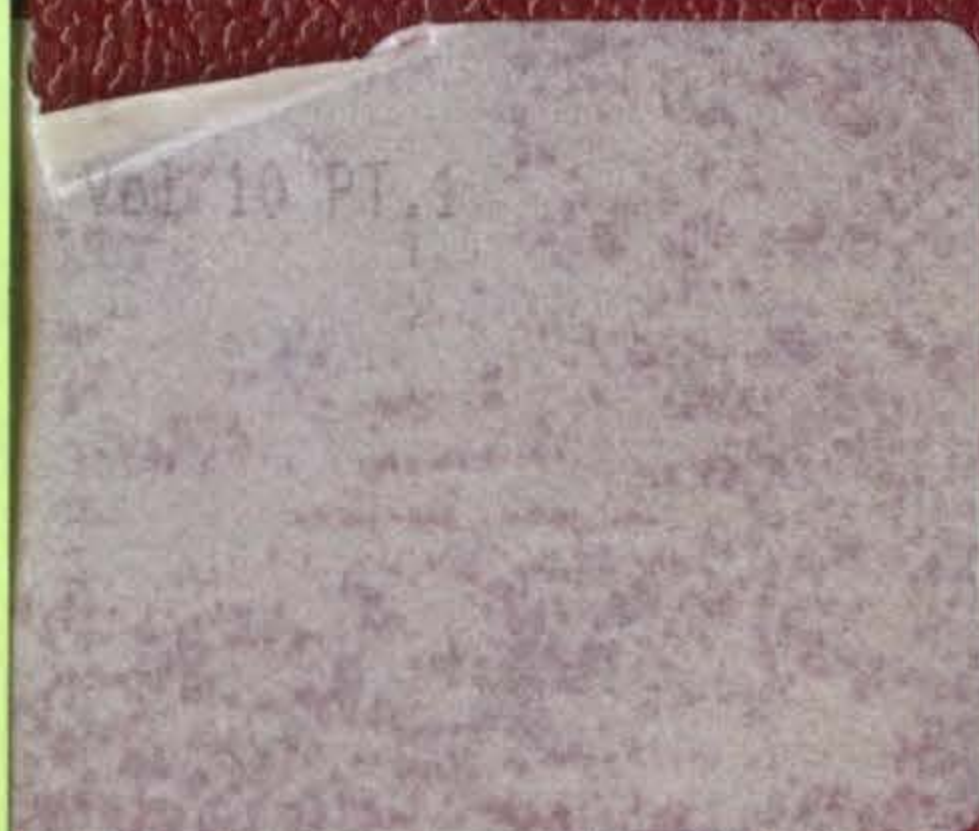
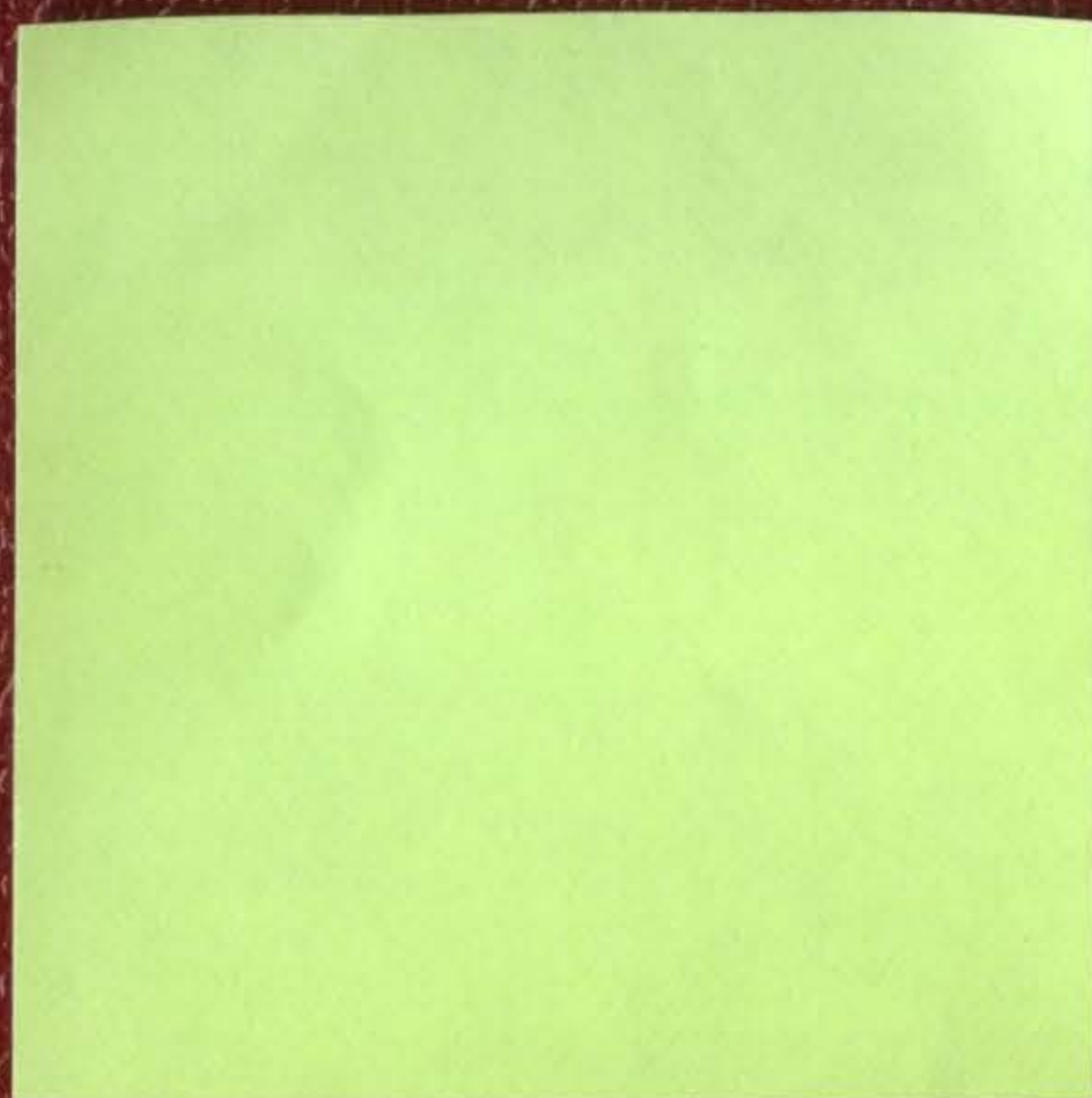


DOCUMENTS OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN INDIA

VOL. X-A

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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	— The Communist International
ECCI	— The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	— Communist Party of India
LM	— The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	— Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	— Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	— Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	— International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	— Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	— Central Committee
PB	— Political Bureau
INC	— Indian National Congress
AITUC	— All India Trade Union Congress
AIWPP	— All India Workers' & Peasants' Party
INTUC	— Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	— All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	— Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	— World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	— All India Students' Federation
CSP	— Congress Socialist Party

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. X-A) contains documents on the Communist Movement in India for the first part of 1964. Most of the documents included in this Volume are of historic importance as they relate to a major division in the Communist Movement in India. The ideological questions as well as assessment of Indian situation are at the root of this division in the Communist Movement in India.

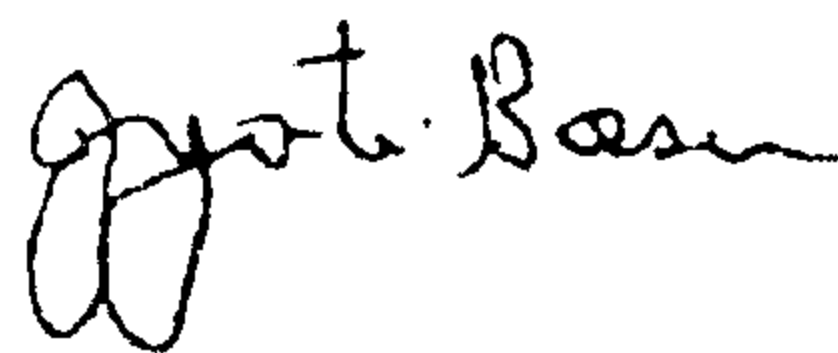
The first document of this Volume is: "A Contribution to Ideological Debate". This document was jointly authored by 11 Communist Party leaders who were opposed to the stand of Dange group attempting to dominate over the Communist Party of India. The second document is: "32 National Council Members' (of the C.P.I) Appeal to Party Members". This document will reveal that all-out efforts were made for a reasonable understanding with the Dange group but it failed. Due to this failure a convention was called at Tenali in which 146 delegates participated from all over India representing 1,00,000 Party Members. In Tenali Convention the decision was taken to convene 7th Congress in Calcutta and the documents on Tenali Convention given in this Volume will corroborate the justification for it.

Other documents of this Volume will confirm that there were divergent views even after taking decision for convening the 7th Congress. These divergent views were gradually reconciled. Efforts were made to exchange views honestly and frankly which yielded good result in reaching a fair understanding and

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resolving the differences. Similar approach was taken with the leaders belonging to the Dange group also but they did not respond in the manner they should have to maintain unity in the Communist Movement in India.

These developments are now part of history and the readers of this Volume are free to make their own assessment about justification of the stand which led to division within the Communist Movement in India.



