sum up and conclude the results of these discussions by restating and re-affirming the positions of our Party in regard to the major issues of controversy, namely, the character and significance of the new epoch, war and peace, peaceful co-existence, national liberation movement, national democracy, forms of transition of socialism, cult of personality, the unity of the socialist camp and world Communist movement.

In regard to all these vital questions, our Party disagrees with the positions taken by the CPC leadership and considers their alternative line as a repudiation of the line of the world Communist movement. In the course of the discussion within our Party, the positions of the CPC leadership have been appraised as dogmatic and disruptive and spelling out great dangers for the world Communist movement as a whole and particularly for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, and the struggle

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for peace, democracy and national independence. Both in theory and practice, the line of the CPC leadership suffers from narrow nationalistic and even chauvinistic distortions.

★ The Seventh Congress of the CPI attaches the greatest importance to the correct understanding of our present new epoch. The definition of the epoch is essential for the working out of the strategy and tactics of the movement as a whole and equipping every Marxist-Leninist Party for fulfilling in the most effective manner the revolutionary role assigned to it, in all countries and in all situations.

NEW EPOCH

It is of fundamental importance to recognise that the main content of our epoch is transition from capitalism to socialism. Similarly, it is also to be understood and accepted that the most distinctive feature of the present epoch is that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. It is not correct, therefore, to describe the present epoch merely as an epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The main content of the present epoch and its distinctive feature have given rise to real opportunities for solving the cardinal problems of our time in a new way. Our own experience is that the refusal to fully accept the definition of the epoch given in the Moscow Statement results in dogmatism in theory and sectarianism in practice. It comes in the way of utilising new opportunities for advancing the cause of the working class and the democratic movement.

The Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the definition of the epoch as given in the Moscow Statement and enjoins upon all Party ranks to keep this definition constantly in view in the context of theoretical work and practical activities of the Party in the mass movements of our country.

The Seventh Congress of the Party rejects all theoretical propositions that are based on the denial of the fact that the main contradiction in modern society is that between capitalism and socialism. Even before the world socialist system came into existence, this was the main contradiction and it is now immensely sharpened and has become all the more pronounced as a result of the advent of socialism as a world system and of the advance of the contemporary international workingclass movement.

The focal points of world contradiction are naturally concentrated where the most powerful and organised forces of socialism stand face to face against the forces of imperialism. This means that the contradiction between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system constitutes the focus of the contradictions of modern times.

It is incorrect to treat the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movements, notwithstanding all their revolutionary potentialities, as the main contradiction of our time. Hence it is also not correct to say that the focal points of the world contradictions lie in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national liberation struggles against imperialism are in progress, even though these may be areas where imperialism is most vulnerable.

These national liberation struggles are delivering shattering blows to imperialism but then the fact remains that the

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decisive role in the world revolutionary process today is played most definitely by the working class and its chief creation—the world socialist system. Our own experience in the struggle against overcoming the legacies of imperialism and in achieving economic independence confirms this understanding.

The Moscow Declaration highlights the importance of the emergence of the "Peace Zone" comprising the socialist countries and newly liberated nonaligned nations. Our Party fully acknowledges the positive role of this Peace Zone in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. The Party Congress considers that it is the duty of all Communists, to work for expanding and strengthening the Peace Zone.

To negate or even underestimate the role of the Peace Zone is to restrict and weaken the anti-imperialist struggle, the common front against imperialism. The stand of the CPC leadership in this regard, particularly in relation to India, which is a vast country in the peace zone, means a virtual negation of this concept. Worse still, it weakens and undermines the Peace Zone instead of expanding and consolidating it.

Our Seventh Congress rejects the concept of the so-called "Intermediate Zone" put forward by the CPC leadership as contrary to the understanding of the Declaration and the Statement. It is one thing to recognise that imperialist contradictions do exist and are growing, and to utilise those, but it is quite a different matter to put forward out of this, the concept of the "Intermediate Zone".

This erroneous concept which separates the USA from other imperialist powers and puts the latter in the same category with the non-imperialist capitalist countries and even blocs created by the imperialist powers such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO and underestimates the dangers posed by the imperialist bloc.

UNREALISTIC

This unrealistic and artificial concept also underplays the neo-colonialism of Britain, France, West Germany and Japan and so on. It goes without saying that the spearhead of these imperialist alignments and their military blocs and their bases is directed first and foremost, against the countries of the socialist camp as also against other countries, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese theory of the "Intermediate Zone" in reality weakens the struggle against imperialism. Not only that, in practice it has been a cover for the most opportunist and unprincipled alliances in the field of foreign policy. The most crude expression of this has been the policy of China towards Pakistan, China's open tributes to the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan, her defence of Pakistan's membership of the SEATO imperialist war bloc, and her indirect support to Pakistan's demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir in the name of self-determination.

★ One of the most important questions over which the controversy in the international Communist movement has arisen is that of world war and peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI entirely endorses the call of the international Communist movement to regard the fight for peace as the prime task of all Communists. Our Party fully

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RESOLUTION

CONTROVERSIES INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

recognises the new possibilities which have grown and are further growing day by day for preventing a world war by the combined efforts of all peace forces. The correlation between the forces of peace and those of war and aggression is constantly changing in favour of peace and against war. Hence it is wrong in theory and harmful in practice to put equal emphasis on the possibility of averting war and of its breaking out.

All this, however, does not mean that imperialism has changed its aggressive nature, or that the danger of war does not exist, or is not serious. It only means that the forces have arisen in the world arena today which can, by their united efforts, curb imperialism and prevent it from unleashing another world war.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI stands on all fours with the rest of the Communist movement in maintaining that the only alternative to destructive war is peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and looks upon the struggle to compel imperialist powers to accept this as of vital importance for freeing mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear war and for ensuring durable peace. Peace is clearly an ally of socialism and of progressive causes.

The experience of our people in their struggle against imperialism and for national regeneration has fully confirmed this proposition.

GENERAL LINE

In the struggle for peace, the greatest role is naturally assigned to the countries of victorious socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence has been very aptly regarded as the "cornerstone" and "foundation" of the foreign policy of socialist countries. It is but logical that this policy of peaceful coexistence should be regarded as the general line of the foreign policy of all socialist countries. Non-acceptance of this by any socialist country cannot but lead to serious mistakes of adventurism in foreign policy and weaken the struggle against imperialism and for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The Seventh Congress of our Party understands the slogan of complete and general disarmament as a fighting slogan of the masses and rejects the defeatist view that it is an "illusion" to expect general and complete disarmament so long as the system of imperialism and of exploitation of man by man exists. It fully endorses the confident line of the world Communist movement that by active and resolute struggle, imperialism can and must be made to meet the demand for disarmament.

The struggle for disarmament helps weaken and isolate the imperialists and the reactionaries and strengthens the position of all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In this connection, our Party is in full support of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty and looks upon it as one of the most significant achievements of the peace movement.

The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the defiance of this Moscow Test Ban Treaty contributes to the heightening of international tension and encourages the nuclear arms race and spread of nuclear weapons. The Chinese explosion of an atom bomb in defiance of the Moscow Treaty has led, in the case of our own country, to strengthening the hands of the pro-imperialist reactionaries to clamour for making the atom bomb

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To approach the question of national liberation not as a component of the world revolutionary process but in isolation from the socialist camp and the international working class movement is wholly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

It should perhaps be reiterated here that national liberation is not completed with the attainment of political independence. Hence the revolutionary and progressive forces in the newly liberated countries have got to be organised in a common united national democratic front for carrying out the unfinished tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, for winning economic independence and for national rebirth.

★ The CPC leadership attacks socialist aid to underdeveloped countries especially to India on the plea that it helps imperialism. But the actual experience in our country speaks otherwise. Socialist aid helps in building an independent economy thereby enabling our country to resist imperialist pressures.

What is particularly noteworthy in this connection is that such newly freed countries can advance along the non-capitalist path even without the existence of any sizeable industrial proletariat.

Significant socio-economic transformations which are in progress in Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali deserve special attention. These newly-liberated countries are advancing not along the traditional capitalist path but more and more on non-capitalist lines. Each however with its own peculiar features and its own correlations of class forces. In quite a few of such countries, the non-working-class democratic elements are playing a far more radical and revolutionary role than what was anticipated even a few years ago. Forces objectively working for the victory of Marxism-Leninism are emerging even outside the stream of the traditional Communist movement.

The working class and the international Communist movement are securing new and powerful allies and the prospects of non-capitalist development and then of transition to the road to socialism are becoming brighter. Their success naturally depends on the development of a broader outlook and flexible policies on the part of the Communist Parties and democratic forces in building the broad united democratic front and fully exploiting the new opportunities.

Ours is the most advanced capitalist country among the newly independent nations. Having regard to the new possibilities as mentioned above, basing ourselves on the Moscow Statement, our Programme holds the view that the perspective of national democracy is valid for our country and that, given the proper fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks in the present stage of our revolution, national democracy may provide a peaceful transitional form for advance to the road to socialism.

This perspective arises primarily from the shift in the balance of world forces expressed in the socialist system becoming the decisive factor in the present stage of world development. Further the achievements of the socialist camp as well as the disintegration of the newly-independent countries including India are revolutionising the minds of millions of people.

POSSIBILITIES

Serious limitations and crises of the capitalist path of development and all-round discrediting of this path, the existence of a powerful working class movement with old traditions, and its great possibilities, radicalisation of the middle class elements profoundly influenced by the ideas of socialism, the growing contradiction and differentiation within the national bourgeoisie sharpened by the growth of monopoly—all these greatly augment the possibilities for putting our country on the non-capitalist path.

For as in India, the struggle for the non-capitalist path and national democracy is indeed the struggle for forging a broad national democratic front based on the firm worker-peasant alliance and on mass struggle against imperialist strongholds, semi-feudal relics in our economy and for breaking the power of the monopolies. It is through such struggles in both economic and political spheres that a major shift in the balance of class forces has

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to be brought about for the establishment of national democracy and change over to the non-capitalist path of development.

★ On the question of the form of transition to socialism, the Seventh Congress of our Party fully endorses the understanding and approach of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The standpoint of our Party in this respect is in full conformity with the line of the world Communist movement.

The Declaration and the Statement point to both peaceful and non-peaceful possibilities but do not merely stop at that. They explain that in the present epoch with its great change in the correlation of world forces in favour of socialism, the possibilities for peaceful transition are growing. It is therefore incorrect to equate the two possibilities.

However, in what form the transition will take place in this or that country depends upon a whole complex of objective and subjective factors, both external and internal—mainly internal. Communists should be ready for all possible twists and turns in the situation.

As far as our Party is concerned, it has long acknowledged the possibilities of peaceful transition and, indeed, has been working for strengthening these possibilities.

The key to utilisation of the opportunities for peaceful transition, for transforming parliament into an instrument of people's will lies in the defence of the democratic rights and liberties under our present parliamentary system through mass struggles and in constant struggle for broadening and expanding democracy in all spheres of our socio-economic life.

TRANSITION

Peaceful coexistence does not mean abandonment of the class struggle or the militant mass revolutionary movement. On the contrary, peaceful transition is ensured by sharp class struggles based on the maximum possible unity and mobilisation of the popular forces under the leadership of the working class and its Party.

The pre-Congress discussion within our Party has endorsed the understanding and approach of the National Council on this question, elaborated in the ideological document "For the Unity of the Party and the International Communist Movement". Our Party is in complete disagreement with the one-sided dogmatic approach of the leadership of the CPC which ridicules the concept of peaceful transition as "historical idealism" and advocates the non-peaceful way as the only way for transition to socialism. The position of the CPC leadership on this question is an open repudiation of the Declaration and the Statement.

★ The Seventh Congress of the CPI reaffirms its full support to the struggle against the cult of personality and its harmful consequences initiated by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

It was an act of courage on the part of the CPSU leadership to have boldly launched the struggle which not only unleashed a new mass initiative in the Soviet Union but which injected a new spirit into the entire international Communist movement. The Seventh Congress records its deep appreciation of the great strides that have been taken in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the restoration of socialist legality and Leninist norms.

The phenomenon of the personality cult was not limited to the Soviet Union alone. It developed in other socialist countries and had similar repercussions in Communist Parties outside the socialist countries. The CPC leadership continues to glorify it even today.

Considering these developments, the Seventh Congress is of the opinion that a comprehensive examination of the various historical and personal factors that lead to the emergence of the

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Kerala Elections

Following the defeat of the Congress Ministry and imposition of President's rule in Kerala in September 1964, the people of Kerala are again faced with a mid-term election early in 1965, for though there were reports that the elections were likely to be postponed the Government of India has now declared that the elections will take place as scheduled earlier.

The unprecedented food crisis that has enveloped the state during the last few months has already demonstrated what the people are going to suffer in the absence of a popular administration closely alive to their needs. In the context of the preparations for the Fourth Five Year Plan, this absence is all the more keenly felt because there will be nobody commanding the confidence of the people to fight for a just share of the Plan allotment to the state as well as for a hand in the shaping of it in accordance with the needs of the people.

A government representing the interests of the workers, the peasants, the middle classes, the intelligentsia and the patriotic sections of the community, united in and dedicated to the task of establishing a stable government and overcoming the economic backwardness of the state, is the supreme need of the hour.

The Congress Party cannot give the people such a government. Blinded by anti-communism and the greed for monopoly of power, they encouraged all the communal and casteist forces in the state, formed all sorts of unprincipled alliances with such forces in order merely to win electoral successes and maintain their rule.

The coalition ministry that came into power in 1960 was the result of such alliances. Immediately after coming to power they began to take measures one after another to safeguard the interests of feudal and other reactionary elements and against the interests of the people. Corruption, maladministration, inefficiency all became rampant. Ultimately the ministry itself fell as a result of the fierce quarrel among the communal groupings which were competing to control it.

In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Com-

munist Party to join hands with all the progressive, patriotic forces in the state in a firm united front so as to give a shattering blow to the Congress at the polls and form an alternative ministry capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the people of the state.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that efforts are being made by some of the Leftist parties in the state to form such a united front based upon a minimum programme and these efforts have been widely welcomed by all progressive people in the country.

We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact that, of late, certain negative developments have taken place. The communal elements who have broken away from the Congress and who claim to represent two socially and economically dominant communities have come together to form a new party under the name of Kerala Congress. Now they have forged an alliance with the Muslim League also. The Swatantra Party has also entered the field and they have already declared their readiness to support this alliance.

The Kerala Congress and the Muslim League, apart from the fact that they seek to divide the people in the name of religion and caste, their role has always been ultra reactionary whether it be in the matter of land reforms, education bill or state trading in foodgrains. Therefore the task of the Left forces at present is not so simple as it used to be in the former days. The Left forces have to unite and fight to prevent the Congress coming back to power. At the same time they have to conduct the fight equally vehemently against such reactionary communal combination as the one represented by the Kerala Congress-Muslim League alliance.

That is why the Kerala

state council of our Party has repeatedly made it clear that it will join only a united front of all democratic and progressive forces, groups and individuals and that it will have no truck with reactionary communal groups such as the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. The Seventh Congress of the Party endorses that stand.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to reiterate that the Communist Party has always stood and fought for the just democratic rights of the Muslim and other minority communities and the Party will continue to fight for those rights.

It is unfortunate that the SSP and the Left Communists are taking an equivocal stand on this question. The SSP has not yet declared its willingness to join the Left United Front. They are willing only to have adjustments in the matter of seats and this they are prepared to have not only with the Left parties in the state but with all opposition parties including the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress.

The Left Communists although willing to declare their adherence to the Left United Front and the minimum programme chalked out by the representatives of these parties, are still continuing to hobnob with the Muslim League. In one of their state committee resolutions, they have openly declared that whatever happens to the Left United Front, they must have their "adjustments"

with the League.

In a situation where the possibility of the Congress winning a majority is dim and the main contestants for winning a majority happen to be the Left United Front on the one side and the reactionary communal alliance of the Kerala Congress-Muslim League together with the Swatantra Party on the other side, any step taken by any one of the components of the Left United Front which will strengthen any of the parties in the communal combination will be suicidal. It is deplorable that the Left Communists are trying to follow such a line.

Further, at a time when Hindu obscurantism is raising its ugly head in many ways and undermining the secular nature of the state, strengthening of the Muslim League will not help to safeguard the interests of the religious minorities. On the other hand it will accelerate revival of Hindu obscurantism.

Therefore, safeguarding of the interests of the Muslim community can be done only by strengthening the secular forces in the country. We appeal to the Muslim community to give serious thought to this matter.

Keeping in view the serious danger of communal reactionary forces outside the Congress gaining in these elections, apart from those within the Congress, the Seventh Congress of the CPI wishes to point out that the only correct path for all progressive, democratic forces in the state is to take a principled stand on this question and fight both the Congress as well as the reactionary communal combination represented by the League-Kerala Congress alliance.

Any compromise with

such elements will only help to strengthen reaction in the country and will deliver a disastrous blow to the whole democratic movement. The Left democratic forces in Kerala are stronger than in many other parts of India and they can be fully confident of winning electoral success provided they stand united on a minimum programme of development for the state and relief to the people together with a principled stand on key issues of national significance.

The Seventh Congress makes a fraternal appeal to the SSP and the Left Communists to retrace their steps from the slippery and dangerous path they are contemplating, and join hands with the Communist Party, the RSP and all other democratic and progressive forces to forge a firm united front for the purpose of delivering a shattering blow not only to the Congress but to all types of reactionary combinations by whatever name called and give the people of the state an administration that will faithfully serve the needs of development of its backward economy, as well as give relief to its people.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI calls upon the people and all Party units in the country to give all support to the Communist Party in the Kerala state in its principled efforts to form a united front of all Left, democratic forces in the state.

It calls upon all the Party members and sympathisers to help the Party in Kerala in all ways. The coming fight in Kerala is not a fight of the people of Kerala alone. It is a fight of all the Communists and democrats in our country.

CONGO, S. VIETNAM & LAOS

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses grave concern over the recent developments in Congo, South Vietnam and Laos where increasing imperialist intervention is endangering world peace.

In Congo, the Belgian paratroopers and foreign mercenaries, aided by the U.S. and British imperialists, are carrying on military operations against the Congolese patriots in order to buttress the tottering regime of the notorious imperialist stooge, Tshombe.

The smokescreen of "saving

rich mineral wealth of this country. But the popular liberation forces have continued to grow in strength and already the patriotic army has liberated a large part of the country's territory. Hence this open intervention.

This armed intervention has been rightly condemned as an act of aggression by the governments and peoples of resurgent Africa and 22 African nations have sought to have the Security Council on it.

This act of aggression is all

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Situation At Marmagoa Port

This Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the deteriorating situation in the port of Marmagoa Harbour where the use of Defence of India Rules against the leadership of the Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers' Union and the arrest of hundreds of workers had led to a provocative situation.