(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

October 18, 1997

II

Foreword

The decade-long fight against revisionism had culminated into total break with it in the Seventh Party Congress of the Party held in Calcutta in 1964. Documents relating to this split and the formation of Communist Party of India (Marxist) have been incorporated in this Volume. Of great importance in the initial phase was the statement of the thirty-two members of the National Council who walked out on April 11, 1964. This statement contributed to the emergence of a stronger Communist Party of India which has been built and steeled by great sacrifices. Explaining the reasons for final break with the revisionists headed by Dange who rejected all rational proposals for discussions on unity, the statement noted, "Having reviewing the situation for two days, we have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle against this factional approach of the followers of Dange is an integral part of our struggle against their anti-party factional method of preparing for and convening party congress as well as against the reformist political line". It was not that there were no differences among ourselves on certain ideological issues but we were united on the draft programme which had been provisionally accepted. It was decided to have further exchange of views on the ideological and political questions associating the entire Party membership in these discussions. The response from the Party members across the country was encouraging. We met in convention at

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Tenali to give a call for convening the Seventh Congress and to finalise the draft programme of the Party over which the debates continued for the preceding ten years.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Calcutta in December 1964 marked the culmination of our struggle against revisionism within the United Party. It marked a programmatic and organisational as well as ideological break with revisionism, accompanied by complete demarcation on tactics. The Seventh Congress of the Party was truly a turning point in the history of the Communist movement in the country. It adopted a new Party Programme and a Resolution on Tasks in which strategy and tactics of Indian revolution were enunciated and elaborated. The Programme repudiated all the revisionist formulations in relation to the Indian situation and correctly described the character of the State as a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie. It rejected the position of the CPSU that the Indian Government represents the national bourgeoisie which has to be supported. The Party Congress at the same time did not also accept the stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party. It did not accept that the government of India led by Jawaharlal Nehru was a puppet representing the comprador bourgeoisie. It also did not accept that it relied upon US imperialism behind the facade of the policy of non-alignment.

Our Party's struggle for a Marxist-Leninist line was conducted in extremely difficult circumstances. In the wake of the India-China conflict in 1962 our Party leaders, then in the United Party, were arrested and kept in detention for a long period. It became a God-sent for the champions of this line of class-collaboration who, under the new circumstances, got a majority in the National Council. They used this opportunity to launch a political and organisational offensive against those who resisted the reformist line of Congress-Communist unity.

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The Seventh Congress adopted, on the whole, the tactical line of 1951 and effected some changes in the Constitution which was necessary for a revolutionary Party.

In the resolution on the tasks of the Party adopted in the Seventh Congress gave a concrete direction for developing the movement in that situation. The resolution directed to rapidly overcome the weaknesses prevailing in the trade union movement, kisan movement and in the Party organisations, and that political consciousness be inculcated in every way. In order to build a genuine revolutionary party the Resolution made a caution : "These tasks cannot be fulfilled without building the Party on the secure foundation of Marxism-Leninism as the initiator, builder and leader of mass movements and struggles. Our activity should be oriented towards taking up the problem of the basic classes which alone can forge the link that can revitalise the whole Party.

"The struggle against the revisionism must be systematically carried on inside the Party. At the same time, the Party must vigilantly guard against manifestations of sectarianism. For this purpose the Central Committee must prepare a detailed document showing the manifestations of these inside the Party, their political and ideological roots, the weaknesses in the struggle against revisionism, and educate the entire Party on it.

"The Party must organise and encourage study of classics as well as undertake systematically a study of the concrete problems of our country and movement and learn to apply Marxist theory to these problems."

Engel's assertion in this respect may be recalled. In the Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany* he pointed out that class struggle was conducted in a three-fold way— theoretical, political and the practical-economic. He stressed the importance of the concentric attack wherein lay the strength and invincibility of the movement.

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The Seventh Congress stands the most important and decisive Party Congress since the formation of the Party in the final count. Still, we are to learn more how to apply Marxism and Leninism perfectly in the concretely new and newer situation. The resolve of the Seventh Congress as contained in this Volume underlines the importance of this awareness.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)

General Secretary

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

October 18, 1997

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- M.R. Venkatraman**
- Jyoti Basu**
- Hare Krishna Konar**
- Niranjan Sen**

Introduction

We are herewith publishing a draft on ideological issues which are now under serious debate in the international Communist movement. This draft is made after some preliminary discussions amongst some leading comrades of the Central Executive Committee. Comrades Sundarayya, Ramamurthi, Basavapunniah, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Jyoti Basu, Hare Krishna Konar, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, A.K. Gopalan, N. Prasad Rao and Niranjan Sen had participated in these discussions. Comrades Jyoti Basu and Niranjan Sen had expressed their views separately in a document and that also is being published along with this. It should, however, be noted even these participants who had broadly agreed to the positions taken in this draft, on a number of issues, have not the opportunity to discuss it and make necessary corrections and improvement. Hence the draft is a preliminary one and all the comrades who participated in the discussion, except Comrades Jyoti Basu and Niranjan Sen, agree with it in all its essentials.

Different chapters of the draft being written by different comrades, they sometimes overlap on certain topics and appear repetitive. Similarly, we did not try to cover all the ground but only confined ourselves to certain key topics of ideological and theoretical importance in the present international debate. Note also should be taken here in this connection that we have not undertaken in the draft a criticism of the National Council's resolution on ideological questions adopted in October 1963. We propose to do it later. We would also like to bring to your notice that on some of the concrete questions such as the characterisation of the present Indian State the nature of the present Government and its leadership we have some differences and serious reservations with the positions taken by the CPC as well as the CPSU in some of their documents. In drafting our Programme we tried to incorporate our understanding on these questions and excluded all this from this ideological document. It has been our

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endeavour to be as objective as possible without the fear of being dubbed pro or anti CPSU or CPC as our enemies often try to do.

Knowing the importance of the issues under discussion and also knowing our limitations in finally clinching them, we don't propose to conclude this discussion in haste. We want thorough and organised discussion in the entire Party and give full opportunity for all the rank and file to contribute their best so that we may be able to pool the collective wisdom of the entire Party and then come to some decisions on all the questions. It is with this purpose we are printing it and releasing it to the Party ranks.

We hope that comrades will appreciate our endeavour and freely participate in the discussion and enrich the document with their full contribution.

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH

On Some Ideological Questions under Debate in the World Communist Movement

1. It is no secret that on a series of theoretical and ideological questions, serious differences have arisen in the international Communist movement. It is also a fact that the debate over these differences is no more confined to either inner Party or inter-Party discussions, but has assumed an acute form of open polemics. Naturally, this debate affected all our Party members in India, and a good many of them began giving expression to their views on all these issues under discussion, in one form or another. In reality these differences in the international Communist movement have added to our own inner-Party differences, which got accumulated over a long period. Finding the inner-Party situation explosive, some of us demanded immediate organising of proper and thorough inner-Party discussions on all the ideological issues under dispute, so as to direct it into some purposeful and constructive channels. The following passages from the Note on "THREAT TO PARTY UNITY—HOW TO AVERT IT?" would clearly demonstrate the content and nature of our proposals.

2. **"On Ideological Differences :** It is clear to all students of Marxism-Leninism that the sharp differences in the world Communist movement are not of recent origin but date back to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Its deliberations and decisions have introduced certain basic and far-reaching departures in some of the fundamental propositions concerning war and peace, forms of transition to socialism, assessment of the role of Stalin and the cult of personality, etc. This resulted in great confusion in the ranks of Communists all over the world. Since then there have been repeated discussions at different levels within each Communist Party as also between different brother Communist Parties. The international gathering of Communists in 1957 and again in 1960 in Moscow attempted to thrash out these differences and the two documents of historic importance, namely the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, embody the decisions arrived at in these meetings. Then again

sharp differences have arisen in the interpretation and implementation of these decisions. The international Communist movement today is in the midst of a furious ideological-political debate which is increasingly assuming serious proportions threatening the very foundations of world Communist unity. It is obviously wrong to think that the whole affair is only a dispute between the two biggest Communist Parties representing the two mighty socialist states of the USSR and the People's Republic of China. The fact that these two Communist giants occupy the central place in the whole debate, representing two sharply opposed viewpoints, cannot hide the truth that the issues under discussion are of such a vital character as concern every Communist and the entire international Communist movement. Naturally, the Communist Party of India can neither afford to be indifferent nor neutral in the debate as the issues under discussion have a direct bearing on the revolutionary movements in India, besides their international significance. It is, of course, equally wrong for us either to remain as passive spectators of this historic debate or to uncritically line up behind one or the other of the two sharply polemised positions of the CPSU and the CPC. In order to arrive at definite conclusions on all these matters, a thorough and well-organised inner-Party discussion is an immediate necessity. Those decisions independently arrived at after a democratic discussion throughout the Party will not only go a long way to unifying our Party but they also will enable us to play our humble role in assisting the unity of the world Communist movement.