The shooting against working class demonstrators in Vasco-da-Gama must be condemned by all democratic forces and an attempt made to meet the demands of the workers so that the situation will not be allowed to go out of hand.

It is obvious that agent provocateurs are being used by concerned interests to create a situation of violence and bloodshed. Already one worker lost his

life because of the police firing on December 20, 1964.

This Congress of the CPI calls upon the Labour Minister, Government of India, to review personally the grave situation in Marmagoa Port and bring about a lasting solution to problems in relation to labour in this troubled port which is affecting the peaceful transport of iron ore and likely to affect the whole iron ore industry of Goa.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its indignation and protest against the continued misuse of the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules by the government for suppressing civil liberties, for arresting and detaining without trial persons belonging to opposition political parties as well as leaders and workers of the democratic mass movements in different states.

A number of Communists continue to be in detention since November 1962 when they had been arrested in the name of national emergency created by Chinese aggression on India's borders.

Subsequently the DIR and the emergency powers have been used recklessly to put down even peaceful and constitutional agitations by the people on burning economic issues like food scarcity and rising prices and workers' struggles for bonus, DA, trade union recognition etc.

Thus 28 leaders and workers of the Maha Gujarat Sangram Samiti are still being held in detention for having organised the "Gujarat Bandh" of August 5, 1964. A large number of arrests under the DIR were carried out on the occasion of the "Bharat Bandh" call of the SSP on September 25 and the peace-

ful general strike in West Bengal on the same day. Earlier, during the all-India food satyagraha organised by the Communist Party of India in August, the DIR was used in several states to arrest and prosecute peaceful satyagrahis, some of whom are kept in detention even today.

Nine workers of the Heavy Electricals Plant in Bhopal are still being detained in jail after the workers' struggle for Trade Union recognition was suppressed. The DIR was even used to arrest and prosecute prominent journalists of opposition papers in Kerala.

In Orissa when the police ran amuck in the name of "putting down student violence", people of all political parties were indiscriminately arrested and all civil liberties suppressed by recourse to the DIR.

MISUSE OF DIR AND EMERGENCY POWERS

emergency powers and the DIR.

Large scale arrests were made in Calcutta on October 30 and 31 of Left Communists of West Bengal. Such arrests are continuing, even though the government has still offered no explanation for these sudden arrests and has adduced no evidence to justify the continued detention of these persons without trial.

Recently a number of Communist leaders of Maharashtra who led the food struggles have been detained under the DIR—besides one in Thand district for leading a strike struggle.

In Goa, the government has time and again used the DIR to suppress legitimate trade union activities and detained trade union leaders as well as worker militants. On November 15, the government again

the leaders of the AITUC unions together with over 150 workers who continue to be in detention.

The latest example of the Congress government's misuse of these powers for purely political purposes is the large-scale country-wide arrests made of workers and leaders of the Republican Party, India in an effort to suppress the peaceful satyagraha movement launched by that party for the rights of the Scheduled Castes and of the landless in general.

The Congress government's actions continue to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the sweeping powers assumed by it two years ago in the name of national defence against external aggression are now more and more being shamelessly used as a weapon against its political opponents, to suppress civil liberties and the democratic mass movements of the

common people for their urgent legitimate demands and against the anti-people policies of the ruling classes. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI emphatically protests against all these lawless arrests and detentions and demands immediate release of all the persons involved therein.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that in the changed conditions of today the proclamation of "national emergency" should be forthwith withdrawn and the Defence of India Act and Rules revoked without delay.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI appeals to all democratic parties, groups and individuals, to all mass organisations, to all those who cherish democracy and civil liberties to join together and launch a mighty united campaign for the above.

SOLIDARITY WITH CUBAN PEOPLE

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India emphatically condemns the provocations and subversive activities constantly being organised by the American Imperialists and their Latin American stooges against the great Cuban Republic, the beacon of freedom and socialism in that continent.

By their policies of economic blockades of direct armed aggression, the imperialists and their satellites are threatening not only the hard-won freedom of the heroic Cuban people, but also the great movement which is being carried on today by the peoples of Latin America for national freedom, democracy and socialism.

The provocations of the American imperialists and their Latin American satellites against the Cuban Republic are a constant danger to world peace.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI pledges its full solidarity with the heroic people of Cuba, with its United Party of Socialist Revolution and its leader and national hero Fidel Castro. The Congress resolves that the Party will continue its campaign for the defeat of the forces of imperialist aggression against Cuba and for support and solidarity with the great Cuban people.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its emphatic protest and condemnation against the brutal repression being resorted to by the reactionary regimes of many Latin American countries as well as by the Fascist dictatorship in Spain and Portugal to stop the rising wave of working class and mass struggles which are advancing in those countries against the forces of reaction and tyranny.

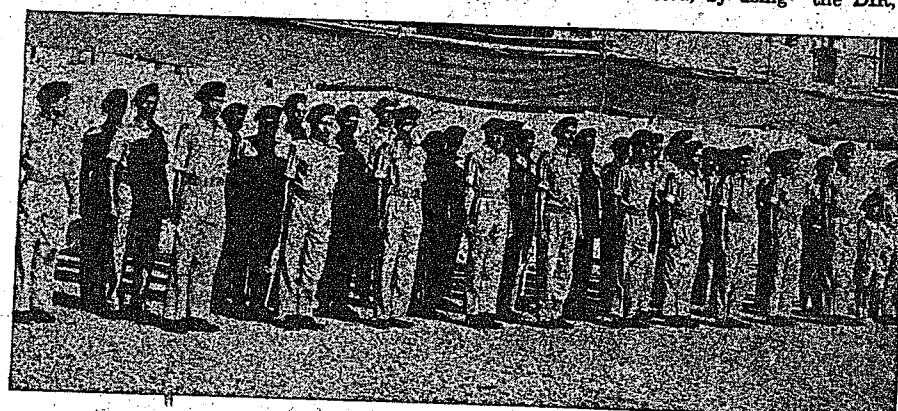
Thousands of heroic victims are languishing inside the prisons of these lands, condemned to torture and years of long imprisonment.

This Congress protests against and condemns the incarceration of Sandoval by the Fascist reaction in Spain; of Jesus Farias, Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, of Pompeyo Marquez in Venezuela; of Ivan Ribero, Mario Alves and A. Pereira in Brazil; of Pedro Saad in Ecuador; of Antonio Mat-dana in Paraguay; together with hundreds of other Communists as well as democrats and progressives of all parties and walks of life who symbolise the unshakable will of their peoples for national freedom and social progress.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its full solidarity with and joins the world campaign for securing the freedom of these heroes and the restoration of democratic rights in their countries.

CPI VII CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

PAGE FIVE



Red Volunteers line up for a Guard of Honour at Ajoy Ghosh Nagar, Bombay



STRUGGLE OF DOCTORS AND MEDICAL INTERNS

The Communist Party of India is surprised to find that while on the one hand the ruling Congress Party propagates that it aims at improving the health services of the people, at the same time it fails to give fair wages to doctors and necessary facilities and remuneration to medical interns, housemen and other cadres.

The behaviour of the Congress ministries in various states has forced the doctors, interns and other cadres to resort to strikes as they, like other sections of the salaried workers, are hit by rising prices. These strikes were forced on the medical services by the arrogant and unsympathetic behaviour of the Congress government, local authorities and others concerned and have spread to many states.

The Seventh Congress of

the CPI takes serious note of the behaviour of the Union Health Minister towards the Delhi strike and that of Minister Shantilal Shah, of Maharashtra towards the doctors in Bombay and other centres in Maharashtra. Mr. Shah is particularly known for his anti-working class attitude and the demand for his dismissal from the Ministry put forward by people is fully justified.

The Party Congress gives its full support to the de-

mands and actions of the doctors, interns, etc. The trade unions, the workers and all toiling people throughout the country should launch sympathetic action in support of the demands of the doctors.

Though the strike in the medical services causes great inconvenience to the patients, the people should bear it with fortitude, as only a contented medical service can serve the people's health efficiently. The Party Congress supports the justified demands of the doctors, interns and all hospital and dispensary cadres and demands that the Congress Ministries and authorities concerned meet them quickly and satisfactorily in all the states in India.

DECEMBER 27, 1964

NEW AGE

DECEMBER 27, 1964



Folk Artists Give a Performance at December 20 Mass Rally

PAGE FOUR

NEW AGE

INDIA AND THE ATOM BOMB

The Moscow Test Ban Treaty registered a significant advance for the forces of world peace and opened up new possibilities for advancing towards the complete stoppage of all tests of nuclear weapons and for their banning and destruction. The explosion of an atom bomb by the government of the People's Republic of China in the face of world opinion has damaged these prospects.

It has encouraged the US imperialists to press ahead with their plans for a NATO multilateral nuclear force, which would put atomic weapons in the hands of the West German neo-Nazis. In our country it has encouraged the Right reactionary forces who have launched an offensive calling on the one hand, for India also to go in for making her own atom bombs and on the other, to appeal to the Western imperialist powers to 'take over India's defence through a so-called "nuclear umbrella".'

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India appeals to the people of India to rally in their millions to defend India against this new reactionary campaign. The making of atomic weapons would not only place further crippling burdens on our national economy but would also weaken India's role in the preservation and consolidation of world peace. The so-called "nuclear umbrella" would mean the virtual handing over of the defence of our country to the imperialists.

It is significant that the Swatantra spokesman in Parliament said that since India would find it difficult to make an atomic bomb quickly it should ask for a nuclear "shield".

The Seventh Congress of the CPI notes with satisfaction the declarations of the Government of India that it would not change its policy in this regard and would not go in for either the making

of atomic bombs or any nuclear shield. It welcomes the policy statement on this issue made by Prime Minister Shastri at the recent World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held at New Delhi.

This stand has added to India's stature and won the acclaim of peace-lovers throughout the world. On this basis, the now well-known New Delhi Appeal was adopted, which is helping to rally millions in all countries in common action against the nuclear menace and for complete general disarmament.

The Seventh Congress regrets to note however that in his speeches in the Lok Sabha and his statements in London, Prime Minister Shastri has shown a certain weakness and made certain proposals which would bring in the imperialist "nuclear shield" through the backdoor. It draws the attention of the people of India to these vacillations and calls upon them to exercise their vigilance and to see to it that the Government of India stand firm on the wise national policy of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes and not to deviate from it.

Despite the Prime Minister's reported explanations on his return from London that his proposal for a "guarantee" from the nuclear powers is not a demand for an imperialist nuclear "shield", the reaction of the British and US governments to the Shastri proposal clearly shows that the pro-

posal is fraught with the greatest danger.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that the Prime Minister clearly and categorically repudiate the so-called nuclear shield proposal without further delay.

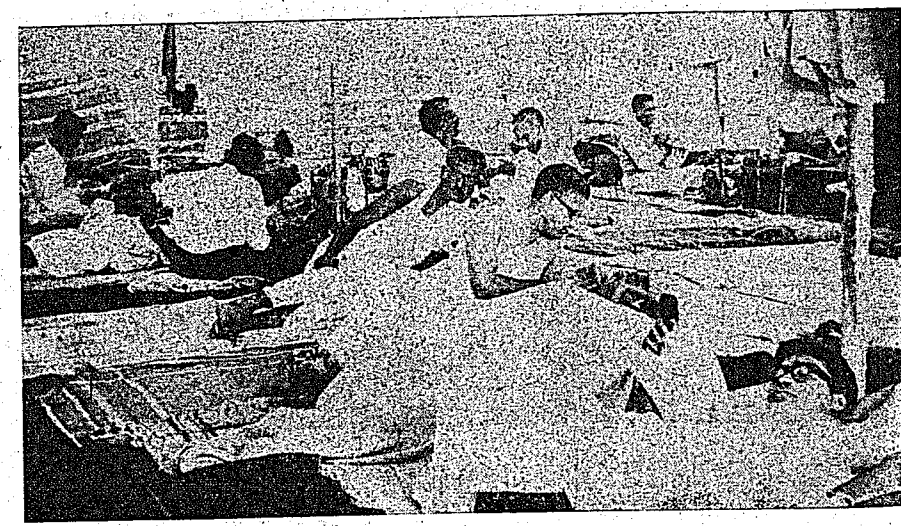
The Seventh Congress of the CPI urges the Government of India to display still greater initiative in the matter of rousing world public opinion and acting in concert with other peace-loving states to prevent the further proliferation of atomic weapons, to bring about nuclear-free zones in Asia, Africa and Europe and to move rapidly towards the destruction of all nuclear stockpiles and the complete banning of nuclear weapons.

Such an active policy for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and for complete and general disarmament alone can be an effective defence of our country against nuclear threats from which ever quarter they may emanate.

of such solidarity the Government of India should grant all necessary facilities to the patriotic organisations of these colonies; their provisional governments to open their offices in India's capital.

There can be no doubt that the people of India will in the coming days demonstrate in even mightier ways their feeling of brotherhood with these intrepid fighters.

CPI VII CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS



Views of the dormitory and dining hall (below) at Ajoy Ghosh Nagar



NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA VII CONGRESS ZINDABAD!

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India extends its support to the fighting people of Southern Rhodesia when the white supremacists are going all out to establish their dictatorial racist rule under the cover of so-called "independence".

THEY have been encouraged in this attitude by the UK imperialists.

It was a national shame, therefore, that at the recent Commonwealth Conference T. T. Krishnamachari should have more or less supported this attitude and declared that India's approach more or less coincided with it.

The Government of India should have long ago publicly repudiated him and brought its policy in line with the fraternal solidarity felt by the people of India for their African brothers in Southern Rhodesia.

It must, at once, bring all possible pressure to bear on the UK government to immediately agree to the demand of the leaders of Southern Rhodesia to hold elections on the basis of one person one vote as the way forward to genuine independence.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings to the brave fighters for freedom in the Portuguese colonies.

THESE patriots are greatly encouraged by India's support and by the liberation of Goa.

As a further manifestation of such solidarity the Government of India should grant all necessary facilities to the patriotic organisations of these colonies; their provisional governments to open their offices in India's capital.

There can be no doubt that the people of India will in the coming days demonstrate in even mightier ways their feeling of brotherhood with these intrepid fighters.



Speakers on Draft Programme of CPI: Left to right are Narayan Desai, G. Adhikari, F. T. Punose, Avtar Singh Malhotra and Indrajit Gupta

FOR UNITY OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

S. G. Sardesai Explains CPI Stand On Ideological Differences

BOMBAY: Introducing the resolution on Ideological Controversies and the Unity of the International Communist Movement before the Seventh Congress of the CPI, S. G. Sardesai reiterated the firm stand of the CPI behind the general line of international Communist movement, the Moscow Declaration and the 51 Parties' Statement, against dogmatist distortions and violations, against revisionist departures.

SARDESAI pointed out that the question of dogmatist deviations and distortions, on which the Party had to focus attention in recent times, is not a doctrinaire or abstract question. Following are extracts from his speech:

It is a serious ideological issue because extremely harmful practices, disruption, adventurist and chauvinistic policies, have expressed themselves consciously or unconsciously, under the garb of the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism, which confuses a number of good comrades. The policies pertain to practical international questions, as also to issues in our own country, including our own, as we have learnt through costly experience.

The defence of peace, the unity of the socialist countries and their solidarity with the struggle for national liberation and the newly independent countries, the unity of the international Communist and trade union movement, the unity of international democratic organisations, the unity and striking power of mass organisations and struggles in our own country—all call for a principled, patient and thoughtful struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The unity of the international Communist movement, especially of the socialist countries, is a vital necessity for the fight against imperialism and the vicarious world socialism. Imperialism and reaction are bent upon

dragging India into the imperialist military network in the name of defence.

We have consistently stood and campaigned for every possible effort to bring about a peaceful and honourable settlement of the border dispute. We have defended the masses from the profiteers and the government attempting to pass on the burdens of defence to the common people.



S. G. Sardesai

In the sphere of mass struggles we have taken careful note of the consciousness and rising temper of the people, combined working-class strikes with traditional forms of the national movement, and linked the immediate demand of the people with basic democratic demands, in our effort to build the broadest national democratic front. The ideological struggle within the Party was combined with efforts to isolate hardened disruptionists and to win over and unify the largest number of Party members and the people.....

Comrades, a very valuable section of the 81 Parties' State-

ment, particularly for us, deals with the new perspectives before the national liberation movement and the newly independent, and underdeveloped countries. I refer to the section dealing with the non-capitalist path of development and National Democracy.

Historical and socio-economic conditions in the countries covered by this perspective are far from being identical, and they are spread over the vast continents of Asia, Africa, and South America.

As such, the Moscow Statement was conscious that the struggle for national independence and social liberation before laying the firm basis of the road to socialism. Hence a broad line of economic and political development was indicated.

However, with all their differences these countries have suffered for centuries from imperialist domination and exploitation, as also from semi-feudal or other archaic modes of production and exploitation. Basic industries have been lacking, even in those countries where a considerable capitalist development has taken place.

They face the task of achieving national independence or having achieved it, of social liberation and building a modern, prosperous economy and raising extremely low living standards to reasonable human standards.

Under the conditions of the new epoch, with the shift in the world balance of forces, aided by the socialist countries in strengthening their economy and defence, the Moscow Statement placed before such countries the perspective of the non-capitalist path of development and national democracy.

During the last few years, this perspective is being vindicated even more richly and in more diversified forms than what could be visualised at the time of the Moscow Statement.....

Comrades, the path of re-forging the unity of the international Communist movement is difficult and raises a number of

questions. The entire movement and our own Party are vitally interested in it, and hence our resolution puts forward a few suggestions. Naturally, in doing this, we realise our own limitations and the need for caution.

First is the question of ending open polemics as between brother Parties. We have always avoided this, excepting with the Chinese Communist Party, and that when it left no alternative for us because of its open interference in the affairs of our country, ending in the armed attack, and its public call for the splitting of our Party. We believe that normally differences between brother Parties have to be resolved through bilateral and multilateral talks as laid down by the Moscow Statement.

But if and when a Party clearly violates the common international line, or attacks another Party, the open expression of differences becomes unavoidable and necessary. This should be conducted in a principled and reasonable manner, considering that the ultimate goal is re-unification and not the exacerbation of differences. Efforts to seek common ground on issues relating to peace, and anti-imperialist and anti-colonial issues have to continue.

But this does not exhaust the question. The international Communist movement now functions under circumstances vastly different from those in which norms of inter-Party relations were built in our earlier years. The responsibilities of Communist Parties in relation to their specific tasks have grown and become far more complicated.

That the unity and discipline of the international Communist movement against imperialism and reaction must be guarded, must remain beyond dispute. At the same time, such unity has now to be based on the recognition, not only in theory but in practice, of the full freedom of each Party to work out its policies

* ON PAGE 20

Participants in the Debate on the Draft Programme of the Communist Party of India at the Seventh Congress. From left to right, Chandrasekhar Singh, B. V. Kakkilaya, Kalishankar Shukla, Bhogendra Jha and Ranen Sen



DECEMBER 27, 1964

NEW AGE

PAGE SEVEN

PRICE RISE AND FOOD CRISIS

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India notes with grave concern the immensity of the food crisis through which the whole country has passed in the outgoing year. The crisis still continues. It is accompanied by the galloping rise in the prices of all commodities, has hit the common people very hard and has also stood in the way of the fulfilment of the Plan targets and involved the Plan itself into a crisis. The anti-people character of the government's food and prices policy was never so exposed as now.

THE bankruptcy of the theories, advanced by various spokesmen of the ruling party, and particularly by Big Business, from time to time, that prices of all commodities are rising and food is scarce only because production is lagging behind consumers' demand, has now become evident to everybody. Even the government has at last been forced to admit that an artificial crisis has been created by hoarders and profiteers, though Big Business circles continue to harp the same tune as before.

It is now clear beyond doubt that the capitalist monopoly combines, with the tremendous concentration of economic power, speculators and the big landholders together have conspired to produce this crisis by hoarding one commodity after another in order to extort the people by frustrating all controls. Black money, which finances the blackmarket, is nothing but the super profits of the monopoly combines, speculators and big landholders.

The policy pursued by the ruling party has been strengthening these parasitic elements by enriching them under the guise of encouraging private initiative for more production. But the reality is that even production is hampered because capital resources continuously flow into the blackmarket and expand the volume of black money through the monopoly combines and other parasitic elements in society.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI emphatically declares that in order to bring the price level down and stabilise the same, banks and wholesale trade in agricultural goods must be nationalised, by fixing reasonable fair prices for consumers and producers; speculation and

forward markets must be abolished.

In order to alleviate the food crisis, statutory rationing must be introduced in all towns and deficit states like Kerala and Gujarat and fair price shops opened in all rural areas.

In order to step up agricultural production, concentration of land in a few hands must be broken by imposing real ceilings and distributing surplus land thus available as well as government fallow land to poor peasants and agricultural labourers, in cooperation with representative peasant committees.

Extension of small and medium irrigation works, distribution of fertilisers to the peasants and flood-prevention measures must be extended and carried out on a scale vaster than ever before.

This Congress notes that government's decision to set up the State Trading Corporation for Foodgrains is an indirect admission of the bankruptcy of their policy of controls without the guarantee of supply, but regrets that neither nationalisation of banks nor the nationalisation of wholesale foodgrain trade have yet been accepted by the government.

The worst phase of the crisis in Kerala and Gujarat has completely proved that measures so far adopted by the government to combat hoarders and profiteers and to supply foodgrains to the people are not at all capable to cope with the situation.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that people's resistance against hoarders, profiteers and the government's food policy is growing in all parts of the country, that the cooperative consumers' stores movement is spreading in the towns and that every popular democratic party and even many people inside the Congress are

becoming more and more vocal for a change of government's policy.

The barren and bankrupt policy of the government has been condemned in innumerable mass rallies, processions and satyagrahas organised by the Communist Party.

But the crisis has reached a stage when the movement must be raised to a higher level, with its two facets, namely militant mass struggles against the hoarders and the government as well as organisation of cooperative consumers' stores in all the localities; militant mass movement for changing government's policy must now be developed into countrywide satyagraha culminating in BHARAT BANDH.

This Congress calls upon all Party units and Party members to throw their entire weight into this great movement against high prices and for people's food.

All parties and patriotic people including Congressmen and Congress Committees wherever possible must be approached in a fraternal spirit to build up a united mass movement.

This Congress calls upon all the people, irrespective of political affiliation to join this sacred struggle in one form or another.

CONGO, S. VIETNAM AND LAOS

* FROM PAGE 4

the more condemnable since it comes at a time when the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) had set up a special committee under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta to help solve the Congo problem in a peaceful manner.

The US-British-Belgian action is thus a flagrant attack not only on the Congo but on the entire African peoples.

The Congress appeals to the Indian people to express their solidarity with the people of Congo and to raise their voice of protest and indignation against this heinous crime against the free-



S. A. Dange winds up discussion on Draft Programme

MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the efforts of the imperialist powers to create a NATO multilateral nuclear force which would place nuclear weapons in the hands of the West German revanchists.

THIS Congress is of the opinion that the creation of the multilateral nuclear force as designed by the American imperialists would lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons, acceleration of the arms race and heightening of international tension and war danger.

The bellicose strategy of the West German revanchists and militarists who hope to "re-unite" Germany by "marching to the East" would receive great fillip by means of nuclear weapons being placed

in the hands of ex-Nazi Generals who man top posts in the NATO.

The creation of the MLF therefore means accentuation of the arms race and the threat of world war. That is why it is opposed by all peace-loving peoples and governments all over the world.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI expresses its strongest condemnation of the MLF plan and joins world popular and peace forces in demanding that it be given up.

demnation of their aggressive action in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Now the Pentagon is busy drawing up plans of resort to military action in North Vietnam and Laos. This will not only be an attack on the two countries concerned but also a flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreement and a serious threat to world peace.

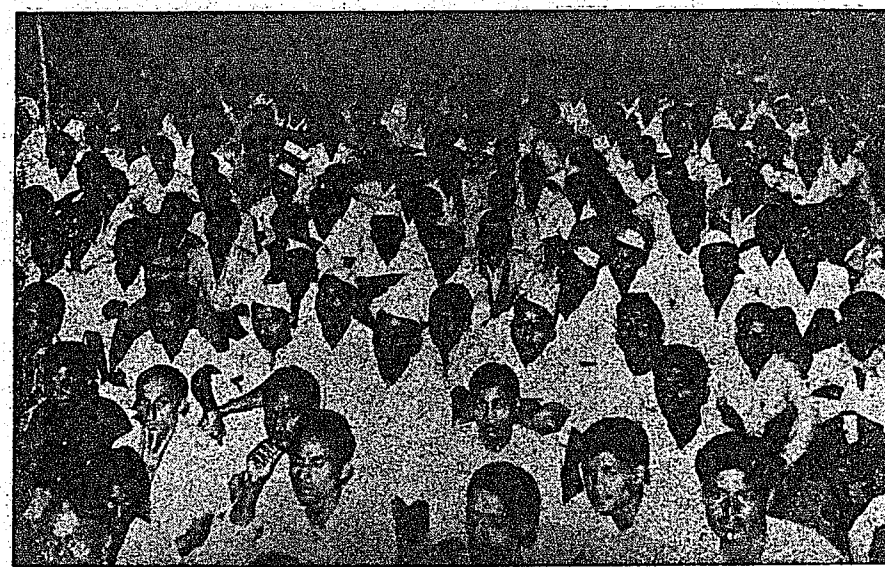
The hands of the US incendiaries can and must be stayed.

India has a special responsibility in the matter, being the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission for South Vietnam and must see that the Geneva Agreement is observed.

The Congress is of the considered opinion that this responsibility has not been discharged. On the contrary, the Indian representative on the Supervisory Commission has turned a blind eye to the bringing in of US arms and personnel and the open aggression by the US imperialists against the people.

The Indian people must see that this shameful attitude of the Government of India is ended.

The Congress appeals to the Indian people to raise their voice of protest and condemnation of the increasing US aggression in South East Asia and calls upon the Government of India to act up to the firm anti-colonialist stand of the CPI Declaration and demand that US imperialist intervention in South Vietnam and Laos be stopped and all US military personnel be withdrawn.



A view of December 20 Mass Rally at Shivaji Park

Recognition of GDR

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India deplores the continued diplomatic non-recognition by the Government of India of the German Democratic Republic and considers this to be a serious infringement of the accepted national policy of nonalignment.

IN recent years, trade relations between India and the GDR have increased considerably. A number of commercial agreements have been entered into by which India has accepted valuable technical and scientific assistance from the GDR in the field of industrial development.

Cultural contacts between the two countries have multiplied. A growing number of Indian students have been awarded scholarships and other facilities for specialised educational courses in the GDR.

Despite all these welcome developments, which amount to a clear de facto recognition of the existence of the GDR, the Government of India still refuses to establish full diplomatic relations with the GDR on a state level.

At the same time, India officially recognises the West German government, thereby making an arbitrary discrimination

machinery plants in this country on terms extremely favourable to India.

All this makes a mockery of the Government of India's repeated assurances of accepting aid only "without strings".

This Congress protests against the Government of India's arbitrary attitude towards the GDR which has consistently proved itself to be a genuine and disinterested friend of India and a consistent champion of India's national interests in the councils of the world.

This Congress demands that the Government of India give up its present weak and vacillating policy under the pressure of West German neo-colonialist rulers and extend full diplomatic recognition to the GDR without delay.

This will not only be consistent with India's declared aims of nonalignment and friendship with all friendly nations, but will also contribute towards strengthening the forces which are working for the peaceful re-unification of Germany and, thereby, for consolidation of peace in Europe and the world.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE GREETS CPI VII CONGRESS

Martti Malmberg, CP Finland

We thank you heartily for your kind invitation to our Communist Party of Finland to send its representatives to your Seventh Congress. As a Marxist-Leninist Party, we have always tried to develop close relations with our fraternal Parties in order to strengthen the international solidarity of the Communist and Workers Parties and also in order to learn from the experience of the fraternal Parties and thus to improve our own work.

THE participation in your Congress is a memorable event in the history of the workers' movement in our country because, for the first time, representatives of a Party of the working class from Finland are visiting your ancient and beautiful country.

Thus I have the pleasant opportunity to personally convey the greetings of the Communist Party of Finland and of all democratic forces in our country to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

To us, Finns, India and its

people have been a country of distant legends and wonders. Only after the second world war, India became better known to our people who, through the Finnish papers, had the opportunity to follow the heroic struggle of the people of India and the Communist Party against domestic and foreign reaction.

For your aspirations to form a National Democratic Front to speed up the development of your country the non-capitalist path, the unity of your Party and the strength of its Marxist-Leninist ideology naturally is of decisive importance....

We are aware of the present difficulties in your Party but we are convinced that the Communist Party of India in the nearest future, on the basis of the Programme to be accepted at this Congress, again will assemble all Communists in its ranks and give a still stronger contribution to the struggle for unity of the world Communist movement in accordance with the main principles outlined in the documents of the international Conferences of 1957 and 1960.

As the latter of these was held already more than four years ago and there are phenomena in the actual world situation and in the international Communist movement which inevitably call for new consultations between the Parties, our Central Committee and also our

REPRESSION IN TRIPURA

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with deep concern the widespread repression of Communist Party workers and hundreds of ordinary peasants, specially in tribal areas, in Tripura state.

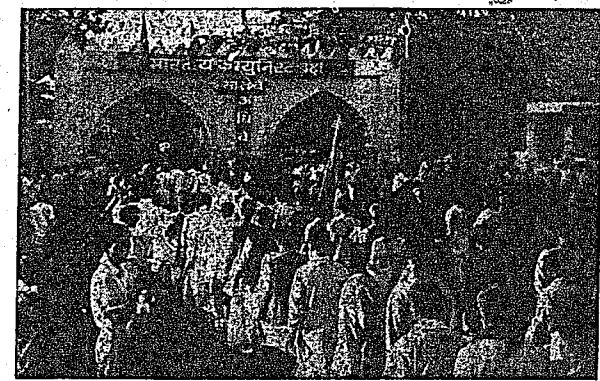
LARGESCALE evictions are taking place from land which the peasants were cultivating for a long time and in the majority of cases the persons thus evicted belong to the tribal community. Evictions are taking place even from areas which were held to be protected for tribals in the time of the Maharajah.

Although many of those detained were recently released, hundreds of cases are still pending in the courts, and even today fresh harassments are constantly taking place.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI demands that these vindictive harassments be stopped, all cases be withdrawn, those detained be forthwith released and the lands of those evicted be restored.

This Congress assures the people of Tripura of their solidarity and support in their brave struggle for protecting and furthering the interests of their people.

It calls upon the Indian people to protest against this repression, to demand that full civil liberties be immediately restored and to support the rightful struggle of the people of Tripura for land to the peasants, for protection of the interests of the tribals, for industrialisation of the state and for the betterment of the life of the entire people.



Workers come for December 20 Rally



membership have declared themselves in favour of a new conference.

We are confident that it will help our common activity for accomplishing our common goals.

The greatest question of our time, on which the contribution of all Communists is needed, is the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Our people had the honour to organise in 1955 the World Peace Assembly in Helsinki and we will have a similar



CPSU delegation leader Ponomarev presents a bust of Lenin to the Presidium of the CPI Seventh Congress

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Khalid Bagdash, CP Syria

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party is certain that it is expressing the feelings not only of the thousands of Syrian communists and their friends and sympathisers but also the feelings of the masses of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals as well as of all patriots and progressive people in the Syrian Arab Republic.

It presents to your Seventh Congress and through it to the working class and to the great Indian people its warmest greetings and best wishes for success and victory in your great and difficult struggle to lead the Indian people in the fight against legacies of colonialism and feudalism and for transforming India into an advanced and flourishing socialist state.

Your Congress is being convened in the extraordinary conditions of political life in India. The imperialist and reactionary forces are doing everything in their power to force India to give up the policy of non-alignment, to drag India into military imperialist blocs, to create permanent tension in this area. Your Congress will undoubtedly contribute greatly to the consolidation of peace and peaceful co-existence, to the strengthening of political and economic independence and to the maintenance of the freedom of the people.

The struggle of your Party for economic and cultural demands of the people, the demonstrations against hunger and the raising of prices as well as your regular activity in defending the rights of the working class and peasantry have found response in the whole world as well as in our Arab countries.

The reactionaries and adventurists spare no effort, in the interests of the imperialists, the enemies of communism and progress, the enemies of the radical demands of the people of India, to undermine the unity of the Communist Party of India.

We are confident that good will triumph and that the unity of the Communist Party of India will not only be maintained but will be strengthened. No doubt the Programme to be adopted by the Congress will contribute to the realization and strengthening of unity.

The efforts of the Communist Party of India to organise an extensive national democratic front which would lead the country to the non-capitalist road of development and then to a gradual transition to socialism



implementation of these progressive laws, the absence of effective participation by the popular masses, the absence of a national progressive government basing itself on a national progressive front—these are the causes of the present political and economic difficulties facing the country today.

We are witnessing at present an actual decrease in all production and a stagnation in the national economy. Unemployment is widespread and martial law has been in operation until now. Democratic and trade union liberties and the freedom of the press are all suppressed. Political strikes are banned. A number of reactionary imperialist agents who were serving prison terms have been set free recently whereas the repression against communists and socialists and all other progressive patriots and nationalists continue in full measure.

But in spite of all this, the Syrian Communists together with all other progressives are continuing their fight.

Our party is developing its efforts for the formation of a broad front which will reflect all progressive and new social views within the Arab national movement, a front which will include all the forces for socialism without distinction, who will fight for the formation of a national progressive democratic government, which will ensure progress and advance for the country—a government which will implement and execute all the progressive reforms effectively and will take the country along the non-capitalist path for creating the necessary prerequisites for advancing the country towards socialism...

But the absence of effective

Comrades, the situation in Syria is ripe for taking the path of non-capitalist development. Soon after the winning of national independence, the Syrian people could, in their fight in the changed circumstances, impose the nationalisation of all the major industries, banks, electricity, transport etc., as well as the big industrial concerns like the big textile industry and to compel the government to introduce agrarian reforms.

In this way, in Syria all the major economic strongholds of imperialism were brought to an end and the remnants of feudalism and the base of the big bourgeoisie undermined.

Our Party always nourished great admiration for the fight for independence by the Indian people, and it always recognised the important role played by the Communist Party of India in this fight.

It is the merit of your Party that it linked the national independence struggle of the Indian people with the struggle for social rights of the working people in the towns and in the countryside. Your Party carried the ideas of peace and social progress, sacred to all of us, deeply into the Indian people, and in numerous great struggles and mass actions it proved its being inseparably linked with the masses of the Indian people.

We shall forever be grateful to the Communist Party of India for having always stood up for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the first German socialist state.

Permit me, therefore, to assure you that our Party will leave no stone unturned in order to preserve and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers' movement. For we regard this to be the best guarantee for preventing our common enemy, imperialism, from touching off a new world war, and



Fraternal Delegates greet the mass rally at Shicaji Park on December 20 in connection with the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India



Horst Sindermann, SED Germany

It is a matter of sincere joy to us that we got the opportunity to participate in the VII Congress of your Party and to convey fraternal greetings of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to you.

Our fraternal relations, based on the spirit of socialist internationalism, reflect one of mankind's most noble feelings, namely the feeling of being united for the sake of a great common cause, in spite of belonging to different nationalities and of having different historical background, the feeling of being united for the sake of the common cause of peace, social progress, and respect of human dignity. It has been, but scientific socialism, it has been, but magnificent ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, that could bring about this historic achievement.

Permit me, therefore, to assure you that our Party will leave no stone unturned in order to preserve and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers' movement. For we regard this to be the best guarantee for preventing our common enemy, imperialism, from touching off a new world war, and

for fulfilling the longing of the peoples for peace.

Quite naturally, the international working class and its Parties are facing new problems time and again, because they march forward while struggling, because the world changes, thanks to the influence of socialism, because new experiences enrich the knowledge and the science of the working class.

Our Party therefore, deems it necessary jointly to discuss the newly matured problems of the struggle for peace and national independence, democracy and socialism, and to make use of the creative work of each Party for our common cause. It is not dead-letter knowledge and patronage that characterises Marxism-Leninism, but it is the creative spiritual and practical activities of the world family of Communists, numbering scores of millions by now, that enrich mankind's treasury of sciences and change the life of the peoples towards progress....