3. It may be asked, have there not been discussions and decisions on all these matters in our Party and are they not independent decisions of our Party? Certainly, there had been discussions and decisions on the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on the 1957 Moscow Declaration, on the 1960 Moscow Statement and the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. But all these discussions, in the first place, had often been of a cursory nature and confined to top committees such as the CEC, NC and in some cases State Committees. Secondly, many decisions over these questions were taken amidst sharp divisions in the Party

Committees concerned. There has not so far been a well-organised inner-Party discussion drawing all the rank and file Party members into it. The decisions taken in the top Committees amidst the sharpest divisions and violent disagreements have not helped to justify the Party but only aggravated the differences and disunity. Now a stage has been reached when the acute differences on ideological political questions are no more confined to some top Committees and senior cadres but embrace the entire Party from top to bottom. It cannot be dismissed as an exaggeration if we were to state that the inner-Party division is so deep that the Party is, more or less, evenly divided, though the depth and breadth of the division may vary from State to State and at different levels of the Party. Hence the urgency and necessity of conducting organised inner-Party discussions without hurriedly forcing on the Party decisions which smack of toeing either the line advocated by the CPSU or the CPC. We should realise that the faith in a great many of our comrades that certain parties or individual leaders are infallible Marxist-Leninists is, now, completely shattered. Some of our Party members are strongly of the opinion that the ideological-political line advocated by the CPSU is departing from scientific Marxism-Leninism and deviating in the direction of revisionism while others are equally emphatic in asserting that the CPC's line is nothing but dogmatic and sectarian. There are still others who consider that the open debate and polemics are causing immense damage to the world Communist movement, that both the sides are distorting the real positions held by the other and the level of the debate is daily deteriorating in its stature and dignity as to cause dismay and depression in our political following. People ask: what remains of thesis of the 'new epoch' if the world Communist movement is divided, and disrupted and, above all, if the Soviet Union and Peoples' China fall apart as is happening today? Terrific confusion and consternation is caused when the entire monopoly bourgeois press in India jubilantly gives in its columns wide publicity to the Sino-Soviet differences while at the same time, pretending sympathy for the Soviet side and unconcealed hostility to the

Chinese point of view. This display of 'affection' to Soviet Communism and hatred for the Chinese version of it are terribly intriguing. In view of all this, it is futile and harmful, too, to impose hasty decisions by the top Committees on the Party, as they would be neither implemented properly nor contribute to building the unity of the Party. Our Party, as an independent, sovereign unit of the international Communist movement, shall arrive at its own independent decisions after a full and democratic discussion in the entire Party. No question of either 'pro-Peking' or 'pro-Moscow' shall arise whatever our enemies shout to slander the cause of Communism. We should not resort to open criticism and attacks whether on the positions of the CPSU or the CPC until our Party concludes its inner-Party discussions to arrive at its own conclusions."

4. To our great regret these well-meaning and constructive proposals of ours were flatly rejected by the leadership of the National Council. Not only were they rejected, the National Council leadership has deliberately and openly committed our Party, in a blind uncritical and factional manner, to one and all the positions taken up by the leadership of the CPSU in the debate. This has neither helped to take us on the path of inner-Party unity nor made any specific contribution, however modest, to the great debate that is on in the world Communist movement. Under these circumstances, we have been left with no option but to clearly formulate our views on all these questions and place them before the National Council and through it before the entire Party for discussion and decision. In this document we try to confine ourselves to positively formulating our opinion on the main issues of the debate and intend to make our criticism of the National Council resolution on the subject separately.

5. **Root Cause of the Differences:** Questions are raised, for instance, as to the origin of the differences, who started the debate first and who is responsible for bringing out the differences into the open, etc. It is also asked : who began the open polemics and who is to blame for some of the vituperative attacks and counter-attack? Similarly, questions are also raised as to whether it is correct to extend these inter-Party differences

amongst Socialist States, to State to State relations and who is responsible for the mistake of extending the same. These questions are, no doubt very important, and pronouncement on them is necessary. But this alone is not enough. This by itself neither solves the problems under discussion nor does it help enriching our understanding. It would be a futile exercise to harness arguments to prove that one or the other party is mainly or solely responsible for all the evils that afflict the international Communist movement today. This method of looking at the problem neither helps a serious examination of the whole dispute nor is it conducive to the process of achieving a principled unification of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. To do full justice to the topic under debate it is absolutely necessary for all of us to adequately appreciate the meaning, origin and character of the differences and to fully grasp their import. We cannot succeed in this effort unless we strive to examine these issues in a dispassionate, objective and historical manner.

6. The root of the matter lies elsewhere and it is much deeper. The extreme sharpening of the class struggle on the international plane and the savage daily-mounting attacks of the imperialists and their lackeys on the socialist and anti-imperialist forces in the ideological, political, economic and military spheres and the needs of the world revolutionary movement to repulse their attacks are in turn expressing themselves in the manifestation and intensification of the differences in the international Communist Movement. Any attempt to isolate the present-day inner-Party differences from the global struggle of the proletariat against capital and extremely complicating problems arising from it would be wrong. Similarly to attribute all the trouble to any one or the other Party is also to miss the essence of the whole ideological debate of its origin and growth.

7. The historic victory of the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war, the triumph of socialism emerging from the confines of a single country to a number of countries in Europe and the great victory of the Chinese Socialist revolution have led to the formation of a powerful Socialist camp headed by the Soviet

Union. This mighty camp of world socialism stands face to face with the camp of imperialism headed by the most aggressive imperialist power, the USA. It was not a mere quantitative growth of the world Communist movement and the world Socialist camp, but has brought a qualitative change, bringing to bear its tremendous bearing and impact on the whole course of the international class war against international capital. Special mention must be made, in this connection, that this class war is taking place under conditions of acute crisis of world capitalism, which is characterised in Marxist-Leninist terms, as the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. This unprecedentedly sharpened class struggle on the international scale, has brought to the forefront a number of very urgent and highly complicated problems, such as the question of war and peace, the mighty national liberation upsurge in the entire colonial and semicolonial world and the forms of transition to socialism in a number of countries, etc. The present differences in the world Communist movement basically arise, in finding out the correct revolutionary solutions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the struggle to apply them in practice.

8. However, it is not enough for practical revolutionaries to merely take note of the coming into existence of the new radically changed correlation of forces in the world. It is absolutely necessary for all Marxist-Leninists to very carefully and concretely examine whether some of the Marxist-Leninist precepts and theses evolved on the basis of a different correlation of forces in the world need any change or modification, whether some of them are no more valid and outmoded and whether new precepts and laws have to be formulated on the basis of the new objective conditions that have come to exist now. It is exactly to grapple with these problems of the post-Second World War situation and to orientate their strategy and tactics accordingly, that a number of Communist Parties and prominent leaders in the past made repeated attempts. Some such attempts have partially succeeded and some others, for example, like a section of the Communist Party of the USA under the leadership of Browder and the Yugoslav League of Communists under the

leadership of Tito have totally departed from the Marxist-Leninist road and degenerated into modern revisionism. Mention also may be made in this connection, that questions such as the general crisis of capitalism and its nature in the present phase, the validity or otherwise of the Leninist law of inevitability of inter-imperialist wars, and whether a third world war was inevitable or whether it is possible to avert it, etc. had become subject matters of discussion in the CPSU itself while Stalin was alive and certain conclusions were arrived at. Not satisfied with those conclusions as adequate and satisfactory to meet the new situation, the leadership of the CPSU had formulated anew all the basic questions at its 20th Congress, held after Stalin's death, and pronounced categorical judgement on all these issues facing the international Communist movement.

9. Several of these decisions were lopsided and unbalanced and were even incorrect. We regret to observe that the leadership of CPSU had done this on its own without adequate consultations and fraternal discussions with other brother parties, some of which were already in power and some others which had grown and become mature to effectively contribute to the discussions on all the burning questions of the day. To put it sharp, the leadership of the CPSU, at the 20th Congress, unilaterally came to certain decisions and faced the world Communist movement with the same. Irrespective of the fact whether one sovereign Party—more so a great Party like the CPSU—has the right to do so or not, one fact which cannot but be noted here is that it has not achieved the desired result of ideological-political unification of the international Communist movement and in fact has become the starting point of serious differences leading to a number of inner-Party and inter-Party controversies. This statement of ours is not a mere assertion, but a fact borne out by life. It is precisely this situation that necessitated the convening of world Communist gatherings in 1957 and 1960 in Moscow to thrash out these differences and arrive at agreed conclusions which were incorporated in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. Those documents have come to be accepted by all the Communist and Workers Parties of the World as the

guiding line for working out the strategy and tactics of the different Communist Parties.

10. In this connection, we think it is not out of place to remind our comrades that, as early as in 1943, when the Third International was dissolved, one of the foremost reasons advanced for such a step was that the movement had immensely grown and the different contingents of the International had also grown and the varied problems which the movement was posing from time to time could not be directed and guided from a single centre, leave alone by a single Party. Subsequent to it the formation and functioning of the Communist Information Bureau and its dissolution later and the convening of the 1957 and 1960 World Communist gatherings, are nothing but repeated attempts to find a correct solution to this problem of guiding and co-ordinating the International Communist movement and finding out appropriate new forms suited to the new conditions. Means and methods, we realise, have yet to be evolved to overcome this difficulty of drawing proper lessons from the history of the international Communist movement particularly during the last one decade and more.