Dear comrades, Germany is divided, and today there are two German states existing. The German extremists

GREET CPI VII CONGRESS

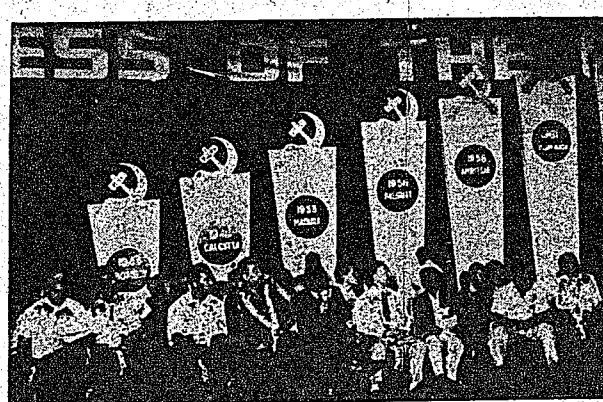
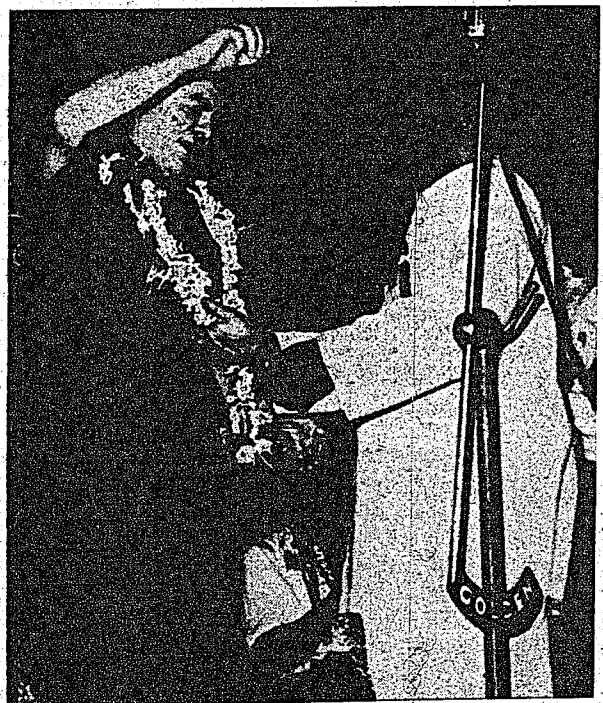
Pieter Keuneman, CP Ceylon

The delegation of the Ceylon Communist Party is most happy to convey the fraternal greetings and warm good wishes of our Central Committee and all our members to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India.

THROUGH you, comrade delegates, we greet most heartily all Indian Communists and all the peace-loving and progressive forces of your great and ancient country.

Ceylon and India are not only neighbours but also good friends. The cultural and other friendly ties between our two peoples go back over 20 centuries. In more recent times, these ties were strengthened still more in our common struggles for national liberation from common imperialist rulers. We both won political independence more or less simultaneously.

Today, as free peoples, we face common tasks of national renaissance. We have to consolidate our political independence, liquidate the abominable heritage of the colonial past, win economic independence, build a strong and viable national economy, radically improve the material and cultural levels of the mass of the people, extend



Fraternal Delegates seated on the dais at the Mass Rally on December 20

democracy, and ensure a steady advance to socialism along a path of non-capitalist development....

In the period to and after its Sixth Congress, the Communist Party of India had led and stood in the thick of all the mass struggles of the Indian people for their vital interests. It gave new and vivid proofs of its revolutionary patriotism and dedicated self-sacrifice. As a result, it became the second largest and the second most influential Party in India: its prestige and authority in the international Communist movement increased.

It is a great crime against the Indian people and a great blow against the revolutionary movement in Asia that your Party should have been subjected to a wanton and unprincipled attempt to discredit and split it, just when it was on the high road to ever new successes.

Comrades, it is a great pleasure for our delegation to attend the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of India. There is no doubt that this Congress is an important event in the life of your Party and in the international Communist movement as well. The presence of so many delegations from fraternal Parties and the messages you have received from others is striking proof of this.

Since 1956, we have had many experiences in Ceylon

We bring the cordial, fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of Uruguay and the working class and people of our country, to the working class, the people of India and the Communist Party, which represents the sacred aspirations for peace, well-being, democracy and happiness of your people....

WE are here in your historic Congress, despite the long distance between our countries, because of the inviolable bonds which unite us on the basis of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the common struggle against imperialism which is the sworn enemy of our people's progress and independence....

The Communist Party of Uruguay, basing itself on its

rich experience of 44 years of struggle, understands that it is its duty to fight actively in the defence of the unity of the Communist movement and for a common programme elaborated by the conferences of 1957 and 1960.

In order to achieve this unity, we have declared ourselves in favour of a new meeting of the Parties and for the cessation of open polemics which would improve the situation so that the discussion may be conducted in a principled, fraternal way.

We think the unity of the world scale should be based on the unity of each Party on the national scale first, and we therefore condemn the splitting activities and other anti-unity efforts. We must remember that the working class in its struggle against capitalism has no better weapon than the unity of its organisation....

We have studied with care your Draft Programme and other Congress documents and followed the discussions both prior to and at this Congress with attention. We have found much in them which accords with our own experience in Ceylon and learnt many things that will be useful to our struggle.

All friends of India and its people are naturally alarmed at certain recent developments in your country, especially at the way in which the forces of right-wing reaction, aided by your own monopoly capitalists and by foreign imperialists, have raised their heads and seek to pressurise the Government of India to retreat from policies which won your country and people such respect and renown among all fighters for peace and against imperialism.

In this situation, the splendid mass initiatives of your Party for peace and in defence of the peoples' interests are most heartening. The seriousness and confidence with which this Congress is discussing its perspectives for future work, despite all the difficulties you have had to face is proof of the strength and vitality of your Party and its ability to lead the people of India to defeat reaction, ensure a bright future for your people, and guarantee that India will always stand resolutely alongside those who fight for peace, national liberation and social progress throughout the world.

Since 1956, we have had many experiences in Ceylon

The manipulated defeat of Mrs. Srimavo Bandarnaike's government by one vote in Parliament on December 4, 1964 is the latest of these reactionary conspiracies.

The aim of this, as of the earlier reactionary conspiracies was to undermine the peaceful and non-aligned policy of the government in world affairs, to prevent further nationalisation and restriction of foreign monopolies

and big capitalists which are represented in the Government of the Republic.

In these battles, we have won many important victories in the economic, social and political field in the interest of the working class and we have thus weakened some of the most reactionary aspects of the policies of the ruling classes. We have saved democratic and trade union rights, secular education, and university autonomy, etc....

Our Party is confident that the future years would witness a continuation of this process on a higher plane. Our estimation is that Latin America when it has been moved and shaken to its foundations by the Cuban Revolution, when the American imperialists can no longer contain the liberation struggle of our people and are acting in desperation, instigating the ultra right 'gorilla' army officers against our country—like our fraternal peoples of Latin America—we are marching towards the revolutionary definition of our historical destiny.

The fact is that Uruguay demands a radical change in its economic and political structure. This change consists of an agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution in the bosom of our society. Its realisation constitutes an initial step on the path which we should traverse towards the establishment of a socialist regime....

In Uruguay, the last year was characterised by the intensive development of the struggles of the working class, of the agricultural workers, students and urban middle classes against American imperialism and native reaction composed of landlords



of how determinedly foreign imperialism and domestic reaction can combine to thwart progressive development. We have had to experience the assassination of Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandarnaike in 1959 and an abortive military coup d'etat in 1962.

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and big capitalists which are represented in the Government of the Republic.

Following is the full text of the Political Resolution adopted by Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India at its session on December 22:

SINCE the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India held at Vijayawada, big events have passed in rapid succession. Immediately after the Congress, the Party was called upon to implement its political line in the general elections of February 1962. Then followed the Chinese aggression which subjected the democratic movement to a severe ordeal by giving Right Reaction a most favourable opportunity to take the offensive. Before the country could settle down from the stresses and strains of this crisis, communal orgy of a serious dimension had burst out in several states. Finally, the crisis of the capitalist path of development, producing high prices, food scarcity, hoarding, profiteering and ministerial and other corruption of an unparalleled magnitude has overtaken the country.

During this period, the differences inside the Communist Party which had already manifested themselves at the Sixth Congress entered into a new phase of acute tension and bitterness due to the activities of the dogmatic section which adhered to the ideological positions and the "splitting" theory of the Communist Party of China. These activities culminated in this section walking out of the Party and setting up a rival party of its own.

In spite of this tension and split, our Party boldly faced the crisis, championing all along the interests of the country and the masses. The resolution of the National Council in November 1962 for national defence was of historical significance in the life of the Party, laid the basis for fighting back the chauvinist reactionary offensive.

Since then, the Great Petition Campaign and the Delhi March, the four stage workers' struggle, the magnificent *bandhs* in several states and the great all-India food satyagraha raised the democratic movement to a new height on an all-India scale never attained after national independence.

With the political resolution of the Sixth Congress as its guide, the Party has emerged out of the crisis, notwithstanding the split in its ranks, with a stronger bond of unity with the patriotic forces in the country and as a champion of the interests of the broad masses of our people.

WORLD SITUATION

In the midst of these grave difficulties, however, our Party and the country have before them an unusually favourable situation in the international sphere.

The world socialist system forges ahead in economic growth and military prowess, with the Soviet Union in the vanguard engaged in the creation of the material technical basis of communism.

The collapse of colonialism continues, but the battle against colonialism and racialism is still not over and is being waged with ever greater strength in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese colonies, in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Neo-colonialism has become a major threat to the independence of countries. Neo-colonialist designs of the imperialist powers are seen most glaringly in their intervention in Congo and South Vietnam, in the US economic domination of many countries and in the creation of Malaysia.

A number of newly independent states are marching forward along the path of national democracy. The alliance between the socialist world and the newly independent nations has been strengthened.

Afro-Asian solidarity has grown. The non-aligned powers act in greater concert and exert an increasingly positive influence on the international situation.

In the imperialist countries, the anti-monopoly actions of the working class have reached new heights. Inter-imperialist contradictions have sharpened and the most aggressive imperialist circles are getting more and more isolated.

The forces of extreme reaction have received a setback, notably in the defeat of Goldwater in the US presidential elec-

tions. The Tory Party was defeated in the British general elections.

Despite some setbacks as in the Congo, new successes have been won in the world-wide struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence as, for example, the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty.

The main contradiction in the world today, that is, between socialism and capitalism, is increasingly being resolved in favour of socialism. The stage is set for the advance on a world scale and in each country, of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

At such a historic moment, what is the position in India today?

INTERNAL SCENE

During the past four years, the economic development of the country, though on the basis of capitalism, has taken a step forward by fulfilling certain schemes of industrialisation etc. This has strengthened the economic base of our national freedom.

But the policy of capitalist development, pursued by the ruling party, not only heaps misery and burdens upon the people but hampers the very process of full national rebirth. The outcome of the successive five-year Plans has been a meagre growth of national income and even the comparatively low national income target set in the Third Plan is not likely to be reached.

At the same time, the huge taxation targets, mainly regressive indirect taxes, have always been overfulfilled ahead of schedule. The food crisis literally engulfs every aspect of the nation's life and the people's welfare. The inflationary policies of the government have fleeced the common man. Prices rise at a galloping pace and make life unbearable for the overwhelming majority of the people. Unemployment increases.

The people's living conditions have not only failed to improve but even the meagre gains won through unremitting struggle have been considerably wiped off, giving rise to universal unrest among fixed and low income groups. The plague of poverty attacks our toiling people as never before since independence.

People's sufferings due to high prices, food scarcity, high taxation, unemployment and low income have become boundless. Discontent of the masses, irrespective of their political affiliation has grown as never before. Hoarding, profiteering and corruption have reached such unprecedented dimensions that the people have begun to lose faith in the capacity of the government to overcome them.

Monopoly groups have availed of every opportunity to put pressure on the Shastri government to change the character and direction of economic planning and remould it in their own interests, disregarding the interest of the nation as a whole. Yielding to their pressure, Prime Minister Shastri had raised the slogan of pruning new projects of heavy industry in favour of giving priority to agriculture and production of consumer goods.

While it is correct to put emphasis on the latter in view of the present crisis, it is dangerous to slow down the growth of heavy industries without which neither agriculture nor the production of consumer goods can be stepped up in the long run.

From a long term point of view, the contradiction between agriculture and light industries on the one hand and heavy industries on the other is more apparent than real because without our own forge foundries and machine building industries, machinery required for light industries, production of chemical fertilisers, etc., cannot be adequately developed.

REFORMS

For the sake of galvanising agricultural production, progressive land reforms in favour of the toiling peasantry, nationalisation of the wholesale trade in foodgrains in order to give the peasant a fair price and bank nationalisation for increasing the facilities for agricultural credit, are of supreme importance.

The Government of India had at one time flirted with the idea of accepting the Big Business advocacy of a smaller and so-called "realistic" Fourth Plan, but meeting with universal popular opposition, it has now decided to propose an overall fiscal outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores. This according to the planners will gener-

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Adopted by VII Congress of Communist Party of India

rate an overall growth rate of 6.5 per cent per annum.

Even this inadequate growth-rate will not be realised unless its fulfilment is guaranteed by radical reorganisation of the national economy through land reform, nationalisation of banks, state monopoly over wholesale trade in foodgrains and the nationalisation of export import trade. These measures are also imperative in order to hold the price line and step up agricultural production.

The development projects for the new Plan will be faced with the problem of resources. An annual expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores for defence is an additional strain. The extension of the state sector is essential in order to solve the problem of resources for the Fourth Plan. After an increase of indirect taxes from Rs. 980 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 1,580 crores in 1963-64, further increase of tax burdens on the common people will spell disaster for their household economy.

RESOURCES

From the point of view of finding resources, the real alternative to further indirect taxation is to make the state sector the dominant sector, run it efficiently and earn substantial revenue from it without raising the prices of the goods produced therein and to tax appropriately the wealthier sections of society.

In the Fourth Plan there is a proposal to augment the state sector further but it will still not be dominant enough to find resources satisfactorily. Nationalisation of banks is denied. State monopoly of the wholesale foodgrains trade is not accepted, though the formation of the State Food Corporation is a step forward.

Fraternal aid from socialist countries is another helpful source. Acceptance of Soviet aid for the Bokaro project and defence industries is an indication that this source is being increasingly utilised but as yet, it is not being tapped to the full extent available.

During the last few years, the quantum of such aid has grown but the Shastri government is not yet utilising the full opportunities available. For instance, a recent offer of the GDR government to give aid for heavy industry in India has not been accepted, though the

terms offered were favourable, in order not to displease the West German imperialists.

Simultaneously, in the recent period, foreign private monopoly capital has increased its penetration and the Government of India is creating favourable conditions for its further growth, not hesitating to violate its own Industrial Policy Resolution in this regard.

For example, the import of US private capital rose from Rs. 5.57 crores in 1961 to Rs. 11.48 crores in 1962 and Rs. 17.03 crores in 1963. Increased reliance on PL 480 and other forms of Western imperialist 'aid' is a menacing feature of the situation.

Concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a microscopic minority has accentuated, the collaboration between foreign and Indian monopolies has increased, very often at the expense of small industrialists.

Corruption spreads like an evil cancer gnawing at the very roots of our present democracy. "Black money" abounds, tax evasion proceeds apace, speculation and hoarding increase. Thus, the economic base of Right Reaction has been strengthened.

FOREIGN POLICY

In the field of foreign policy, non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and anti-colonialism continue to be the basic approach of the government, having withstood the terrible test of Chinese aggression, which encouraged Right Reaction to go on the rampage against it, though these policies were then weakened.

Friendship with the Soviet Union, closer links with Afro-Asian states and nonaligned powers characterise an important aspect of the government's foreign policy. The adherence to the Cairo Declaration and the refusal to deviate from the policy of using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes are positive features.

It is especially to be noted that in the present period, democratic unity has been reinforced in defence of the nation's foreign policy, with leading Congressmen and government personalities also playing an important role, through mass actions and campaigns as, for example, against the "air-umbrella"

and Voice of America, in which the democratic masses following the Congress also took part.

WEAKNESSES

Nevertheless, serious weaknesses and vacillations have developed, especially in the direction of soft peddling the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, in refusing to energetically protest against the provocative manoeuvres of the US Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean and the open US intervention in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Congo.

India is far from playing the role of pioneer and initiator in the Afro-Asian and nonaligned world and sometimes drags its feet. On Malaysia, the Government of India has taken a stand which only helps the neo-colonial designs of British imperialism. In the Commonwealth Conference, the weak and vacillating stand taken by the representative of the Indian government disappointed the Afro-Asian countries.

National defence has become one of the major problems facing the entire people and the government. This has led to the renewed danger of Anglo-US imperialist pressures and interventions on the pretext of rendering so-called military 'aid' to India.

The Government of India, having embarked on a big defence programme costing Rs. 8 to 9 hundred crores a year, is liable to make serious concessions and compromises on this, as is evidenced, for example, by the facilities given to Anglo-US military officers to inspect our border areas where arms supplied by them are in use and the assurance that these arms would not be used against any aggressor other than China.

The Government of India's defence policy, however, remains basically non-aligned. It has rejected the idea of defence pacts with the imperialists and refused to permit foreign bases on Indian soil. It has sought to develop the country's independent defence potential by seeking assistance from socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, as well as from the western powers.

Outstanding in this connection is the MIG factory agreement, which vividly contrasts with the imperialist reluctance

to supply vitally necessary heavy equipment and technical know-how. This opens the possibility of overcoming to some extent the dependence on imperialist powers.

The democratic forces, however, must maintain constant vigilance to ensure that our nation's sovereignty is not jeopardised in any way in the name of securing so-called Western 'aid' for national defence.

The government has not made basic changes in the national policies. It carries forward both the positive as well as the negative aspects of the policy in general.

But there has been a change in the internal situation for the worse. Under the mounting pressure of Right Reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, the government has made dangerous anti-people concessions on issues of food and price policy, suppression of democratic rights etc.

But in the recent period, the democratic movement has through mighty campaigns and struggles not only compelled the Right to retreat on occasions but also forced the government to make concessions in favour of the people. The situation may deteriorate further unless popular democratic forces are able to check and reverse it through determined struggles.

CONFLICT

But the contradictions inherent in the situation, the growing conflict between imperialism and the Indian people including the national bourgeoisie, the policies pursued by the socialist countries to help India in her economic development and peoples' capacity to resist reactionary changes, are potentially stronger deterrent factors.

In this new situation, the vigilance of the organised democratic movement and active intervention of the Communist Party and other progressive democratic forces have assumed new importance. The task of building up the unity of democratic forces for the defence of India's progressive policies and for a shift to the Left can no longer be ignored, except at the peril of India's future.

The contradiction between the demo-

cratic masses and the ruling class, including its government, has sharpened in the recent past and the prospect is of its further sharpening, as the crisis of peoples' suffering born out of capitalist development unfolds itself more and more. The differences inside the Congress party are also beginning to grow.

Under these conditions, the most favourable opportunity exists for bringing about a shift to the Left in governmental policies by uniting all progressive democratic forces. This will give the rebuff to the machinations of Right Reaction including the communal forces.

RIGHT REACTION

The results of the third general elections show a shift in favour of the parties of Right Reaction. While the CPI not only maintained its position but also slightly gained, the ruling party lost mainly to parties of Right Reaction, as a result of which they emerged more united and consolidated. In some bye-elections that followed, the Congress in spite of maintaining its dominant position, has lost more to the Right than the Left. All the Rightist forces both inside and outside the Congress are being more and more consolidated.

Their drive for extending the private monopoly sector, for abandoning non-alignment, for taking India into the imperialist bloc, for a nuclear shield and imperialist protection, for eschewing land reform and reversal of all progressive measures are being sought to be strengthened by taking advantage of the people's growing discontent against government's anti-people policies and the continued deadlock on the northern frontier.