11. The greatest need of the hour is the unity of the International Communist Movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary interest of the international working class. We are of the opinion that it cannot be achieved by hushing up these differences without a free, frank and fair discussion to thrash out all the basic questions of dispute that are at present plaguing the world working class movement. We would have very much liked that this objective was achieved without resort to the open polemics that is now going on. We also very much deplore the tone and tenor of the discussions which often threaten the camaraderie and solidarity of the different contingents of the world communist movement. To our regret, this is beyond our control. We, however, feel that these open polemics should be brought to an end. We equally emphasise the urgency and the necessity of evolving some agreed conclusions between the two great parties, the CPSU and the CPC, which will enable an ending of the polemics. The

deterioration of relations between Socialist States needs to be rectified immediately and proper relations established in the fields of mutual co-operation, trade etc. Under no circumstances should the ideological differences be allowed to extend to the sphere of State to State relations between Socialist countries. We reiterate that the equality and sovereignty of all Parties and Socialist countries should be respected and the methods of solving disputes enunciated in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement should be strictly adhered to; and that Congresses of fraternal Parties under no circumstances should be made into open forums for ventilating inter-Party difference or inter-State differences of socialist States.

12. A new manner and method of solving differences and a corresponding organisational form are yet to be evolved. The interpretation and implementation of the agreed general line is also another important aspect of the unity of the International Communist Movement. Whatever the new pattern which the International Communist Movement evolves to discharge this task, one thing is evident: no one single Party, however great and experienced, can either take upon itself the task of working out a general line for the entire International Communist Movement or claim the sole authority for interpreting and implementing that general line. The growth and emergence of powerful Communist Parties in different countries and new Socialist States led by some of them demand of the present International Communist Movement appropriate forms and methods to give leadership to the world working class revolutionary struggles. Insufficient appreciation of these new realities by one or the other leading big Parties and failure to adapt to them is one of the chief sources of the present acrimonious and open polemics. We regret to note that while completely agreeing that CPSU, the leader of the mighty Soviet Union, is objectively, destined to play a vital role in the world Communist Movement, it does not show adequate appreciation of this factor and often moves in the old groove, i.e., when there was only one single Socialist State, the Soviet Union, and one mature Communist Party with unquestioned

authority in the world of Communist Parties. While not for a moment forgetting the responsibility in this regard of other Communist Parties, particularly Parties like that of China, we rightly expect the lead from the great CPSU which alone can play a decisive role in the reunification of the International Communist Movement to discharge its task. The great opportunities and possibilities can become practical realities only on one condition—the unity of the world working class parties on the granite foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

13. We know that the differences in the International Communist Movement are extremely serious. We are aware that the accentuation of such differences without a principled resolving of them would prevent the utilisation of the possibilities in the new situation and that they only make the archenemies of Socialism and Communism happy and provide a weapon to imperialism and the reactionaries. We also believe that these are not differences which can be solved on the basis of majority and minority. But these are differences on vital principles of Marxism-Leninism and hence no one need have a despondent outlook about the outcome. Confident that the differences can be overcome on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, it is for every Communist Party to take up correct positions and contribute, in however modest a way, to the settlement of these differences and to the restoration of the unity of the World Communist Movement.

14. It is with this object in view that we attempt to express our views on the issues under discussion in the Great Debate, freely and frankly in a comradely fraternal manner. We are quite conscious of our limitations in face of the stupendous problems. There may be and in fact will be many shortcomings in our effort and even serious mistakes, and we are quite willing to learn from the discussions and correct accordingly, wherever necessary.

15. **Main issues Under Debate:**—Coming straight to the differences, what are the main subjects under dispute:

- (i) the characterisation of the present era, that is the new epoch, its content, meaning and significance ;
- (ii) the fundamental contradictions of the epoch and its focal point, the national liberation struggles and attitude towards them ;
- (iii) the question of war and peace, the inevitability of a world war between imperialism and socialism and the possibilities of averting it, national liberation wars, civil wars and inter-imperialist wars and their scope and nature in the present epoch ;
- (iv) the struggle for peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and its class content ;
- (v) forms of transition to socialism in the new epoch ;
- (vi) the attitude towards the main deviation in the international Communist Movement, namely Revisionism as mentioned in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

These, in our opinion in the main form the subject matter of the Great Debate.

The New Epoch

16. What is the new epoch and how is it defined ? The 1960 Statement says : “Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of Socialist Revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more people to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

“It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society”.

17. Is this definition of the new epoch as embodied in the 1960 Statement accepted by the Communists the world over ? We are in absolute agreement with it and we also hold that all the Communist Parties subscribe to this definition. But the

leaders of the CPSU frequently level the criticism against those who do not agree fully with all that they deduce from this definition of the new epoch, that these comrades are not in agreement with the characterisation of the new epoch or that they are opposed to it. They particularly charge the leadership of the CPC of fundamentally deviating and departing from the understanding underlying this characterisation of the epoch. In an attempt to prove their case, they cite a series of quotations from the statements and documents of the CPC.

18. But a careful examination of the speeches and writings of the CPC and other fraternal Communist Parties who differ with the CPSU on a number of questions, does not convince us of the correctness of this charge.

19. Let us examine some of the CPC writings. The article, "LONG LIVE LENINISM", for instance, gave the following analysis:

"In the forty years and more since the October Revolution, tremendous new changes have taken place in the world.

"Through its great achievements in Socialist and Communist construction, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from an economically and technically very backward country in the days of imperial Russia into a first-rate world power with the most advanced technology. By its economic and technological leaps the Soviet Union has left the European capitalist countries far behind and left the United States behind too, in technology.

"The great victory of the anti-fascist war in which the Soviet Union was the main force broke the chain of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution broke the chain of imperialism on the Chinese mainland. A new group of Socialist countries was born. The whole Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has one-quarter of the earth's land space and over one-third of world's population.....

"The imperialist colonial system has disintegrated and is disintegrating further. The struggle naturally has its twists and turns, but on the whole the storm of the national liberation

movement is sweeping over Asia, Africa and Latin America on a daily-increasing scale. Things are developing towards their opposite : there the imperialists are going step by step from strength to weakness, while the people are going step by step from weakness to strength."

And later, "It is a great, new epoch that we are facing and its main characteristic is that the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, that the forces of the awakening people of the world have surpassed those of reaction".

20. The article, "MORE ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMRADE TOGLIATTI AND US" had said, "There now exist two essentially different world economic systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, and two mutual antagonistic world camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. In the course of events the strength of socialism has surpassed that of imperialism. Undoubtedly, the strength of the socialist countries, combined with that of the revolutionary people of all countries, of the national liberation movement and of the peace movement, greatly surpasses the strength of the imperialists and their lackeys. In other words, in the world balance of forces as a whole, the superiority belongs to socialism and the revolutionary people, and not to imperialism: it belongs to the forces defending world peace, and not to the imperialist forces of war. As we Chinese Communists put it, 'The East Wind Prevails over the West Wind'. It is utterly wrong not to take into account this tremendous change in the world balance of forces after the Second World War".

21. Further, the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14, 1963, to the C.C. of the CPSU, states: "The two documents (the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960) point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common Programme of the International Communist Movement." And "The International balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and

nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries.”

22. Is it not evident from all this that basic differences do not exist in the definition of the epoch? The same content is expressed in unequivocal and unambiguous terms, albeit in different words and language. Hence, we do not find any substance in the argument that the CPC differs with this definition. In our opinion, the malady does not lie in agreement or disagreement with the definition of the epoch, but lies much deeper. First and foremost, it expresses itself *in the concrete analysis of the contradictions of this epoch, how they operate in this epoch and the focal point of these contradictions at the present stage of development.* The correct Marxist-Leninist appreciation of the definition of this new epoch lies not in the formal acceptance or rejection of this definition, but in its concrete analysis and application. What are the fundamental contradictions of this epoch?

23. **Fundamental Contradictions of the Epoch:** The fundamental contradictions of the epoch are :

- (a) the contradiction between socialism and imperialism ;
- (b) the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries ;
- (c) the contradiction between colonialism and anti-colonialism ;
- (d) the contradictions among imperialist powers and among different monopoly groups.

24. Is there any difference in the International Communist Movement on the question of recognition of these contradictions as the fundamental contradictions of the epoch ? We think there is absolutely none. One and all the Communist Parties are agreed on it.

25. Is there any difference about the contradiction between socialism and imperialism being the basic contradiction of the present epoch ? We think there is absolutely none. One and all the Communist Parties are agreed on it.

Where then are the differences on this question ?

26. It is evident from the Great Debate that there are some vital differences on the question of the study of these contradictions, in finding out the relation between the basic and the other fundamental contradictions, in locating the focal point of all these contradictions at the given stage of development and in finding the correct methods to solve them.

27. The positions adopted by the leadership of the CPSU, according to us, are not correct. They are adopting a very static approach to the whole question of contradictions as developing and accentuating on parallel lines and entertain the idea that all along the line the basic contradiction alone will get accentuated and all the other contradictions either get accentuated or resolved only after the basic contradiction is resolved. It is an undisputed fact that in the whole process of development of these contradictions, the basic contradiction assumes an increasingly intensified form. It is not enough to note this alone. Side by side, some of the other contradictions which are determined or influenced by this basic contradiction get accentuated, some get temporarily resolved, some partially resolved or mitigated and some new contradictions also emerge. The CPSU leadership does not seem to appreciate the fact that the fundamental contradictions of epoch operate in such a way as to influence each other, interact upon each other and in course of this, push forward one or the other fundamental contradiction to the forefront for solution while the basic contradiction does not cease to be so. They also do not seem to appreciate the fact the maturing, intensification, solving or partial solving of one or the other of these fundamental contradictions forced into the forefront, in turn, influences the further maturing of the basic contradiction itself. The CPSU leadership puts exclusive emphasis on the basic contradiction, more or less relegates to the background the other fundamental contradictions and underplays their role in the present stage of development.