Systematic refusal by China to accept the Colombo proposals as the basis for starting talks for the settlement of the border question is bringing grist to the mill of the Right reactionaries and their foreign collaborators.

During this period, the forces of communal reaction have also strengthened their position; they seriously endanger India's security and democracy. Right Reaction has exploited casteism which has a powerful grip on the people today.

But at the same time experience has shown that mass campaigns and struggles

led by the democratic forces against the anti-people policy of the government reduce considerably the capacity of Right Reaction to mislead the masses.

At the same time, the democratic forces in the Congress have become more vocal and active, advancing alternative democratic slogans. This was reflected in the Bhubaneswar Congress discussions and later in the Congress Workers' Convention held at Delhi. They are groping towards internal unity as well as joint activity with other sectors of the democratic movement.

The participation by a large number of Congress leaders in the World Conference for Peace and International Cooperation held in Delhi and the participation of the official youth organisation of the Congress in the National Youth Forum reflect the growing strength of the democratic forces inside the Congress.

Congress masses also have moved in the struggles launched by Left parties on issues like food, high prices, nationalisation of banks, etc.

These are welcome developments, but such forces are still weak and only in the preliminary stage of crystallisation.

Under the impact of the crisis and due to the weakness of the democratic forces inside the Congress, the ruling party has reached a new stage of factional conflict in different states as well as at the centre. These factions have at times used the people's discontent in some states. The political prestige and the mass influence of the Congress, though still very extensive, has fallen appreciably.

These factional conflicts, combined with increasing exposure of ministerial corruption, continue to reduce the mass popularity of the Congress and undermine its unity. This will lead to a situation of instability, frequent political crises in some states, as has already happened in Kerala. Unless the democratic forces unite and intervene, the situation will be successfully exploited by Right Reaction.

NATIONAL UNITY

In the recent period, the forces of communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism have posed new dangers to the unity of our nation and to our secular democracy. Disunity and discord provide a fertile soil for the growth of Right Reaction and constitute a serious obstacle to the building of the National Democratic Front.

The failure of the government to rectify regional imbalances, to implement the three-language formula and to curb the tendencies of casteism and communalism which are utilised by the ruling party itself, has further accentuated the problem.

The refusal to consistently implement the principle of linguistic states has helped the spread of linguistic chauvinism and bitterness. The utter inability to solve the problems of the tribal peoples has encouraged fissiparous tendencies and separatist trends.

The richest heritage of our national movement—the unity of our motherland—faces the serious threat of being dissipated and undermined.

Democratic unity at the mass level and from below has grown in the recent period. National slogans like nationalisation of banks and state-trading in foodgrains advanced by the Communist Party and popularised through mass struggles of the working people, have won wide support. The democratic masses, including working women, have moved into actions as in the food satyagraha and the *bandhs*, with determination and unity.

The working class has moved not only in the interest of its own demands but has played an increasing role of initiator and unifier of the struggles of the masses, under the leadership of the Party and the trade unions of the AITUC acting in unity with other trade union centres. But working class unity is yet to be achieved, though some advance has been registered through the *bandh* actions.

Large sections of middle-class employees like government employees, bank employees, teachers, professors, doctors and pilots have come forward in strike struggles and other forms of mass action, as never before.

Simultaneously, the mass movement of the urban middle-class against price rise through the building up of consumer co-operatives and other forms of resistance against high prices have begun to develop in the big cities. The urban middle-class is in ferment and restive.

The task of the Party is to forge its living links with the masses including those sections who have not yet moved into action and develop these movements, giving them an organised character. Conscious, fraternal efforts must be made to bring about the widest possible unity of all democratic forces, including Congressmen and Congress committees, to make them participate in the common movement, in any form of organised activity that can serve the interests of the people against the price rise, food scarcity, blackmarket and corruption.

PEASANTRY

The peasants have also gone into action in the form of satyagraha, but it is clear that the peasant movement is lagging behind and the All India Kisan Sabha has become almost inactive and defunct. This weakness on the peasant and agricultural labour front is a serious handicap to the democratic movement as a whole and it sharply reduces its sweep and striking power.

The Congress agrarian reforms like tenancy legislations and the ceiling acts have not solved the land problem in the interests of the peasantry. Because of the loopholes in the tenancy acts millions of tenants have been evicted and thrown out. Even today millions of tenants-at-will and sharecroppers have not got security of tenancy. The ceiling acts have proved to be a failure. Ten per cent of the agricultural families even now possess 58 per cent of the land under cultivation.

The peasant is robbed both as a producer and as a consumer through the market manipulations. The Reserve Bank of India Report has proved that the agricultural debt burden has grown in the recent years. Cheap credit is not available to the vast majority of the peasantry. Huge tax burdens are levied. Unemployment and under employment in the rural areas, by and large, is on the increase.

The minimum wages acts have not been properly implemented. Even where the wages have been fixed they are much lower than the existing rates. In many parts of the country the agricultural labourers are still suffering from debt bondage, homestead bondage, social oppression and other forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

The government has miserably failed to distribute even the waste lands to the agricultural labourers and peasants. An overwhelming majority of agricultural labourers do not possess house sites even. The solution of these problems brooks no further delay.

The urgent necessity of increasing agricultural production and of national regeneration in the countryside demand their immediate solution. An all-India mass campaign and struggle should be organised for the solution of the above burning problems. The Kisan Sabha must be revived and agricultural workers organised in order to galvanise the peasant masses into action.

IMMEDIATE TASK

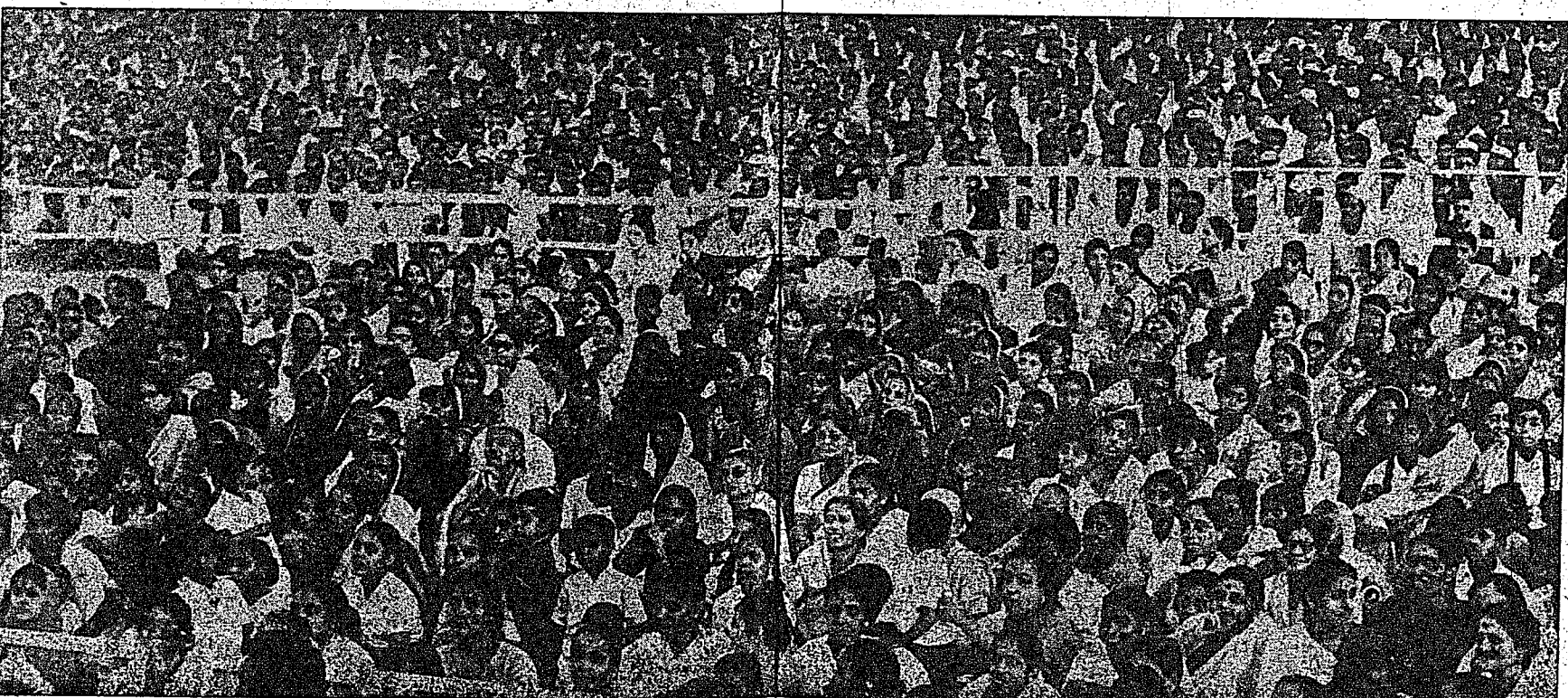
In the coming period, this must constitute the most important task of the Party throughout the country. Only by discharging these tasks can peasant unity be built up and workers' and peasants' alliance forged as the main lever of the democratic movement and the National Democratic Front.

Despite semi-feudal relations and oppression, consciousness among the women of India is rising. Participation of women in the kisan and workers' struggles, in the food satyagraha all over the country is worth mentioning. It has been clearly demonstrated in the increasing discontent against rising prices, which found expression in demonstrations, *morchas*, etc. by all sections of women, including housewives and middle-class women.

Under these circumstances it has become an urgent task to build a strong movement of all sections of women—housewives and working women in factories and farms—at all levels, in the form of mass organisations and to activate and strengthen the existing organisations.

The sentiment for unity of all the forces of the Left has acquired new impetus and is exerting its beneficial influence on the organised forces and parties of the Left. But anti-communism

The Mammoth Rally at Shivaji Park on December 20 in Honour of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India



(Photo: SHARAD PAWAR)

MESSAGES TO VII

SOVIET UNION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends its fraternal greetings to the delegation of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and to all Indian Communists.

The Communist Party of India, the vanguard of the working class and all working people, has always conducted, and continues to conduct, a courageous struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for full national independence of the country and for the vital interests and democratic liberties of the working people.

Indian Communists are to be found in the front ranks of the country's democratic and progressive forces, the forces that are repulsing the foreign and domestic reactionaries who are trying to force India from her position of non-alignment and draw her into aggressive imperialist blocs. The Communist Party of India, in pursuance of its revolutionary duty, is struggling consistently to strengthen national and economic independence, democracy and socialism.

Indian Communists are working for the cohesion of all the progressive and democratic forces of the people, they see in this a fundamental condition for the success of their struggle for socialism. The Indian Communist Party's struggle for the socialist future of the Indian people is an expression of the aspirations and hopes of the workers and peasants and of all democratic forces in the country and is earning the Party well-deserved respect and confidence.

Your Party is playing a great part in strengthening friendship between the peoples of India and the peoples of the Soviet Union who are building a Communist society.

Your Party correctly regards the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and a consistent and implacable struggle against right and left opportunism and against bourgeois chauvinism to be the guarantee of success in its activities.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union assesses highly the efforts of the Communist Party of India in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the World Communist Movement and for its general line based on the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1957 and 1960.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends the Communists of India its best wishes for the consolidation and unity of their ranks, further successes in the struggle against reaction, against imperialists' intrigues, the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

May there be ever greater unity and cohesion of Communist ranks under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

COLOMBIA

ACCEPT warm greetings of solidarity of the Communist Party of Colombia.

We, the Communists of Colombia, are fight-

ing against the slavery to Yanki imperialism, for our national independence, peace and socialism. We have combined all methods of struggle from guerilla war in the mountains of Andes to strikes of working class in the cities, at the same time taking full advantage of all legal possibilities.

Though we are separated by enormous distance, we, the Communists of Colombia, are one with your brave struggles for development of independent economy of your great country and for further progress towards socialism.

In order to carry out these tasks, it is necessary to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism with firmness and therefore struggles for the restoration of the unity of the international Communist movement.

Long Live the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism!

With fraternal greetings,

GILBERTO VIERA
Secretary, Communist Party of Colombia

NICARAGUA

WE are happy to send our sincere greetings and congratulations to your Seventh Congress.

Our fraternal Party, the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, hopes that you will succeed in resolving all the complicated problems that your great Party is facing at the moment.

We hope that the unity of your great organisation will be restored soon after this Congress, reaffirming the historic decisions of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1957 and 1960.

Another matter that is worrying us is the unity of the international Communist movement. We are sure that the decisions of your Congress will help in this important task.

We have no doubt that you will overcome each and every obstacle in your path of realising socialism in India, which is the guarantee of happiness and well-being of your people.

AUGUSTO LORD
Socialist Party of Nicaragua

ALGERIA

I AM sure I am expressing the profound sentiments not only of the Communists but also of the entire toiling people of Algeria, when I address our fraternal and warm salutations to your Seventh Congress and assure you of our entire solidarity.

In the course of the glorious history of the Communist Party of India, the Party has already played an eminent role in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the Indian people for national independence, for peace and democracy. That is why the holding of your Seventh Congress will not fail to open to India the new perspectives in the path of non-capitalist development. The new programme which your Congress is called upon to ratify will be, without any doubt, a powerful factor of mobilisation of the toiling masses of the towns and rural areas, the manual and intellectual labour and all the progressive forces with the object of forming a broad democratic front.

Basing ourselves on the experience of the toilers and the people of Algeria, your new Programme corresponds to the vital interest of your Indian people.

After deep suffering of 132 years of colonisation and about 8 years of most devastating

colonial war, Algeria found itself on the occasion of National Independence, during the summer of 1962, on the verge of political and economic catastrophe.

And in the period of two years, Algeria has succeeded in consolidating its national independence, in achieving economic, technical and cultural development, in ensuring an immense international prestige on the basis of the non-alignment and a firm anti-imperialist and anti-colonial fight and consequent policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. The spectacular reforms brought about in such a short passage of time correspond to the fundamental wishes of the Algerian people and of the Revolutionary Government under the leadership of President Ben Bella. In the wake of national independence the overwhelming majority of our people rejected the path of capitalist development and chose resolutely the path of socialist development, codified by the Charter of Algeria which was adopted in last April at the first Congress of the National Liberation Front (FLN).

In conformity with pursuit of a socialist path at home, the democratic popular revolutionary Algerian government follows a foreign policy of amity and cooperation with socialist countries, particularly, the Soviet Union from whom economic and technical aid is obtained, which permits Algeria to resist with success, all imperialist pressures.

The experiences of Algeria provides an example to the peoples of one-third of the world who have achieved independence and who desire to remove rapidly the economic legacies of imperialism and solve all problems of underdevelopment. The only means is to engage in the non-capitalist path of development, which prepares the ground for socialism in the interest of the people and of the entire nation.

We are sure the Communist Party of India pursues firmly this path in the light of creative Marxism-Leninism. And this without doubt will ensure success, along this path, in defeating the dogmatic and sectarian elements who have attacked the unity of the Party.

The unity of the Communist and international proletarian movement and all those who are opposed to imperialism has become imperative. That is why the Communists must not neglect the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In conclusion, we wish you dear comrades, all success in the implementation of the decisions of your Congress, in your noble fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Long Live the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India!

Long Live the Friendship and Solidarity of all Peoples!

Long Live the Front of the Anti-imperialist and Revolutionary Forces!

LARBI BOUHALI
Communist Party of Algeria

W. GERMANY

THE Communist Party of Germany sends fraternal greetings to you, the delegates of the Seventh Party Congress, and to all Indian Communists.

The Seventh Congress of your Party is an important event in the life of the Indian working class, the peasantry, the working people in the cities and on the countryside, and the international Communist and working-class movement. Since its foundation the CPI has made important contributions to the struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. It is largely due to the selfless and sacrificing

CONGRESS OF CPI

struggle of the CPI that India was in a position to achieve her national independence. The CPI stands in the forefront of the struggle for the social interests of the working masses and for a non-capitalist development of the country.

The Communist Party of India and all peace-loving people of your country largely contributed to the preservation of peace, to peaceful co-existence, and to a detente in the international situation. Thereby, the CPI acquired great merits for the cause of the working class and the peace-loving peoples of all countries.

We, West German Communists feel united with your Party in solidarity. It is our common Marxist-Leninist outlook and our common interests in the struggle against imperialism, war, national oppression and now—colonialism, and for democracy and social progress, that unites us.

We assure you, dear comrades, that we shall always try to fulfil our responsibilities towards the international working class movement. In spite of our Party being banned, we shall go all out in the struggle against West-German imperialism, militarism, and neo-colonialism, so that the Federal Republic of Germany may also become a socially-minded and democratic peace-loving state. In these attempts the German Democratic Republic is a great support to us, and she is also the model of a German peace-loving state maintaining friendly relations also with the Indian people.

Our Party will always devote itself to strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement. We feel united with you also in the struggle for the unity and solidarity of our world-wide movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the Declaration and the Statement of the two Moscow conferences. We advocate the convocation of a new conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the early resumption of the work of the drafting commission.

Dear comrades, we wish your Party Congress success. We are convinced that it will contribute to new successes in the struggle of the Indian Communists for peace, democracy, and social progress.

MAX REIMANN, First Secretary,
Communist Party of Germany

SWITZERLAND

ON the occasion of your Seventh Party Congress, we send you our cordial and fraternal greetings. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to send a delegation, but we shall be with you in our thoughts these days, for we know of the great importance of this very Congress for the further development of your Party and the Indian working class movement.

The working people and the progressive-minded people of our country follow the development in India with great interest, for this development will be of decisive importance for the development in large parts of Asia. It is the evergrowing role of the working class and the alliance of the workers with the vast peasant masses, the progressive intellectuals, and the open-minded middle classes that will make it possible to rally all anti-imperialist forces and to place India on the road leading towards democracy, progress, and socialism.

Following such a policy of consistently defending the interest of the Indian people, your Party will surely overcome the difficulties that have arisen through the activities of the dogmatists and the splitters. We are sure that the programmatic declarations and the resolutions of your Congress will contribute to safeguarding the solidarity of the Indian working class and

to strengthening the unity of the Party. We wish your Party Congress full success.

Long Live the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India!

Long Live the fraternal solidarity, the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world!

Long Live our common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism!

E. WOOG, Secretary General,
Swiss Party of Labour

EQUADOR

IN the name of the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Party of the working class, peasantry and progressives of our country, we send to the Communists participating in this Congress of the Party of the proletariat of India, our fraternal and militant greetings, full of faith in the victory of the Indian people in their struggles, for material advancement, well-being and peace.

Our Party, which is working in difficult conditions and faces a military dictatorship imposed by North American imperialism and the most reactionary oligarchic circles of Ecuador, is illegal.