28. All this is very evident in the writings of the leadership of the CPSU. We are quoting below some passages from the Editorial of Kommunist No. 11, 1963, entitled “FOR THE TRIUMPH OF CREATIVE MARXISM-LENINISM, AGAINST

THE REVISION OF THE COURSE OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT". In a separate section on "THE MAIN CONTRADICTION OF THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH," the editorial says :

"The Socialist system is the decisive force of the world revolutionary movement. The CPC leadership does not agree with this. This is why it has been harping on the question of epicentre of the world revolutionary process. The areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America where the national liberation movement is in progress constitute such an epicentre or the 'main zone of storm,' in the opinion of the Chinese comrades. At the same time they relegate the struggle of the two opposite systems, socialism and capitalism, to a secondary, auxiliary position, whereas it is between these systems that the giant world-historical battle is enacted and it is on its outcome that the future of all mankind depends.

"The Marxist-Leninists have all grounds to believe that for all the importance of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries between oppressed nations and imperialism, between imperialist countries and between monopolies, it is the contradiction between socialism and capitalism that is decisive.....

"With the origin and consolidation of the world socialist system the contradictions between socialism and imperialism has become ever more prominent as the main contradiction of our epoch.....

"Running counter to the document of the International Communist Movement, the CPC leadership slurs over the main contradiction of the contemporary epoch as it puts into circulation the concept of the so-called 'intermediate zone' lying 'between the USA and the socialist camp.' According to the CPC leadership, the 'invariable strategic aim of American imperialism' is aggression in this 'intermediate zone.' In the article 'MORE ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMRADE TOGLIATTI AND US' it was explained that these areas are the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, the main centre of revolutionary stores in the contemporary world. Included in the 'intermediate zone' are

all imperialist countries (except the USA), young independent states and the remnants of the colonial empires.

"It is perfectly obvious that the category of the 'intermediate zone' replaces the social by the geographical approach. There is hardly any need of showing that the underdeveloped countries have sharpest contradictions not only with the USA, but with other imperialist countries as well: Britain, France, Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. The theory of the 'intermediate zone' actually lumps together the imperialist countries (except the USA) and in general all developed capitalist countries as well as the countries and peoples which have recently liberated themselves from colonial dependence. Obviously any unity of interests of the underdeveloped countries and imperialist states is out of the question. Inversely, there is a unity (along with contradictions) of all the imperialist states in the struggle against the national liberation movement.

"The development of the world revolutionary process is vastly influenced by the struggle of the socialist countries against imperialism in politics, economics, ideology, their ability to defend peace, direct and indirect support by world socialism of all other revolutionary liberation forces of today, experience in the building of new life and force of example of the socialist countries.

"Of special importance at the contemporary stage is the struggle of the two world systems in the decisive sphere of human endeavour; material, production, economy.....

"In their letter the Chinese comrades intentionally shun the problem of the international significance of the economic successes of the countries of socialism.....

"It is the success of world socialism, the general correlation of forces of socialism and imperialism in the world arena that determine to a vast extent the destinies of the world, and the successes of the national liberation movement, and the outcome of the class struggle of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries.

"In contrast to this, the Chinese comrades believe that the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia is 'of

decisive importance for the international proletariat as a whole'. They even claim that the 'revolutionary cause of the international proletariat depends in the final analysis on the outcome of the struggle of the peoples of these areas accounting for the absolute majority of the world's population, depends on whether it receives support from the revolutionary struggle in these areas'.

"It is fundamentally wrong to deny the revolutionary possibilities of the working class movement in the developed capitalist countries and claim that the destinies of the world revolution depend decisively and indeed exclusively on the outcome of the national liberation movement....."

"But there are no grounds to believe that under the contemporary conditions there are real prospects for the revolutionary movement only in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Under all circumstances it is obvious that the Communist movement would perpetuate a grave error if it proceeded from the proposition on the possibility of the revolution only in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and ignored the interests of the struggle of socialism in the countries of Europe and North America...

"The conversion of world socialism into a decisive factor of the revolutionary transformation of society imposes special responsibilities on each socialist country. The continuous growth of economic power and raising of living standards, ever more extensive development of socialist democracy, consolidation of international ties and cohesion of the socialist community are not only factors of the internal but also their *most effective contribution to the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and the liberation of all mankind.*" (Emphasis added)

29. Does the leadership of the CPSU in all this deal anywhere with the relation between the basic contradiction and other fundamental contradictions of the epoch and how they interact upon each other? No. It goes on only emphasising the basic contradiction and its influencing of all other contradictions.

30. Does it point out what the focal point of all the contradictions is at this particular stage of development? It does not.

31. Does it formulate the question as to what is the weakest link in the chain of imperialism in the present stage of development? It does not. And when others point it the CPSU leadership scornfully brushes it aside.

32. Does it appreciate fully the decisive contribution of the national liberation struggle at the present stage to the cause of world socialism and of world peace? It does not, but repeatedly and one-sidedly emphasises the contribution of world socialism and peace to the national liberation struggles.

33. In short, the CPSU leadership looks upon the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as the principal contradiction mature for solution and consequently, the method of peaceful economic competition to solve this is the sole or over-riding method of solving all the contradictions of the epoch.

34. This erroneous approach on the part of the leadership of the CPSU is expressed in evading the crucial question of the focal point of all these contradictions at the present stage while satisfying itself by asserting the basic contradiction of the epoch between socialism and imperialism. For Marxist-Leninists this is not merely an academic question. It is only when we are able to precisely locate the focal point of all that contradictions that we can place the greatest concentration at that point in the given stage of development. The Communist movement has the classic example of Lenin who changed the earlier understanding of Marx and Engels that revolution will break in the developed capitalist countries like Germany and on the basis of a concrete analysis of the conditions under the era of monopoly capitalism, came to the conclusion that all the contradictions of the period gathered into a single knot in Russia and transformed it into the *focal point* of all the contradictions of imperialism and the *weakest link* in the imperialist chain and hence the revolution would first break out in Russia. On the basis of this understanding the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks were evolved which made the Great October Revolution. Does the

leadership of the CPSU recognise the need for locating this focal point of the contradictions at the present stage of development? Does it specifically state this point in any of its resolutions and documents? To our knowledge, it has no. But when this issue is raised by others like the comrades of the CPSU in the Great Debate, it is denounced as geographical approach and refusal to recognise the basic contradiction of our epoch. This in our opinion, neither does justice to the issue under discussion nor helps the solution of the differences that have arisen in the World Communist Movement.

35. Are we not seeing, in the post-war world, a series of national liberation struggles bursting out in Asia, Africa and Latin America? Is it not in recognition of this fact that 1960 Statement of 81 Parties sums up: "The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system." A number of colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have become such storm centres of the revolution as to blow up the rear of world imperialism. What is wrong in characterising this as the focal point of all the contradictions in the present stage? How else is Marxist-Leninist to characterise it? Does this negate the existence and the decisive influence of the basic contradiction between world socialism and world imperialism? Absolutely not. It is under the profound influence of this basic contradiction that the contradiction between the national liberation movement and imperialism is daily intensifying and bursting out in various forms. It is in this context that the necessity of locating the focal point and the consequent concentration of forces at this point arises.

36. In this connection, it is also necessary to bear in mind that all the national liberation struggles in the present epoch are undoubtedly a component part of the world socialist revolution. It has always been the case with Marxist-Leninist to treat it so. In no case is it permissible to counterpose these national liberation struggles between the working class and the bourgeoisie

in the capitalist countries or vice-versa. The recognition of the importance of the national liberation struggles at this stage as a component part of the world socialist revolution neither negates the role of the working class movement in the developed capitalist countries nor the hegemony of the world socialist movement in the anti-imperialist revolution.

37. The leaders of the CPSU while trying to meet the arguments of their critics that they are not recognising the importance of the national liberation struggles in the present epoch, frequently state that they have all along been giving moral, material and political support to these struggles and that there is nothing defective with their understanding of this question. It is not our contention that the CPSU has not helped these national liberation movements. Who does not recognise the enormous significance of Soviet assistance to Egypt at the time of the Suez War to thwart the plan of imperialist aggressors and defend the independence of Egypt? Who can deny the all-round aid, economic, political, military, rendered to the Cuban revolution by the Soviet Union? Similarly it is known to one and all how the Socialist world and particularly the Soviet Union has given aid to the patriotic war of Algeria and other liberation struggles. Equally well known is the disinterested technical, industrial and economic aid liberally given by the Soviet Union and other Socialist States to the underdeveloped and newly liberated countries. We ask: Does all this answer the criticism levelled against the leadership of the CPSU, that its whole understanding regarding the national liberation movements, at the present historical stage of development is defective and inadequate to meet the requirements of the day? Is it the correct Marxist-Leninist attitude to the criticism of the brother parties, on this issue, to tell them that the CPSU leadership is cent per cent right and there is nothing wrong to correct and scornfully reply to them, "that we alone are capable of doing, what all one can and should do, and others have nothing to offer except brave words and empty denunciations." It is common knowledge, that grave mistakes do occur and in fact did occur while carrying out great revolutions or the building of socialism and communism

after that. It is obvious that a mere citing of the help rendered to the national liberation struggles does not absolve one from several other shortcomings and big defects in that regard. It is certainly our criticism that :

- (i) The leadership of CPSU persistently refuses to recognise the focal point of all contradictions at the present stage ;
- (ii) It underestimates the role and significance of the national liberation movement in the struggle for world peace ;
- (iii) It does not adequately appreciate the fact that these movements are, in turn, helping the consolidation and growth of the world socialist camp ;
- (iv) It does not realise neo-colonialism as more and more becoming the principal form of imperialist oppression and the need for organising an all-round struggle against it except for rendering economic aid to the newly-liberated countries to the extent it can ;
- (v) It frequently exhibits the tendency that these national liberation conflagrations may adversely affect the world peace.

LASTLY, it equates the working class struggles in the capitalist countries with the national liberation movements, *at the present phase development*, denies recognition of the relatively greater revolutionary significance of the liberation struggles of the *present times* in the further weakening of imperialism and fails to locate the storm centres of world revolution *at the given stage of history*.

All this objectively results in restricting the fuller utilisation of the possibilities of these liberation movements in the global struggle against world imperialism.

Nature of the Contradictions and Different Methods to Solve them under Different Conditions.

38. Another important difference in the World Communist Movement arises in the understanding of the nature of these different contradictions and the different methods and forms of struggle to solve them. For Marxist-Leninists, it is not enough merely to recognise the existence of the fundamental contradictions and the principal contradiction, among them. A

very concrete analysis of each one of these contradictions, their nature, the extent of the maturing of each one of them at a given stage of development is absolutely necessary. It is only after such an analysis that different and definite methods of solving these contradictions, depending on their specific nature, can be worked out. On this question also, as we had earlier noted, there are some vital differences in the World Communist Movement, and it needs closer examination.

39. It has been the position of Marxist-Leninists so far that the contradiction between world socialism and world capitalism is resolved through the world socialist revolution, the contradiction between colonialism and anti-colonialism by national liberation revolutions, the contradiction between different imperialist powers through intra-imperialist wars and contradiction between the workers and the bourgeoisie of different countries by socialist revolutions, etc.

40 Lenin, analysing the era of monopoly capitalism and the profound contradiction that the uneven development of capitalism has brought forth, forecast that these contradictions would inevitably lead to intra-imperialist wars. The correctness of this thesis is amply proved by the whole course of development in the 20th century. Does this thesis of inevitability of intra-imperialist wars which arise on the basis of intra-imperialist contradictions, still hold valid ? Do the imperialists inevitably choose the method of war for solving this contradictions ?

41. On this question, it would be wrong on the part of anybody to assert that Lenin's thesis is completely outmoded or invalid even in the present circumstances. It would be equally wrong to state that this law of inevitability of wars between imperialist countries operates *in the same unrestricted manner* as at the time it was evolved on the basis of a different correlation of forces existing at that time. It needs certain modifications in the light of the developments that have taken place subsequently.

42. World monopoly capitalism no more exists as an all-embracing force. The October Socialist Revolution effected the first biggest breach. The victorious socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Asia and Europe following the Second

World War made further decisive breaches and led to the formation of a mighty socialist camp face to face with the camp of imperialism. The emergence of this new profound contradiction between world socialism and world imperialism is bound to exercise a decisive influence on all the other fundamental contradictions including inter-imperialist contradictions. This does not in the least mean to suggest, as some reformists and revisionists would do, that the inter-imperialist contradictions are in any way mitigated or that their importance is lost. The basic contradiction of the epoch between socialism and imperialism further accentuates the general crisis of capitalism and leads to extreme intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions. Notwithstanding the fact the inter-imperialist contradictions get accentuated to an unprecedented degree, it will not be correct to say that the imperialists would inevitably choose the method of war to solve them. Of course, one should not lose sight of the fact that monopoly capitalism and imperialism engender violence and war. Marxist-Leninists are also familiar with the thesis that politics in the final analysis is nothing but the superstructure of economics and war is nothing but the continuation of politics. While not for a moment either ignoring or forgetting this fact, note should be taken of the existence of powerful objective factors operating against it in the form of the mighty socialist camp and its economic, political and military impact on the inter-imperialist rivalries. They have to reckon with the mighty force of socialism, they cannot easily resort to the method of war amongst themselves *as they were doing unhindered in the First World War and to some extent in the Second World War, too*. In fact, even before the Second World War both the groups of imperialists—the Axis Powers and the Anti-Axis Powers—had to take into serious consideration the position of the Soviet Union before entering into the arena of war among themselves. Despite the fact that all the imperialist Powers had evinced a marked tendency to solve their contradictions at the expense of the Soviet Union, life proved that the inter-imperialist contradictions got accentuated leading to a war among themselves. The Axis Powers before they embarked on a war on the Anglo-

American allies had to enter into a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. Similarly, the Allied imperialist powers could not conceive of defending themselves from or defeating fascism without joining hands with the mighty Soviet Union. The final outcome of the struggle in the Second World War clearly demonstrates before us three things: first, the decisive role of the Socialist Soviet Union in securing the victory; secondly, some imperialist powers were, for the time being, put out of commission; lastly, the socialist revolution succeeded in a number of countries leading to the formation of the powerful socialist camp. Further, the imperialists cannot ignore the fact, except at their peril, that under the present circumstances, a full throated intra-imperialist war is always under the danger of growing into a world war compelling the world socialist camp to be drawn into it to vanquish the flames of war and establish world peace. In the face of this objective reality before their eyes, the imperialist powers would be compelled to think a hundred times more about resorting to war as a principal method of solving their contradictions.

43. Hence, while not ruling out the possibility of inter-imperialist contradictions accentuating to the stage of intra-imperialist wars and powerful monopoly capitalist states such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan still exist and are active, it will be hazardous on our part to assert that thesis of inevitability of wars among imperialist powers operates in the same unrestricted way today as at the time it was formulated decades ago under a totally different correlation of forces.

44. There is a tendency in certain Marxist-Leninist circles to pose the issue whether a law is fully valid or completely invalid. We do not think this way of looking at things is scientific. A social law evolved on the basis of concrete correlation of forces neither needs be at all time as fully valid as it was, nor go out of existence merely by some change in the correlation of forces. There can be some stages, and indeed there are, where the law is fully valid and applicable, and certain other stages when its operation gets restricted before it gets completely outmoded.

When the entire correlation of forces is totally changed. To sum up, it is necessary to state that the inter-imperialist contradictions in the face of the principal contradiction between socialism and imperialism, do get accentuated. Secondly, in the changed correlation of forces at the present stage, while not altogether ruling out the bursting out of these contradictions in an intra-imperialist war, a diligent and painstaking study of their concrete manifestation has to be undertaken. This will enable the revolutionaries to successfully utilise these inter-imperialist contradictions in the struggle for world peace, for national liberation and also in the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for socialism. Hence, neither the mechanical repetitions of the inevitability of intra-imperialist wars nor the assertion that this thesis has become completely outmoded and does not operate any longer, is permissible for the practical revolutionary.

45. Now let us take up the basic contradiction of the epoch—i.e. between world socialism and world imperialism. Here again, we note big change has taken place in the nature, growth and intensity of the contradiction. From the stage when a single Socialist Soviet Union came into existence following the October Socialist Revolution to today we have advanced to the position of the consolidation of the mighty world socialist camp. For a long time in this period, when the single socialist state was being encircled by capitalism, Lenin correctly formulated the thesis of the inevitability of a series of collisions including war between socialism and world imperialism before the final triumph of the world socialist revolution and the complete elimination of imperialism.

46. The truth of this thesis of Lenin is amply borne out by the entire course of developments such as the interventionist war immediately after the victory of the revolution in the Soviet Union, the military machinations against the Soviet Union and the perfidious attack on it by the Axis Powers under the leadership of Hitler. But the correlation of forces has radically changed since then. While the basic contradiction is further immensely accentuated, the nature and the methods to solve it,

too, have undergone a change. It is in this context that the question is posed whether a world war between imperialism and socialism is inevitable. Similarly the question is also posed whether the thesis of Lenin on the inevitability of collision including wars between socialism and imperialism is outmoded and has lost its validity completely.

47. Marxist-Leninist, on the basis of the new correlation of forces at the present time, have come to the conclusion that a world war between imperialism and socialism can be averted. But the report and resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU have imported into this concept some misleading and confusing phraseology such as "War is not fatalistically inevitable" and "real possibilities" of averting it have arisen. One fails to understand what fate has got to do with it. Similarly to qualify the possibilities with adjectives like real does not throw any additional light because there cannot be real possibilities and unreal possibilities. As a result of all this, it tended to negate in practice the thesis of inevitability of war altogether, despite the fact that it is often spoken about the danger of war being unleashed by imperialism. The new possibilities to avert war should under no circumstances be confused with the actuality, to jump to the conclusion that the Leninist thesis has completely outlived its validity. While possibilities are there to avert war provided they are successfully utilised, simultaneously the danger of this war should not be lost sight of. The feverish war preparations of the imperialists headed by the USA in the entire post-Second World War period and the number of situations which threatened such a breaking out of war go to amply prove our contention. The possibility of averting a third world war can become real and actual *only when the world socialist camp registers constant and all-round strengthening, when powerful national liberation movements to break the back of colonialism are systematically strengthened and organised, when the working class movements in the capitalist countries steadily grow and become powerful, when the inter-imperialist contradictions are skilfully utilised and when the peace movement acquires sweep and tempo.* The successful discharging of all these tasks alone

will enable the prevention of this contradiction from being inevitably solved through a world war.