Through our fraternal delegate we are sending these greetings and we hope that the deliberations of this Congress will strengthen your Party which represents the most advanced thought of the Indian proletariat as well as the aspirations of the peasants and progressive sections of your country and highlight the correct line which, in a short time, may lead to the final victory for which millions and millions of people are fighting.

We salute the Seventh Congress of your Party which along with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and many more fraternal Parties, are striving to achieve unity in the international Communist movement. This is an indestructible, monolithic and unique force, rather a bulwark against our common enemy, imperialism.

Long Live the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India!

Long Live the Unity of the International Communist Movement!

Long Live the Struggle of the Peoples for National Liberation, Democracy and Peace and Socialism!

HERNAM ACEVEDO
Communist Party of Ecuador

PANAMA

SALUTATIONS to the Seventh Congress in the name of People's Party of Panama. We wish you much success.

V. SRES, General Secretary,
People's Party of Panama

BOLIVIA

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia, in the name of the Communists of Bolivia and expressing the sentiment of its heroic people, greets your Congress and through the delegates to this Congress, it greets the great people of India wishing them good success.

We understand the difficult situation that you are facing, so we share with you your worries and we are sure that you will overcome all the difficulties in the interests of communism and your people. For, the strength of the Communists is inexhaustible and capable of overcoming any obstacle.

The Communist Party of Bolivia, like your Party, protects its unity tenaciously and united-

ly because it is conscious that this is an indispensable condition of fulfilling its historic role. The Bolivian Communists are militant like you in the defence of the unity of the international Communist movement, in the defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our comrades are loyal to the Declaration of 1957 and Statement of 1960 and therefore they oppose splitting activities which undermine the unity of our ranks and serve the purpose of Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries and hinders the victory of communism.

For democracy, peace, national independence and socialism!

Long Live Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India!

MARIO MONTE, First Secretary,
Communist Party of Bolivia

Messages From Comrades In Jail

PLEASE convey to the Seventh Party Congress, the Presidium, the delegates assembled and the fraternal delegates, the warmest revolutionary greetings on our behalf, the prisoners of the Janshedpur Conspiracy case at present in Hazaribagh Central jail.

The Seventh Party Congress meets in a critical situation facing the Indian people and the democratic movement in our country. The most serious threat to the working class movement arises from the fact that a section of its members and leaders have split away from the CPI.

In howsoever revolutionary a phraseology the split may be sought to be presented to the Party ranks and the democratic masses, we have no doubt that those who have split away from the CPI have done the greatest disservice to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of the Indian people.

We are confident that in this difficult situation, the Seventh Party Congress will be able to lend the Party ranks, the revolutionary movement and the democratic masses in the struggle for the democratic regeneration of our country under the initiative of the working class.

We are also confident that the Party Congress will take positive steps to overcome the differences and the split in the Communist movement in our country, while steadfastly adhering to the great cause of serving the interests of the Indian people, and upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the International working class movement.

Once again we send you our revolutionary greetings from behind the bars.

KEDAR DAS, ALI AMJAD, BARIN DEY
(Hazaribagh Jail, Bihar)

OUR hearty congratulations on the occasion of Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. Our three comrades (S. Sambandam, R. Sivam, V. Sudalaimadan) and self wish the conference a grand success. Namaskaram to all comrades.

R. SHANMUGASUNDARAM
(Madurai Jail, Tamilnad)



B. Zhargalskhan, Mongolia

Fraternal Delegates Oscar Arevalo, CP Argentina

On behalf of the Communist Party of Argentina, I thank you for the opportunity given to us for participating in the proceedings of your Congress, and convey you our warmest fraternal greetings and wish good success in the struggle that you are leading for the development of a non-capitalist path, towards socialism and communism. The elaboration of your Programme constitutes a historic event of great importance.

OVER a year and a half ago, the Twelfth National Congress of our Party took place, despite conditions of illegality. That Congress adopted our present Programme. Taking into consideration the concrete characteristics of our economic and social structure and the political superstructure, our Congress developed the basic ideas which had been expounded at our earlier Congresses, specially in those of 1928 and 1941; it also generalised the experience of 47 years of our existence.

The revolution that is unfolding in our country is characterised in our Programme as a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The objective of this revolution in Argentina is the conquest of state power of a new type, which will reflect the fundamental interests of the working class, the whole of the peasantry, the urban middle strata, the progressive intellectuals and the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie.

This new state power will fundamentally transform the state apparatus, abolish the ultra-right "gorilla" repressive organs and liquidate the feudal remnants in the economic life and society. The state power will put an end to imperialist domination, principally, the Yankee imperialist domination.

It will develop the productive forces, first and foremost, by broadening the state sector which will be extended by taking over the power, industry, mineral resources, transport, a major part of external trade and banking. This extension of the state sector is to serve as the basis for industrialisation which will have to proceed through expansion of heavy industry and balanced development of the economy.

In the sphere of foreign policy, this state power will strive actively for peace, general and complete disarmament, and for solidarity with all peoples struggling for their liberation and, above all, with our fraternal peoples of Latin America.

Our Programme points out to the final aim of socialism

which inspires the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. At the same time, it underlines that this final aim will be achieved only through a necessary, intermediate stage of democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

In our country, there is actually a complicated and unstable political situation, in which more and more working class and mass struggles for economic and social demands and also for political objectives are being waged. For example, workers have conducted many general strikes accompanied by demonstrations and temporary seizure of more than 300 enterprises, in a coordinated and centralised planned action. The demands of the working class movement include the restoration of democratic rights.

I am glad to announce to your Congress that these and other struggles launched by various sectors of the population, always with a leading participation by our Party, culminated in the adoption of a resolution in Parliament repealing the series of repressive laws, which now permits us to work as a legal Party. Many serious obstacles are yet to be overcome, but this is a very important victory, which we are going to consolidate by broadening the general activities of our Party....

Comrades, Our Party has demonstrated practically its adherence to the principles embodied in the Declarations of 1957 and 1960 and is in favour of a new World Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties. We consider that it is unavoidable in order to unleash a decisive struggle for unity and cohesion, against dogmatism, splitism and against adventurism in the Communist movement.

At the same time, we have to heed the warning contained in the Declaration of the 81 Parties about the necessity of fighting against bourgeois nationalism and we have to be vigilant against the danger from right reformism which may in particular times become a grave threat.

Comrades, we are living in a marvellous epoch in which the working class and the oppressed people the world over are shaping the development of world events according to its aspirations. The socialist camp which is the main creation of the international working class and Communist movement, together with the national liberation movement, constitute the main elements of today's and future history.

Let us, Communists, be the best and energetic, conscientious and efficient fighters for the realisation and development of the greatest slogan of our times: "Workers and oppressed peoples of all the world unite! to win democracy, peace, national freedom and socialism!...."

Greet VII Congress Delegate from People's United Party, Haiti

The Central Committee of the People's Unity Party of Haiti presents its sincere thanks for your invitation on the occasion of your Seventh Congress. We are extremely happy to be able to be present at this congress and are very glad of the circumstances in which we can directly express the solidarity of our Party with the Communist Party of India.

WE warmly embrace the working people of India in the name of the workers of Haiti which is united with the workers of the world by their common belief in the profound and universal goals of world peace, liberation from the yoke of exploitation in all forms, for the happiness of mankind, for communism.

Comrades, the Communist Party of India is placed at the forefront of the people's movement of their country. This Seventh Congress represents a new examination of the way that has been covered by the people's movement in India. Its goal is to collectively elaborate the new tasks which are facing the Party because of the developments of historic forces in India. It is facing the questions that arise out of its own dynamism being the vanguard of the working class and popular organisations.

The line of the Communist Party of India for the realisation of the National Democratic Front is a powerful weapon against sectarianism and leftism which are as dangerous before the Indian people as

the actions of the reactionary strata of the Indian society. The concept of the united front introduced in your Draft Programme is in the interest of the working class of India.

We are certain that these tactics in practice will find the support of all the progressive sections of your society and will raise the people's gains in your country to a new level of social relations more favourable to the interests of the working class.

Our Party considers that any success by any of the people's battalions of the world is also a success in our own struggle in Haiti both owing to the force of its example as well as by making a fresh breach in the world imperialist coalition.

Further, we follow with much interest the struggles of all our brother Parties and in spite of the difficult conditions in our just struggle, we re-arm ourselves with all the courage of our people for liberating our country from the Yankee economic domination and rural and state feudalism under the intolerable dictatorship of Duvalier. We believe that victory in our

struggle will be a contribution to the struggle for world liberation....

We strongly deplore the manoeuvres of our Chinese comrades which have contributed in such a powerful way to the division in the ranks of your Party. However, we firmly believe that this petty bourgeois impatience, this false demagogic radicalism of the splitters, will not receive any support in the minds of the Indian people.

In any case, we consider

* ON PAGE 20 Fraternal Delegates Greet Mass Rally on December 20

Pieter Keuneman, CP Ceylon

* FROM PAGE 11

and Ceylonese vested interests, and in particular, to prevent further moves towards unity between the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the parties of the Left.

The period following our Party's Seventh Congress in April 1964 saw rapid developments in the process of political transformations towards a united democratic front, which began with the formation of the United Left Front in August 1963.

In April-May 1964, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, discussed with the Left parties the question of forming a coalition government on an agreed program-

me. As a result of bitter opposition by the reactionary forces and from the Right wing of Mrs. Bandaranaike's own party, the coalition government formed in June 1964 included only one of the participants of the ULF—the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

Although this development had its negative aspect in that the United Left Front was disrupted, our Party concentrated on the positive aspect that this development represented a shift to the Left within the government and could be further extended into a united democratic front in which the Communist Party, too, would have its place....

A feature of these new developments was the growing polarisation between the forces of progress and reaction on a national-scale and even in individual parties. The Trotskyite hard-core in the LSSP split away and formed their own party, which established links with our own splitters.

When Mr. Philip Gunawardena, the leader of the third party of the ULF began to gravitate towards the reactionaries, most of the prominent members of his party left him and began to move towards the positions of a united democratic front. Within the SLFP, too, the Right wing forces intensified their manoeuvres against any unity with the Left.

In the face of this situation, the foreign and local reactionaries began to close ranks. The British and American companies, the Ceylonese comprador bourgeoisie, the financial speculators, the racketeer big business and trading interests, the big feudalists and landlords, the monopoly press and the communal extremists joined together.

They were aided by the 'ultra revolutionaries' of the sectarian Left both directly and indirectly. Forcing the SLFP right-wing in Parliament to quit the government by resorting to anti-communism and even direct bribery, they engineered the defeat of the government by one vote and compelled the premature dissolution of Parliament and a new election fixed for March 22, 1965.

But the imperialists and



Alber DeConnik, CP Belgium

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium and of all the Belgian Communists, I convey to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and to all the Communists of your country our fraternal salutes and message of solidarity.

THE Belgian Communists follow with the greatest interest your struggles and your efforts for the constitution of a National Democratic Front which will make India advance on the road of democracy, social progress and socialism. Our Party wishes you full success in the struggles which you lead, to prevent India from being dragged into a system of alliance with imperialism.

We are convinced that the working people of India, enlightened by the Communist Party, will repulse the disruptors and the adventurers clothed in the garb of Marxism-Leninism but who, in practice, bring grist to the mill of reaction.

In Belgium also, we have a group of sectarian adventurers. The political line of this group, its slogans, have no roots in the Belgian labour movement. They are isolated from the mass of workers and, most of all, from the ranks of the industrial workers.

In a few months time since their splitting activities began, this group degenerated into an

anti-Soviet group whose main activity consisted of denigrating and attacking the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries....

The Belgian workers gave their verdict on October 11, in the municipal elections. When our Party obtained an important victory by practically doubling its votes compared to the previous elections, increasing the number of seats won from 90 to 166, the small secessionist group was completely routed....

The results of the elections of October 11, show that the workers have supported the struggle that our Party leads for peace, for a policy of peaceful coexistence, for the extension of democratic rights, against the neo-colonialists, for social progress and for anti-capitalist structural reforms.

At this moment, our Party still leads a courageous struggle against the offensive from the colonialist circles of our country. On the pretext that human

lives had to be saved in Congo, a large military operation was organised against the patriotic and democratic forces of Congo. The operation of the Belgian parachutists in Congo was prepared in utmost secrecy for fear of reaction in Belgium and in the whole world.

And if the Belgian colonialists have obtained a tactical success, they have politically lost in front of the world and before the workers of their own country. The Congress of our Party, just ended, underlines that it is the first duty of our Party to unite the Belgian movement more, to develop the alliance of the workers and democratic forces, to redouble our efforts for peace and express our active solidarity with the people of Congo and with all people fighting for national independence and for liberty.

It is through this united struggle that our Party will open the road to a democratic majority which our country needs to realise the people's wishes and to advance towards socialism.

Dear Comrades, I also wish to thank the National Council of the Communist Party of India which invited us to your Seventh Congress and for the warm reception.

Ricardo Cortes, CP Equador

Allow me, dear comrades, to salute the Communist Party of India once more. I represent in this Congress the Ecuadorian Communists, the workers and peasants and progressive intellectuals of my country—Ecuador.

FOR us, the presence in this Congress has a special significance because it will allow us to collect rich experiences of your struggles, learn your difficulties and your great victories in the chartered path which, in conformity with the concrete reality of your great country, will lead to great revolutionary transformations and culminate in the building of socialism and communism in India.

These are the aspirations and hopes of the millions and millions of mankind struggling heroically the world over....

We want to express the position of our Party regarding the question of splitism that has emerged in the midst of the international Communist movement, which though in a very weak form, has appeared in

We declared ourselves against splitism in the ranks of our Parties and in the international Communist movement.

We demand that open polemics should be ended and we are for a new meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties of the world. Because, we think that such a conference will be able to examine new historic events from the year 1960 onwards, because during this period, rich experiences of the people's struggles have accumulated. This will enable us to elaborate the general formulations which creatively develop Marxism-Leninism.

From this conference, we think, better perspectives will emerge and the unity of the international Communist movement will be strengthened and it will allow us to be strongly united in our common struggle against imperialism.

We express our best wishes for the complete success of your Congress.

M. I. Nugud, CP Sudan

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sudan, allow me to greet the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, known to Sudanese Communists as a Party with rich experiences and overcoming artfully difficulties that face revolutionary parties in this sector of world revolutionary movement.

It is a great honour for us to be invited to the Congress of the Communist Party of India, that shoulders an historic responsibility in this country, to work for the realisation of the behest of the Great Lenin, for the triumph of unity between the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and India, the unity that will decide the fate of the world.

Your Congress, comrades, attended by such a considerable number of fraternal Parties, is an international platform from which we would like to convey our comradely gratitude for the campaigns and acts of solidarity initiated by the fraternal Parties in support of our people's struggle against the dictatorial regime.

Comrades, our people are busy now defending their revolution by purging the army, police force and civil service, taking different measures to liquidate the economic crisis and the remnants of feudalism as a prerequisite for further actions of liberating our economy.

But they face, as expected, daily and hourly, plots of reactionary and imperialist

forces to hold back the revolution. These dark forces are hoping to falsify the will of our people, through the coming elections which seemed to be their only hope after their other intrigues of attempted coups, fomenting national strife and bloodshed between north and south, etc., failed.

They oppose all revolutionary measures taken by the government such as franchise for women, help to the Congo revolutionaries, preventing British air force from landing in Sudan and other measures.

There are favourable conditions in Africa, the Arab region and the whole world for the successful march of our revolution. That is why our Party and the advanced sections of our workers, peasants, students and demagogically-minded intellectuals show deep concern over the present ideological controversy in the world Communist movement.

Our Party supports calling an international conference of Communist and Workers Parties, to be preceded by careful and patient preparatory work, including among other things, a resolute and final end to the incorrect and

harmful way of leading the controversy, turning the magazine "Problems of Peace and Socialism" into a forum for serious discussion and exchange of views in preparation for the conference, condemnation of factional and splitting activities, refraining from resorting to excommunication of this or that Party and other such measures that will enable the world Communist movement improve the present situation, worse as it is, and avoid the formation of two centres which benefits the imperialists and enemies of progress of all colours.

Comrades, your Congress has raised questions of great importance to the Communist movement in the underdeveloped countries, such as practical measures concerning the non-capitalist path, unity of the working class and worker-peasant alliance, development of the state sector in relation to local and foreign monopolies, unity and brotherhood among different nationalities, building a mass Party and adequate organisational forms and others.

Being the first country that achieved national independence, with a comparatively stable bourgeois parliamentary democracy, your experience will be of great value. We will surely study your experience with great attention during the preparation for our Fourth Congress which is now under way.

But the imperialists and



Fraternal Delegates

B. Zhargalsaikhan, PRP Mongolia

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to convey hearty fraternal greetings to you, delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, and through you to the millions of working people of India, and to wish your Congress every success in its proceedings.

PERMIT me also to express the gratitude of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to the National Council of the Communist Party of India for its kind invitation to send a delegation to this Congress. Our Party and the Mongolian people are following with great attention and sincere sympathy the ever growing struggle of the working class

and all working people of India, and of their Marxist vanguard, the Communist Party of India.

It gives us pleasure to note that during nearly forty years of its existence and development, the Communist Party of India has traversed a difficult but glorious path of struggle and success.

It was due to the efforts of all progressive forces in India, including the Communist Party, that the struggle for the national liberation of the Indian people was crowned with success, the centuries-old colonial domination was eliminated and national independence achieved.

Since then the working people of India while strengthening their national independence have been actively fighting for economic independence of their country, for peace and friendship between peoples, against im-

perialism and colonialism, against the danger of a new world war.

Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teachings to the concrete conditions in India, your Party is waging a persistent struggle for the fulfilment of the social, economic and political demands of the working people of India, putting forward the task of completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

This Congress is an event of great importance in the life of the Communists and working people of India. Summing up the results of the work done by your Party since the last Congress, it is discussing urgent problems of the Communist Party's further activities in the struggle for a better future of your country.

We are firmly convinced that the Communist Party of India will successfully carry out the tasks of struggle which will be formulated by this Congress for effecting democratic transformations in your country....

Comrades, the successes achieved by the Mongolian people in building socialism became possible only due to their selfless labour, due to correct guidance of our Party and because of the fraternal assistance and support of the first socialist state of workers and peasants in the world, the Soviet Union, because of the co-operation with other socialist countries as well as due to the international solidarity of the world working class.

The Mongolian People's Republic is consistently pursuing a policy of strengthening friendship and co-operation with countries of the socialist camp, a policy of supporting the national liberation struggle of the peoples, a policy of peaceful co-existence between the countries with different social and political systems, a policy of maintaining and preserving world peace.

During the recent period, friendly relations between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Republic of India, in particular, were established and have been



Fraternal delegates Mohammed Ibrahim Nogud (CP of Sudan) and Aryanayagam (CP of Ceylon) being received at Bombay



Etienne Fajon, CP France

I convey to your Seventh Congress and, through it, to all the members of your glorious Party, the fraternal and hearty greetings of the French Communist Party.

THE French people follow with a lively interest the happenings in your country. In our epoch, independent India, with its 450 million inhabitants, has already made a great impact on the balance of peace and war. The political and social orientation it will follow during the coming years cannot but have important bearing for the entire humanity.

That is why we wish your brother Party of India great success in its efforts to organise the masses of the people for their right to live, to realise the great national democratic front which will consolidate the independence of the nation, will allow the growth of democracy and social progress, will open to India the path to socialism.

We express, at the same time, the hope that your Party will succeed in overcoming, in the shortest possible time, and on the basis of our tested principles, the consequences of the harmful split recently fomented in your organisation....

We consider as the prime task, to which everything has to be subordinate, the unity of the working class and the coming together of the other social strata which are the victims of the monopolistic policy, in order to fight against the personal regime of de Gaulle and to promote a real democracy.

The unity has already been manifested with a tremendous force in the battle for economic demands. Last Friday, once again, on the very eve of our departure for Bombay, the French workers of the public and nationalised sector, numbering three million people, waged a 24-hour strike, demanding increase in their wages.

There has been a total agreement among all the trade unions on this issue. The strike has been hundred per cent complete and backed by all the people. The entire country was paralysed. And the action will be pursued and extended during the weeks to come.

Unity is also being achieved in large peasant demonstrations. It also affirms itself in very many actions of teachers, professors and families for the defence of school. It expresses itself in many diverse fields; for instance, fifteen days ago, in the streets of Paris, in spite of interdiction, young people demonstrated in thousands against the murderer Tshombr who was given reception by General de Gaulle.

On the basis of the rising movement of the masses, the main preoccupation of our Party is, to reach an agreement with the socialist party and other progressive forces, on a common democratic programme.

De Gaulle utilises the absence of such a programme to pretend that the working class and republican forces are unable to come to an understanding and to form a government together after he is gone. So a common programme is necessary to communicate to these forces the confidence which is needed for their victory.

Our Party has already overcome many obstacles to arrive at the necessary agreement. It is convinced that it will be able to overcome all of them....

Dear Comrades, I want to tell you, before concluding, that the French Communists feel, as you yourselves do, a deep anxiety about the situation which has been created in the

international Communist movement, the common general line of which was adopted at the conferences of 1957 and 1960, is facing grave divergencies.

It is not at the Congress of the Communist Party of India that it is necessary to insist on the serious consequences of this situation.

We think it to be a duty for all the Communist Parties to reaffirm together the principles of their common declarations, to analyse the changes which emerge since 1960, to define together the conditions of a coordinated action, to defend together the unity of their movement.

The most effective means for that is a new conference of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Central Committee of our Party considers that the convening of such a meeting, preceded by the work of the International Preparatory Commission which is due to meet in March, corresponds to the present and future interests of the movement and of humanity itself.

As far as our Party is concerned, it will work in order that the conference can be held in the near future. It will firmly abide by the Marxist-Leninist principles in fighting on the two fronts against the sectarian dogmatism which represents today the main danger, and also against the right opportunism which has not ceased to manifest itself.

At the beginning of its sessions, your Congress has paid a moving homage to the memory of the President of our Party who passed away. I heartily thank you and assure you that the French Communists, faithful to the legacy of Maurice Thorez, will merit the confidence of brother Parties and be worthy of the democratic and revolutionary traditions of France.

Greet CPI VII Congress

successfully developing. These relations correspond absolutely to the aspirations and interests of the peoples of our two countries.

Comrades, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is consistently following in its activities the Marxist-Leninist general line of the World Communist movement as laid down in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960.

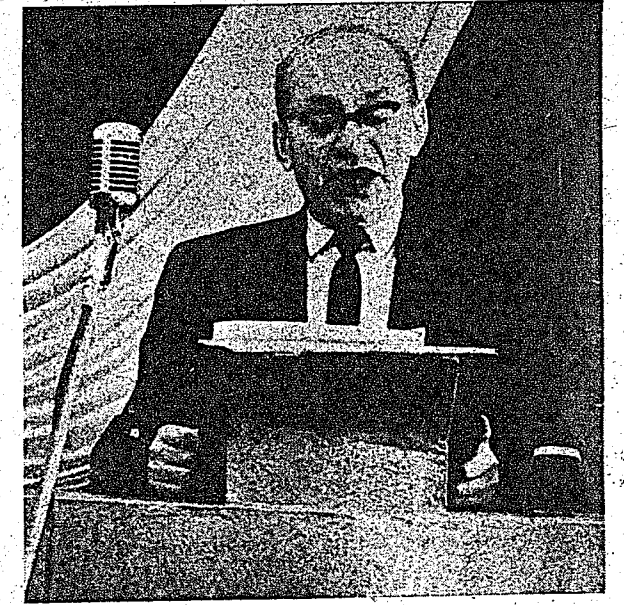
Our Party like other Marxist-Leninist Parties, believes that the supreme interests of the Communist movement require strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist unity and solidarity of its ranks and overcoming difficulties which have emerged in the world

Communist movement. We are sure that a new meeting of the World Communist and Workers' Parties will most certainly be of benefit to the Communist movement.

The Communist Party of India—one of the militant detachments of the world Communist movement—resolutely comes out against sectarian and dogmatic conceptions and anti-Marxist activities of the splitters, and makes a valuable contribution to the struggle of cohesion of all forces of the world revolutionary movement towards the victory of our common cause—the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Party is happy to note that in recent years, contacts and co-operation between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of India have been established and are successfully developing; they will no doubt be extended and matured in future on the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

In conclusion, comrades, permit our delegation to convey to the Communist Party and all working people of India, our best wishes for new and big victories, for new successes in the noble struggle for the happy future of your country.



Norman Freed, CP of Canada, greets CPI Seventh Congress

Krste Crvenkovski, LC Yugoslavia

Allow me to convey to you delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India and, through you, to all the members of your Party, the cordial greetings and best wishes of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We are very glad to attend your Congress.

AT the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, we had the pleasure of welcoming the delegates of your Party, Comrades N. Rajasekhar Reddy and H. K. Vyas, members of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, and of hearing their friendly addresses and greetings.

For this reason, progress towards socialism can best be achieved on the basis of the large-scale cooperation of all progressive and peace-loving forces, based on the respect of the independence of Parties and movements, and the recognition and respect of specific conditions and different roads of development, the recognition and respect of the responsibility of each Party and each movement to their own people.

This attitude is now advocated by most progressive forces within the international workers' movement, and the democratic forces outside it. Attempt to impose any particular international centre, or to achieve the unity of the struggle by violating equality or becoming recognised with dogmatic forces artificially, would not promote, but harm such equal and constructive cooperation....

We are especially pleased to say that our two countries—India and Yugoslavia—in pursuing the policy of non-alignment are making a great contribution to the full affirmation of peaceful co-existence, which, as grasped by a great majority of mankind, represents the only alternative to an all-destructive nuclear war, and enables the enslaved peoples to struggle for their liberation by all means, including armed struggle....

Dear Comrades, the character of the social forces struggling for socialism is becoming more and more diversified. Socialism is penetrating into countries with highly developed social structure and becoming a social reality, and also into those which have just taken initial steps in comprehensive socio-economic development.

In this way, socialist practice is exceeding the old frameworks and becoming to an ever greater extent a form of contemporary social development. Socialism has become a world process.

Every internal, and not only external, political action of

socialist countries has various consequences on international plane. The situation today is not any more such in which the working people should protect one or more socialist countries and fix such an aim as their basis.

The socialist countries today, with wide views and actions, should support the international workers' movement but with internationalist policies and not hegemonical ones. That is how we are looking at the international proletarianism....

Cooperation between our two Parties has for a time been hampered by the persistence of the Stalinist policy in relations inside the international workers' movement. However, we may conclude with satisfaction that relations between our two Parties have exceeded these limits and that they are now developing more and more successfully. The same can be said of relations between the numerous socio-political organisations of our two countries.

Sectarianism: Biggest Danger

Such was the situation with many other Parties. At the same time in our Congress which has just ended in Yugoslavia, we were glad to see representatives of 30 Communist workers' and other progressive movements in the world.

Our example has shown what in the international workers' movement should not be tolerated. We are, therefore, strictly against hegemonic, dogmatic, sectarian and tearing policies of Chinese leadership. Sectarianism is, today, the biggest danger to the victories of socialism and the consolidation of the joint forces of the masses....

We are confident that co-operation between the Communist Party of India and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be ever more successful along the lines of equality and socialist solidarity, that it will bring about the fruitful exchange of views and experience, the further strengthening of cooperation in the international workers' movement, and advance the friendship between our peoples. In this way we shall contribute to the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism.

To conclude, we wish your Congress every success in its work.



Delegates from SED of GDR coming down the dias after being introduced to the Congress. Below, Ruben Abrahamov and Elena Gabrilova, delegates from CP Bulgaria, on arrival at New Delhi



AGAINST DOGMATIST DISTORTIONS, REVISIONIST DEPARTURES

*FROM PAGE 7

within the framework of an agreed international line.

In such a situation, it can happen that the outlook and evaluations of two or more brother Parties on questions commonly affecting them, may not be identical. In such cases, a bilateral and multilateral exchange of opinions has first to be made. If differences remain, they have to find expression in a fully responsible, restrained and fraternal spirit.

The unity of the Communist Party in each country is, and has to be, based on the principle of democratic centralism, on inner-Party democracy and the submission of the minority to the decisions of the majority. Differences can and have to be resolved within these

limits and cannot be made the pretext for a split. Our Party holds that the unity of all Marxist-Leninists in our country must also be based on the recognition of these principles. The unity of the countries of the socialist system, the decisive factor guaranteeing the victory of the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism has been seriously impaired. This applies to economic relations, but most seriously of all, to the task of pursuing common defence and common policies.

The responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the Chinese leadership but the restoration of normal relations between all the socialist countries, primarily in policies relating to the dangers of imperialist aggression, has assumed key importance.

Clearly, no concession can be made to provocative or adventurist actions and policies pursued by the People's Republic of China. But a concerted world campaign organised by all Communist Parties and the socialist countries for the recognition of China's due rights in the comity of nations can prove helpful.

China has to be admitted to the UNO, Taiwan has to be restored to the People's Republic of China, the American Navy has to be withdrawn from Chinese waters and the Indian Ocean.

Efforts to seek common ground on the question of the defence of peaceful countries from imperialist aggression, and support to struggles for national liberation, should also yield results.

Questions relating to the international division of labour and the coordination of economic

planning between socialist countries have also arisen. The principles on which such fraternal co-operation has to be based are accepted. But there are difficulties in their concrete application.

In this sphere also, the autocratic and narrow nationalist policies pursued by China are the greatest hurdle. But these are problems in the Comecon. Among other reasons they arise from different levels of economic development among the socialist countries, their different historical background, differences in the methods of planning, and similar factors.

The nationalistic urges in the working-class take time and effort to be overcome even after the achievement of socialism. Constant efforts and mutual adjustments would be needed to

smoothen the differences in this sphere, which are surely not unsurmountable.

The international Communist movement has to take a clear position on the question of Yugoslavia. It has to be recognised beyond doubt that a socialist country does not cease to be such because in certain policies its ruling party disagrees with other Communist Parties. Where the working people own the means of production and distribution and hold political power, the country is socialist. Other differences may remain, needing time and experience to resolve them.

Comrades, our Party has followed with keen interest and appreciation the struggle against the cult of personality initiated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It called for courage on the part of the Party leadership to launch the struggle and unquestionably great strides have been taken in the Soviet Union to restore socialist legality and Leninist norms. It is not necessary to see eye to eye with the Soviet leadership on every single act in this process and we have raised doubts and questions on certain issues.

Most important of all, a full and comprehensive examination of all the factors that led to the emergence of the cult, both objective and subjective, is still needed. This is necessary, not only to understand fully the phenomenon of the cult, but to eliminate its consequences thoroughly or more speedily, and to still further develop socialist democracy, with which the question of the cult is connected.

HAITI ...

*FROM PAGE 17

these activities of the divisionists constitute an obstacle in the path of development of the revolutionary movement and undermine the cohesion of the democratic forces.

In spite of all the justifications that may be put forward on their behalf, their activities help the forces of reaction both at the international as well as at the national levels. Such manoeuvres can only have very serious anti-revolutionary consequences. We resolutely condemn these manoeuvres and struggle for the unity of the Communist movement.

The division inflicted on your Party is totally alien to its goal, for it affects in a certain way the capacity of your organisation to accomplish the tasks of education, organisation and popular mobilisation. Perhaps those sincere Communists who happen to be with the dissident minority group today will soon come to see the truth—this is our sincere hope.

In spite of all the accumulated malaise in your society and in the popular movement of your country, we believe that from this Congress will go important resolutions and a concrete programme that will give a new vitality to the movement of Indian working class and of all the other working people of your country. India, thanks to your vigilance, will continue to have for itself the important place in the struggle for maintaining world peace, against aggressive imperialism and chauvinism. On this occasion we take the opportunity of wishing you ever greater successes in your struggle and assure you of our deepest proletarian solidarity.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CPI

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India in its session on December 23 elected a National Council with the following members:

CENTRE

1. S. A. Dange
2. C. Rajeshwar Rao
3. G. Adhikari
4. Z. A. Ahmad
5. Bhupesh Gupta
6. P. C. Joshi
7. M. N. Govindan Nair
8. Yogindra Sharma
9. Romesh Chandra
10. Hiren Mukherjee
11. Satish Loomba
12. Chitto Biswas
13. Sarada Mitra
14. Vimla Farooqi

ANDHRA PRADESH

15. N. Rajasekhara Reddi
16. Y. V. Krishna Rao
17. Tammareddy Sathyannarayana
18. Baddam Yella Reddi
19. Sanku Appa Rao
20. N. Giri Prasad
21. Raj Bahadur Gour
22. G. Yellamanda Reddi
23. Y. Vijayakumar
24. Y. Balaramamurthy
25. J. Sathanarayana
26. Makhdoom Mohiuddin
27. V. Sri Krishna

ASSAM

28. Phani Bora
29. Barin Choudhury

BIHAR

30. Indradeep Sinha
31. Sunil Mukerjee
32. Jagannath Sarkar
33. Chandrasekhar Singh
34. Bhogendra Jha
35. Ali Amjad
36. Chaturanan Mishra

DELHI

37. M. Farooqi
38. Y. D. Sharma

GUJARAT

39. Subodh Mehta
40. P. D. Gandhi

KARNATAKA

41. B. V. Kakkilaya
42. M. S. Krishnan

HIMACHAL PRADESH

43. Kameshwar Pandit
44. Prakash Kapadia

KERALA

45. C. Achutha Menon
46. S. Kumaran
47. C. Unni Raja
48. P. K. Vasudevan Nair
49. K. Damodaran
50. C. Janardanan
51. P. T. Punnoose
52. P. Balachandra Menon
53. N. E. Balaram

MADHYA PRADESH

54. B. K. Gupta
55. L. R. Khandkar

MAHARASHTRA

56. S. G. Sardesai
57. Nana Patil
58. S. G. Patkar
59. V. D. Deshpande

GOA

60. Eknath Bhagwat
61. Narayan Desai

MANIPUR

62. Th. Bira Singh
63. Th. Meghachandra Singh

ORISSA

64. Gurucharan Patnaik
65. Ramkrishna Pati
66. Durgacharan Mohanty

PUNJAB

67. Avtar Singh Malhotra
68. Sohan Singh Josh
69. Teja Singh Swatantra
70. Satpal Dang
71. Jagjit Singh Anand
72. Darshan Singh Canadian

RAJASTHAN

73. H. K. Vyas
74. Swami Kumaranand

TAMILNAD

75. Manali C. Kandaswamy
76. N. K. Krishnan
77. Parvathi Krishnan
78. K. T. K. Tangamani
79. M. Kalyanasundaram
80. P. Manickam
81. V. Subbiah
82. K. Baladandayutham
83. Mohan Kumaramangalam

UTTAR PRADESH

84. Kalishanker Shukla
85. Jai Bahadur Singh
86. S. S. Yusuf
87. Sarju Pandey
88. Ramesh Sinha
89. Rustom Satin
90. Jharkhande Rai

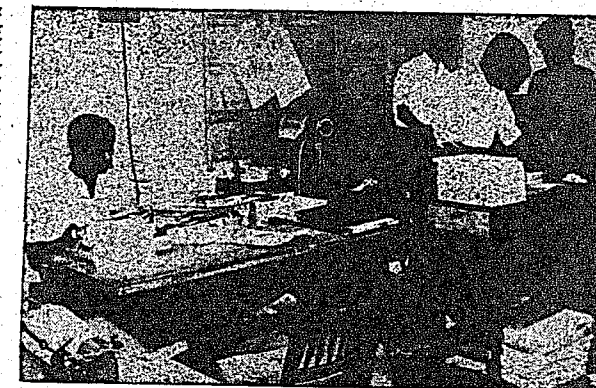
WEST BENGAL

91. Bhowani Sen
92. Indrajit Gupta
93. Viswanath Mukerjee
94. Somnath Lahiri
95. Renu Chakravarty
96. Ranen Sen

Five members are to be nominated later, three from Tripura and one each from Jammu and Kashmir and Party Headquarters.

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

1. S. V. Ghate
2. P. Narayanan Nair
3. Hajrah Begum
4. Master Hari Singh
5. Karyanand Sharma
6. A. S. K. Iyengar
7. T. B. Vithal Rao



Partial View of the Camp Office at Ajoy Ghosh Nagar

FRATERNAL DELEGATE GREETS CPI VII CONGRESS

RALPH GIBSON, CP AUSTRALIA

I bring you the greetings of the Communist Party of Australia to the Communist Party of India. We wish to pay our very warm tribute to the splendid work of your Party in its fight for world peace and for a new life for the Indian people.

YOU are waging this fight in difficult circumstances, facing problems of India along with a serious splitting of your ranks; and it has been splendid to hear at this Congress of the initiative and courage you are displaying in this fight and of the successes you are winning.

We Australian Communists salute you in your heroic struggle which is so vitally important to the people of the whole world. We face many problems in common. We are first of all engaged with you in a common struggle against imperialism and its war moves in South East Asia and the Indian Ocean area.

We have waged the fight for peace in deeds as well as in words, and we have been greatly strengthened in this fight by India's stand of non-alignment and neutrality, her refusal to join the imperialist war alliances, and her pledge not to acquire nuclear weapons.

We have been strengthened also by your own Party's efforts to make the stand of the Indian government a more consistently anti-imperialist one.

Comrades, we firmly clasp your hands in our common struggle for peace in this region and for world peace.