48. Then coming to another fundamental contradiction of the epoch, namely the contradiction between the liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies and the imperialists, Marxism-Leninism has all along been stating that those can be resolved through national liberation revolutions by the method of national liberation wars as imperialism does not voluntarily give up its colonial possessions.

49. Does the changed correlation of forces in the world today demand a radical revision of this Marxist-Leninist precept? Certainly, a new correlation of forces has appeared. The economic political and military strength of the world socialist camp, the sweep and breadth of the national liberation struggles, the growth of the working class movement and Communist Parties in the capitalist countries and the accentuation of the inter-imperialist contradictions have created more favourable conditions for the successful organising and winning of national liberation struggles. These favourable conditions can be translated into reality provided the world socialist camp militantly and actively lends its support to these struggles and effectively prevents the imperialists from exporting counter-revolution by innumerable methods, political, ideological, military, economic, etc., and above all, the correct revolutionary leadership given to these struggles in different countries in question.

50. It is one thing to appreciate these favourable factors for the national liberation movement. It is quite another thing, and a completely wrong thing, to deduce from this that a stage has been reached *wherein a thesis of peaceful and complete liberation from colonial powers can be made into a general law*. Some comrades, while noting the phenomenon of certain colonialists conceding political power to one or another section of the bourgeois leadership of the liberation front under compulsion comes to the hasty conclusion that an era of complete national liberation by peaceful methods has come so stay. This, in our opinion, is one-sided, subjective and wrong.

51. Is this phenomenon of imperialists, when cornered, transferring political power to one or another section of the bourgeoisie a new one? It is not entirely new. Lenin had long ago pointed out this phenomenon and the thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International embodies this aspect. It is true that after the Second World War this phenomenon has become more pronounced with the strengthening of world socialism, the rising tide of the national liberation struggles and the weakening of imperialism. The really new factor in the situation is that the political independence conceded, by imperialist under compulsion cannot be reduced to merely a formal one, virtually perpetuating their diplomatic, economic and political hold as in the days of the old when world imperialism was all-powerful. Today conditions have arisen to utilise this political independence and summarily eliminate imperialism from all spheres of life in the country and march forward for building an independent economy and consolidate independence with the help of the world Socialist Camp provided the anti-imperialist peoples' forces firmly take the destiny into their hands. Failure to understand this new powerful factor is, of course, a serious error. But the significant point again to be noted here is that the imperialists have not retreated and effected this transfer of political power to the bourgeoisie except either as a result of the direct blows of the national liberation struggles or when there was a powerful threat which was about to engulf them and inflict a total defeat on them. Even then, the imperialists strive invariably to retain their economic positions intact and even strengthen them, wherever possible. Also, nowhere, in this period, have the imperialist been reconciled to the peaceful transfer of power to the colonial and semi-colonial people when the national liberation revolutions in these countries are led by the working class or its Party. Then again, persistent systematic attempts by imperialists to export counter-revolution by military and non-military methods continue unabated. Wherever the people advance their national-liberation struggle decisively, breaking the political, economic and diplomatic hold of imperialism, the imperialists have invariably resorted to extreme

violence and war. Ample demonstration of this is the violent wars and counter-revolutions organised by imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America in this period. It is from this that one has to draw the correct lessons of utilising all the favourable factors to complete the national liberation revolutions with as little violence as possible from the side of the imperialists. But it is obviously wrong to conclude and generalise that the contradiction between colonialism and anti-colonialism can be solved solely or mainly by peaceful methods. Such an understanding will disarm the national liberation movements. The colossal increase in the export of foreign monopoly capital, specially by the USA, in the recent past, the fanatic drive of the imperialist for the establishment of new-colonialism in the place of the old and the unashamed export of armed counter-revolution and armed intervention in a number of newly-liberated countries to suppress the surging national liberation movements, clearly reveal the truth that the imperialists would not quit unless and until a determined and uncompromising struggle including armed struggle, is waged against them. A series of armed national liberation wars and armed uprisings in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the post-Second World War period testify to this truth.

52. As to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, Marxist-Leninists have held that this contradiction can be solved by the socialist revolution, generally through the method of civil war, exceptions not being ruled out. Does the changed correlation of forces in the world today demand a radical revision of this Marxist-Leninist precept? On the basis of some People's Democratic Revolutions in Europe growing into socialist revolutions without civil war—a phenomenon which took place under certain special conditions—some comrades jump to the conclusion that the stage has come when socialist revolutions in many countries can be achieved by peaceful means. This in our opinion, is one-sided, subjective and wrong.

53. Marxist-Leninists, whenever they discuss the peaceful and non-peaceful method of solving this contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, have never discussed it in

abstract, general terms. This question has always been related to the State and State power of the bourgeoisie. When Marx and Engels during their time discussed the question of the possibility of peaceful revolutions in the USA and Britain of those days, they did so and asked for utilising the possibilities of peaceful development of the revolution because militarism and bureaucracy had not come into existence in these countries then, capable of suppressing the working class revolution by violence. The armed proletariat and the people were strong enough to arrest the bourgeoisie from unleashing violence on the revolution. Those conditions are entirely changed in the whole world today. The bourgeoisie of different countries have organised modern states with powerful standing armies, police and bureaucracy. On this, Lenin had the following to say in "STATE AND REVOLUTION."

"It is interesting to note, in particular, two points in the above quoted argument of Marx. First, he confines his conclusion to the continent. This was understandable in 1871, when England was still the model of a purely capitalist country, but without militarism and, to a considerable degree, without a bureaucracy. Hence, Marx excluded England, where a revolution, even a people's revolution, then seemed possible, and indeed was possible, *without* the preliminary condition of destroying the 'ready-made state machinery.'

"Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, *this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid.* Both Britain and America, the biggest and the last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense that they had no militarism and bureaucracy, have completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and trample everything underfoot. Today, in Britain and in America, too, 'the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution is the *smashing, the destruction* of the 'ready-made state machinery' (perfected in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, upto the 'European' general imperialist standard)".

54. Lenin, in April-June 1917, when for a time saw the possibility of transforming the bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution by peaceful methods, concretely analysed the then existing state and advocated the possibility of a peaceful revolution. Lenin said in his "LETTERS ON TACTICS": For it must not be forgotten that in Petrograd the new Government does not and cannot use violence against them, for there is no police, no army separate from the people, no officialdom standing omnipotently above the people. This is a fact and it is the kind of fact that is characteristic of a state of the type of the Paris Commune". In his pamphlet "ON SLOGANS", he wrote "The *essence* of the matter was that the arms were in the hands of the people, and that no coercion from without was exercised over the people. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the development of the revolution. The slogan 'All power must be transferred to the Soviets' was a slogan for the next step, the next directly feasible step, in this peaceful path of development. It was a slogan for a peaceful development of the revolution, which was possible between February 27 and July 4, and which was, of course, most desirable, but which is now absolutely impossible."

55. But of late, this concept of peaceful socialist revolution is often discussed in certain Communist circles unrelated to the concrete conditions obtaining in each country and also unconnected with the two aspects of this contradiction, namely, the bourgeoisie and its state power on the one side and the organised working class and its allies on the other. We also find attempts to mechanically deduce the law of peaceful socialist revolutions from the general growth of the world socialist movement and the weakening of imperialism. Undoubtedly the existence of a powerful socialist camp, the extreme weakening of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and the growth of the ideas of socialism have opened up in the present epoch not only greater possibilities for the tempo and sweep of the socialist revolutions, but also the possibility of its acquiring the capacity to restrict the bourgeoisie from unleashing violence and, in some extremely favourable conditions, even eliminating it.

56. But it would be a grievous mistake to make peaceful transition more or less a general law of the epoch. To our surprise, we find that with a few exceptions, a great majority of the Communist Parties of the world have declared not merely their striving to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful methods but also assert the peaceful path to more or less exclude all other possibilities. What else is this but making it almost a general law of the epoch? The proletariat in different countries should certainly strive to utilise all the possibilities of achieving the socialist revolution peacefully while not for a moment entertaining illusions about the bourgeoisie and its inherent tendency to use violence to retain its exploitation. Even the new possibilities of peacefully achieving the revolution or achieving it with comparatively less violence can be transformed into actuality only when the proletariat and its Party is fully prepared to meet all eventualities and foil the attempts of the bourgeoisie to drown the revolution in war and violence.

57. Unfortunately, however, there is a deviation from this correct and comprehensive understanding of the nature of this contradiction and the method of solving it, relying exclusively on the method of peaceful transformation. This, in our opinion, ideologically and organisationally disarms the working class and results in total failure in utilising whatever possibilities exist for a peaceful transition. How far this deviation exists and what harmful effects it has on the building up of the revolutionary movement in different contingents of the World Communist movement cannot be fully revealed by quoting and counterquoting from resolutions and documents of different Parties. A self-critical examination of their whole method of functioning, building up of the Party, ideological-political education of the Party members and the working class has to be undertaken. Then only will we be able to locate the mistaken notions prevailing on this question and correct them. As far as our Party is concerned, a totally revisionist understanding of this concept has gained currency which we had noted in some of our earlier Party documents and would deal with it separately and exhaustively.