We are also waging a common struggle with you against left sectarianism and Party splitting. And may I say a few words here about our Australian group of left sectarians and Party splitters led by E. F. Hill, a former member of the secretariat of our Central Committee.

The Hill group makes a big noise internationally, especially in certain Asian countries. It presents itself as a great leader of the Australian masses. But in fact it took away only 4 per cent of the members of our Party. It has organised strength only in one state, the state of Victoria, and in a democratically elected conference in Victoria Hill was defeated by a ten-to-one majority.

A few members of the Hill group hold leading positions in trade unions, but they are very few compared with the number of our Party comrades holding such positions. On the questions at issue within the World Communist

Movement, the views of the Communist Party of Australia can be stated briefly in four simple sentences.

First, we stand wholeheartedly by the general line laid down in the 1957 and 1960 declarations of the Communist Parties.

Secondly, we reject and condemn the attacks hurled by the left dogmatists against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other brother Parties.

Thirdly, we think that the world movement will be served by the early convening of a meeting of the world Communist Parties.

Finally, we think that all Parties should approach that meeting in a spirit of unity, looking for points of agreement and common action while we should not give up basic principles.

Comrades of the Indian Party, comrades of the great international Communist Movement, speaking for our Australian Party, I can say that I have been proud to be with you during these historic days.

I have been proud to be in this great city of Bombay which with all its extremes of poverty and squalor, the legacy of centuries of imperialism, is nevertheless a real mass home of the great Indian people, a city of powerful organised workers' movement and proud revolutionary traditions.

Life moves onward, the balance of forces in the world changes each year, the superiority of the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union becomes evident more and more, its great economic and social triumphs become more and more an example to all humanity.

And I feel confident that, if representatives of our Party are invited to future Congresses, they will find that you have already taken great steps forward towards a democratic and socialist transformation of India, towards the creation of a new India that will be truly peaceful and free, happy and prosperous.

Again we salute you, Indian comrades, you whom we recognise as true and loyal upholders of the great cause of communism, standard-bearers of the future of humanity.

POLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS

INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT

THE POLISH STATE ENTERPRISES OFFER: ON RUPEE PAYMENT THE FOLLOWING MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT AND SERVICES



12, Koscielna, Warszawa



Poznanska 15, Warszawa



Mokotowska 49, Warszawa



Czackiego 7/9, Warszawa



7, Ligonja, Katowice



Czackiego 15/17, Warszawa



Jasna 12, Warszawa

For further information please contact:

THE POLISH COMMERCIAL COUNSELLOR'S OFFICE, 42-44, Sunder Nagar, NEW DELHI.

THE CONSULATE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Mewar House
40-A Peddar Road,
BOMBAY.

13, Camac Street,
CALCUTTA.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES AND UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

* FROM PAGE 3

cult is necessary not only for understanding the phenomenon fully but for a thorough and faster eradication of all its consequences.

The emergence of the personality cult can in no way negate the basic and historic superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The dazzling advance of socialist industry, science and culture have already proved this in practice beyond doubt. The cult of personality however distorts and vitiates socialist democracy. The struggle against the cult is a struggle for a constant broadening and deepening of democracy in every sphere of socialist life, social, political and cultural. The question of speeding up the process, including helpful institutional changes, calls for consideration.

★ The unity of the countries of the socialist system is the most decisive force for guaranteeing success in the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The strength of the socialist system arises from the unity of the socialist countries. It is precisely this unity which invests our present new epoch with tremendous revolutionary possibilities and creates new opportunities for the world revolutionary movement.

international division of labour and planning among the socialist countries have lately come up. The mutual fraternal assistance and all-round cooperation on the basis of complete equality between the socialist countries in the interest of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole are essential for the victory of the cause of the international working class.

This objective is also accepted by all, but in practice, difficulties have currently arisen in the actual implementation of this objective. Difficulties are, however, not insurmountable. Given the proper attention to socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism and firm adherence to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, solutions to these problems can be found.

It is possible that the leadership of the ruling Communist Party of this or that socialist country may deviate from Marxism-Leninism and advocate and pursue certain wrong policies for a time. But a socialist country does not cease to be a socialist country merely because of such deviations or wrong policies.

Whether a country is socialist or not is to be determined by the fundamental fact as to which class is in power and who owns the means of production, distribution and exchange. Hence it is wrong to treat People's Republic of China or Albania as anything but socialist states. Whatever the differences and however serious they may be, the question of excommunicating a socialist country whose leadership has deviated from the common line does not at all arise.

It is also necessary to emphasise that Yugoslavia is a socialist country since it is a socialist state by the same criteria and that it should be considered a member of the socialist community.

CORRECT LINE

It is, however, necessary on the part of the Parties of other socialist countries and the world Communist movement as a whole to uphold the correct line of the movement and offer necessary criticisms. But such criticisms must be conducted in a fraternal spirit and must aim at helping those who have committed mistakes to rectify them. In this context, there is every need for forbearance, patience and flexibility in the interest of the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement.

★ The strength of the world Communist movement lies in the unity and cohesion of its ranks, and indeed, unity of all Communists in each country. The pre-Congress discussions within our Party have been marked by the desire for unity of the international movement on the part of the mass of our Party members.

It is, however, to be realised that it is not enough merely to express sentiments for unity; the problem now is one of correctly understanding what makes for unity and of determining concrete steps for achieving this objective. The unity of the world Communist movement, as a whole, is secured, first and foremost, by the unity of the ideological platform, of identity of views on theoretical and practical questions of struggle against the common enemy.

Further, the cause of unity demands that all Communist Parties submit to international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. Observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and the carrying out by each Party of the international commitment accepted by it in relation to the movement as a whole, as laid down in the Moscow Statement, constitute the criteria of international discipline.

In approaching the question of unity of the world Communist movement, it has to be realised that it functions today under vastly altered circumstances.

RESPONSIBILITY

The conditions in which national Communist Parties have to function and their vastly enhanced responsibilities demand full freedom for each national Party to work out its own policies in relation to its specific problems within the framework of an agreed international line and non-intervention by any Party in the internal affairs of other Parties. The unity of the international Communist movement can now be based only on the full recognition of this reality, not only in theory but in practice.

Clearly, this calls for a great sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of each Communist Party. If, in the exercise of its sovereignty, a Communist Party flies in the face of the commonly accepted international line, it is bound to result in the path of disruption and, necessarily, with the passage of time, the path of narrow nationalism and chauvinism. Such a path is totally alien to the elementary principles and ideals of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, such a problem does face us today for which the Chinese leadership, most of all, is responsible.

Normally, open polemics between Communist Parties are to be avoided and solution of differences are to be sought in accordance with the principles and conclusions laid down in the Moscow Statement. But when a Communist Party or a group of Parties openly repudiate the common line, violate international discipline and seek to impose their views on others, such open polemics may become inevitable for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world Communist movement.

But polemics must be conducted in a sober, principled and fraternal way with a view to helping the rectification of mistakes, overcoming the differences and restoring the unity of the movement. Simultaneously, efforts must be made to develop common action on anti-imperialist and anti-colonial issues and on the issues of the struggle for peace, disarmament and so on.

The question of achieving unity is not confined to bringing back the Chinese leadership and its supporters into the common fold.

There are differences even among

CPIs that solidly support the general line of the 51 Parties Statement. The primary method of overcoming them is, of course, bilateral and multilateral talks between the Parties concerned. In this connection, meetings of representatives of CPIs that have to deal with common problems have been suggested. Such bilateral and multilateral meetings will not only help solve these particular differences, but also contribute to the unity of the international Communist movement.

As far as the unity of the Communist Party and Communists of a given country is concerned, this cannot be ensured and maintained unless all the Party members submit to the fundamental principles of Communist organisation and, particularly, the principle of democratic centralism based on full internal Party democracy.

Ideological and political differences within a Communist Party, however serious they may be, must not be allowed to lead to a split. Solutions to differences must be sought within the Party itself and in conformity with Leninist organisational principles of the Party.

OBSTACLE

Life itself has demonstrated that the main obstacle hindering the further advance of the world Communist movement is dogmatism and left-sectarianism, while the danger from revisionism also remains. The overcoming of dogmatism is only possible through the use of the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism to boldly analyse the new reality that constantly emerges and to develop the theory of scientific socialism.

★ In view of the present unfortunate attitude of the leadership of the CPC, our Party has no illusion that the differences within the international Communist movement are going to be easily overcome. However, the Seventh Congress is confident that fundamental loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, will ultimately prevail and the leadership of the CPC and others who have broken away from the common line will rectify their mistakes and return to the common positions of the movement.

The Seventh Party Congress naturally shares the view that the open polemics for which the leadership of the CPC is responsible must be ended in the interests of the unity of the world Communist movement and appreciates the efforts made by the CPSU in that direction.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI endorses the proposal for holding the world conference of all Communist and Workers' Parties and it expresses its most earnest hope that such a conference, with the goodwill and cooperation of all fraternal Parties, will succeed in restoring the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.



Speakers on Draft Programme: from left, Subodh Mehta, P. K. Thakur, Bhowani Sen, Madan Mohan, Mohan Kumaramangalam

Political Resolution

* FROM CENTRE PAGES

pursued by the leadership of the SSP and some other parties of the Left, continues to be detrimental to unity of action.

Among the parties of the Left, other than the Communist Party, the SSP which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character.

Before the merger, the right-wing leaders of the PSP and SP often sided with the parties of Right Reaction and were notorious for anti-communism. Even after the merger, one section of leadership continues to toe the line of Right Reaction.

But the rank and file members of the Party and a section of leadership are genuine Lefts, despite their anti-communist prejudices. It will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party to win this Party, as the other Left parties, for the National Democratic Front.

At the same time, fraternal criticism has to be made of the anti-Communist prejudices of a section of the leadership of the SSP and of the tendency for all manner of opportunist alliances, even with parties of Right Reaction including communal forces.

DISRUPTION

At such a time, the split engineered in the CPI by the dogmatic section will exert a negative influence on the work of building democratic unity for mass action. After having split the Party, they now threaten the unity of the AITUC. The Party must combat these disruptive trends and preserve the unity of the trade unions and other mass organisations.

In spite of all the disruptive and non-Communist methods and language of the rival party leaders, the CPI will adopt an attitude of patience, reason and fraternity. The CP will spare no effort in trying to draw the rival party into joint mass campaigns; while simultaneously exposing its wrong ideology, policies and organisational methods.

The CPI is confident that in this manner, learning from their own experience, an increasingly large number of those who have temporarily gone with the rival party will once again take their due place in the ranks of the CPI.

In this complex situation, the CPI sets itself the immediate task of going all out to build and consolidate the unity of all democratic and socialist forces for the defeat of Right Reaction, for reversing the anti-people policies of the government and for bringing about a shift to the Left. It appeals to all the Left par-

ties, to all progressive forces and personalities, including democratic Congressmen, to join together to discharge this sacred national task at this moment of peril and promise.

The CPI will carry forward to still higher levels its own independent mass mobilisation and struggles, both on a local and all-India scale. It will carry forward the achievements of the all-India campaigns, the satyagraha and the *bandhs*, to the stage of *Bharat Bandh* combined with countrywide, peaceful mass peasant actions. It will work for united mass action, wherever possible, and convergent action wherever necessary.

It will spare no effort to build and strengthen the mass organisations of the workers, peasants, youth, toiling intelligentsia, women and students on the widest possible united basis. In order to discharge its duty to the nation and the people, it will continuously strive to consolidate itself ideologically, politically and organisationally and to build a strong mass Communist Party.

As a way out for the people and in order to effect a break-through, the CPI advances the following immediate platform of action. It is willing to discuss any and all items of this platform with any democratic party, group or personality in order to facilitate mutual understanding and for joint mass campaigning and action:

1. Institute state monopoly of the wholesale trade in foodgrains, with reasonable, assured prices for the peasants and a fair price for the consumer; introduce statutory rationing in all cities and towns and deficit states, like Kerala; open consumers' cooperative stores; fair price shops in urban and rural areas and guarantee regular supply of foodgrains and other essential goods to them.

2. Develop an all-India food production drive by distributing fallow lands to agricultural labourers and poor peasants; by granting occupancy rights to tenants-at-will and sharecroppers other than the holders of land belonging to the rural poor and the poor toilers of the towns; by fixing fair rents; by amending the ceiling acts in favour of the peasantry and implementing them immediately; by opening state farms wherever possible as in Suratgarh, by increased facilities for the toiling peasants to improve cultivation through irrigation, fertilisers and adequate credit; by expansion and democratisation of the cooperative movement; by providing debt relief to the peasants and agricultural labourers; by securing a minimum wage and providing house sites for the agricultural labourers; by assuring fair prices for agricultural goods as well as supply of industrial goods at controlled rates.

3. Secure higher wages and increased bonus for industrial workers and middle-class employees and link their DA with the corrected cost of living index; ensure trade union and democratic rights for the working class in both the private and state sectors and for all government employees; secure opening of cheap price shops for supply of essential commodities in all factories and establishments employing 300 or more persons; develop and promote TU unity and united actions of the working class.

4. Nationalise banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines and plantations; impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit in the case of existing large-scale industries like cotton and jute manufactures, sugar, cement, etc.; take over industrial units and establishments where industrial control measures prove inadequate to prevent mismanagement, corruption, and profiteering; democratise the working and management of the public sector.

5. No further taxes on the people; increase taxes on the higher income groups and profits above the bank rate; cancel the privy purses and all princely privileges; reduce the existing unbearable taxes on essential commodities and reduce their prices to a reasonable level; direct tax burdens on peasants to be reduced and, uneconomic holdings exempted from land revenues.

6. Remove and punish corrupt ministers and officials; take over companies guilty of swindling public money; take effective steps to unearth black money and to prevent tax evasion; ban forward dealings in futures and forward markets.

7. Lift the emergency, scrap the DIR, release all political prisoners and detenus and restore fundamental rights.

8. Promotion of communal harmony, secularism and national integration; ban all communal propaganda; ban the RSS; take effective steps for the security of the life and property of the minorities; take adequate measures for the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan; campaign against casteism.

9. Take adequate measures for the uplift of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and tribals.

10. Defend and develop the national policy of peace and disarmament, non-alignment and anti-colonialism and move forward to the government's implementation of the Cairo Declaration.

11. Work for the settlement of the conflict with China on the basis of the Colombo proposals.

12. Work for friendship with Pakistan through bilateral talks for the solution of all outstanding problems.

13. Stop all cuts in allocations for health, education and other social services; introduce the regional language as the medium of instruction upto and including the university stage; ensure adequate salaries for teachers and for doctors in government hospitals.

14. Take effective and immediate measures for the democratisation of the state machinery, basing on the principle of decentralisation and with more powers and finance to the elected panchayats and other local bodies.

15. Establish full-fledged responsible governments in the centrally administered areas of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi on a par with other states.

16. Break the Congress monopoly of power to form a government of all progressive parties, groups and individuals in whichever state the situation permits, in the first place in Kerala, without any alliance with communal parties.

17. Work for friendship with Pakistan through bilateral talks for the solution of all outstanding problems.

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20. Establish full-fledged responsible governments in the centrally administered areas of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi on a par with other states.

21. Break the Congress monopoly of power to form a government of all progressive parties, groups and individuals in whichever state the situation permits, in the first place in Kerala, without any alliance with communal parties.

FORWARD!

With this immediate platform of action, the Communist Party of India will go to the people, organise them and lead them into battle, together with all other democratic and Left parties, take a gigantic step forward towards completion of the national democratic revolution, for genuine national regeneration and for building up the National Democratic Front.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon all people, including Congressmen, to desire to carry forward the best traditions of the national movement, to democracy, progress and prosperity, to come forward in multifarious activities for national regeneration.

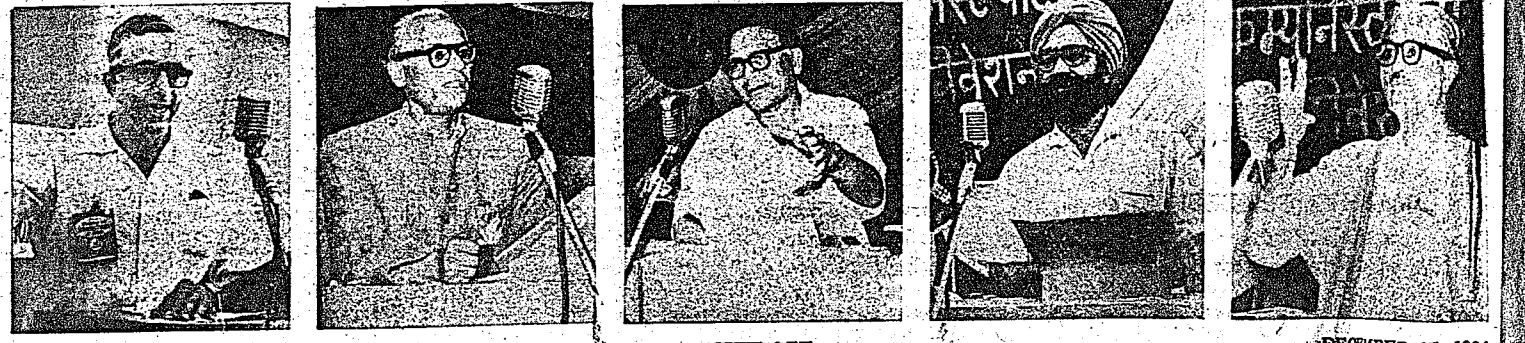
Together we must combat and repel the forces of corruption, decay and parasitism born out of the remnants of feudal social relations, the new growth of the monopolies and imperialist might nations. The sufferings of the people and dangers threatening the progress of the country must make any party and group subordinate their narrow party interests and rivalries to the supreme interest of the nation as a whole.

The socialist forces of the world marching ahead and the hitherto regions of Asia, Africa and I America have been roused and taking forward strides. India shall lag behind.

The objective possibilities do exist for overcoming these difficulties. For these it is, of course, necessary to work out concrete steps and policies, concentrating more on what unites them in common struggle rather than what divides them.

The Seventh Congress of our Party naturally welcomes the initiative which the CPSU and others have time and again taken for the cause of restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Unfortunately, these initiatives have been met with a negative response by the leadership of the CPC.

Certain questions pertaining to the



Speakers on Draft Programme: from left, N. K. Krishnan, V. D. Deshpande, P. C. Joshi, Jagjit Singh Anand, Y. V. Krishna Rao



COMMUNIST PARTY VII CONGRESS ZINDABAD! OF INDIA



SCENES FROM BOMBAY

Above and on right, pictures of the huge procession on December 20 to honour the Seventh Congress of the CPI. Below is a view of the main entrance to Ajoy Ghosh Nagar and bottom, Z. A. Ahmad addressing the mass rally at Shivaji Park.

(Photos: VIRENDRA KUMAR)