58. In the foregoing paragraphs, we have attempted to point out briefly how the CPSU has been mistakenly counterposing the basic contradictions of the epoch with the other fundamental contradictions of the time and start looking upon the other contradictions more or less as static while all the time basic contradiction alone gets accentuated and the solution or otherwise of it determines the growth and resolving of the other contradictions. In a way, it is a tendency of dogmatism to arbitrarily subordinate the growth, maturing, and resolving of the other contradictions of the era to the basic one while grossly minimising the impact and importance of other contradictions influencing the main contradiction.

59. It is this outlook that is at the root of another serious mistake of applying more or less a uniform method of solution for all the contradictions irrespective of the fact that the nature of these different contradictions varies very much in the present-day situation. Consequently they not only visualise the possibility of solving the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism without violence and war, they also tend to visualise the same peaceful method for solving other fundamental contradictions such as the contradiction between the national liberation movements and imperialism, and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

60. It is again from the same source another mistake also arises namely, of reducing the new different method or methods of solving the basic contradiction of epoch to a single form of struggle for peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition. As we have already pointed out, the basic contradiction need not necessarily be resolved through a war which can be averted and can be resolved by other methods such as all-round strengthening of the socialist camp, strengthening of the national liberation movement, of working class movements in the capitalist countries and of the peace movement, etc. The innumerable forms of struggle to solve this contradiction are sought to be pressed into a single slogan of peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition and peace between the two camps. It is an exclusive stress on this form of struggle—

peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition—to the neglect of equally important forms of struggle against imperialism and imperialist wars that is discernible in several documents and statements of the leadership of the CPSU and at times manifesting in practice too.

War and Peace

61. We have already discussed in the foregoing chapter, while dealing with the question of contradictions, certain aspect of imperialism and war, and war as a method of solving contradictions. We propose to discuss here in a more detailed manner the question of war and peace in the present situation.

62. The question of war and peace is a burning question facing the whole world. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind in this century and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed capable of causing unheard of destruction and ruin. A new world war must not be allowed to break out.

63. Socialism does not need war. Communists have always been in the front ranks in the fight against war and for peace. They stand for universal peace, security and conditions in which all men and all people will enjoy peace and freedom. The goal of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Sources of War

64. War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system.

65. Revisionists of the Second International put forward the thesis that it is the arms race that breeds war. The Yugoslav revisionists say that existence of two military-political blocs—NATO and the WARSAW PACT POWERS, i.e. imperialist and socialist blocs—is the source of war. The revisionists of the Second International said that national strivings of the colonies

in the East and the existence of military dictatorship in the Soviet Union were a danger to world peace. Modern revisionists of all hues say that a single spark may lead to world conflagration, a lunatic pilot dropping a nuclear bomb may lead to a world war. These attempts to cover up the real and fundamental causes of war are futile. Marxist-Leninists have always held that imperialism is the source of wars in modern times. War is only a continuation of the politics of imperialism. The thesis of the Yugoslav revisionists thus puts the defensive socialist bloc on a par with the aggressive military NATO, the war bloc of the imperialists. Modern revisionist are afraid of national liberation wars and proletarian revolutions and civil wars on the spurious plea that they may lead to world war. Marxist-Leninists reject such revisionist theories.

Lenin's Thesis of Inevitability of Wars.

66. War and aggression are inherent in imperialism. In his preface to the French and German editions of his book "IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM" (on July 6, 1920 i.e. two and-a-half years after Socialist State was born), Lenin wrote:

"Proof of what was the true social, or rather the true class character of the war is naturally to be found, not in the diplomatic history of the war, but in analysis of *objective* position of the ruling *classes* in *all* the belligerent countries. In order to depict this objective position one must not take examples or isolated data (in view of the extreme complexity of the phenomenon of social life it is always possible to select any number of examples or separate data to prove anything), but the *whole* of the date concerning the *basis* of economic life in *all* the belligerent countries and the *whole* world.....And this summary proves that imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property as the means of production exists." (FLPH, Moscow, Pp. 9-10.)

67. When Lenin said this Soviet Union was already born: the world war was divided into two camps, the capitalist camp and the socialist camp. The Soviet Union stood for peace,

against war; it actively promoted and assisted the forces of peace and freedom all over the world. Yet, basing on the study of objective laws of development, Lenin maintained that wars are inevitable under imperialism.

68. Imperialism was the predominant force in shaping of world events before the Second World War. The correlation of class forces, the degree of organisation and the awareness and resolve of the people were not strong enough to prevent the imperialists from pursuing their aggressive designs and unleashing war. The world proletariat, the main force opposed to the threat of a new world war, was disorganised by the treachery of social-democrats, who, as during the First World War, ranged themselves behind their own bourgeoisie.

69. Still, the imperialists had to reckon with Soviet Union. While world capitalism was involved in its general crisis and under decay, Socialism was marching triumphantly in the Soviet Union. Its political, economic and military strength had grown and become invincible. The imperialist powers could ignore this new power—Soviet power—only at their own peril. In their schemes for conquest and redivision of the world, they could not but take into cognisance the existence of the Socialist State.

70. Between the two world wars, the basic contradiction in the world was between socialism and capitalism. The Anglo-American imperialists fostered Hitler for an attack on the Soviet Union. But inter-imperialist contradictions got intensified and proved stronger resulting in the breaking out of the Second War between the Anglo-American imperialist bloc and the German-Italian-Japanese fascist bloc. Events once more proved the correctness of Lenin's thesis that wars are inevitable under imperialism.

New Epoch, New Possibilities

71. After the Second World War, the situation has radically changed. Now there is a powerful world camp of socialism comprising one-third of humanity, which has become politically, economically and militarily a mighty force. This camp is now exerting a powerful influence, is becoming a decisive factor in

shaping the development of society. Imperialism has lost its former privileged position and is enmeshed in a new and more acute stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The working class movement in all countries headed by the Communist Parties has grown powerful. National liberation movements have triumphed in a number of countries and colonialism is collapsing. A number of countries, where the bourgeoisie is in power, are following a policy of neutrality. Many of the newly-liberated countries are following a policy of anti-imperialism and non-alignment. Large sections of the people in the imperialist metropolitan countries, including sections of the bourgeoisie, are interested in averting a new world war. A strong peace movement, organised and united, is developing. Further, the aggressive war blocs that U.S. imperialism is building, are full of contradictions which are continuously getting intensified, thus weakening them.

72. In this entirely altered situation, with the balance of forces continuously tilting in favour of socialism and peace, opportunities have arisen for solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

Is a World War Inevitable in the New Epoch?

73. Is a world war inevitable in this new epoch? Mao-tse-Tung in 1950, had said: "The menace of war by the imperialist still exists, the possibility of a third world war still exists. But the forces thwarting the danger of war and preventing a third world war are rapidly developing, and the political consciousness of the masses of the people of the world rising. *A new world war can be prevented* provided the Communist Parties of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united." (Peoples' Daily, June 13, 1950—Emphasis added). On this subject, Stalin in his famous interview, had said: "Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the people will take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the war mongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people

in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war." (February 1951)

74. Apart from these general observations of Comrades Stalin and Mao, the question of war and peace in the new conditions obtaining today was sharply raised during the critical discussions organised by the CPSU in 1951-52, Comrade Stalin summing up these discussions said in his "ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR": "Some Comrades hold that, owing to the development of new international conditions since the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the contradictions between the socialist camp and capitalist camp are more acute than the contradictions among capitalist countries; that the USA has brought the other capitalist countries sufficiently under its sway to be able to prevent them going to war among themselves and weakening one another; that the foremost capitalist minds have been sufficiently taught by the two world wars and the severe damage they caused to the whole capitalist world not to venture to involve the capitalist countries in war with one another again and that, because of all this, wars between capitalist countries are no longer inevitable." Stalin on the same occasion had very graphically analysed the position of different capitalist states and the inherent deep contradictions among them, how they would get intensified in course of time and how they in no way get mitigated or softened in the face of the basic contradiction that world imperialism has got with world socialism. He was absolutely right in rejecting the mistaken contention that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war was no more valid and had become completely obsolete. But in so doing he had concluded in the following manner: "But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force.

"It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerfully popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. This is not true."

And, in conclusion, he said: "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."

75. Of course, it is very correct to state that as long as imperialism as a *considerable force* exists in the world, as it does in the present circumstances, it is a breeding ground for all sorts of wars. Wars of intervention and a number of wars on colonial and semi-colonial peoples' uprisings, the frenzied drive for a third world war and the creation of military blocs like NATO, SEATO, etc., in the post-Second World War period go to amply demonstrate this.

76. But the question that is specifically posed here is the question of the thesis of inevitability of wars between imperialist countries and of world war between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism. To assert as Comrade Stalin has asserted that this law is as fully in force as it was before the entirely and radically new correlation of class forces that has come to exist with the formation and growth of the powerful world socialist camp, does not adequately reflect these new factors. Following from this, he does not clearly state how this law operates in a restricted manner in the light of the new alignment of class forces. Consequently, the thesis that a new world war, particularly a war between world imperialism and world socialism, is not inevitable and the possibilities of averting it have arisen, does not sharply emerge. This new understanding will enable the anti-imperialist forces of peace, democracy and socialism to confidently carry out struggle to translate these new possibilities into realities.

77. Similarly, while stressing the inter-imperialist contradictions and the possibility of these contradictions developing into wars amongst themselves, Comrade Stalin did not state how the powerful socialist world that has come into existence also profoundly influences and becomes a decisive factor in the matter of inter-imperialist contradictions leading to inter-imperialist wars. To merely restate that inter-imperialist contradictions will inevitably lead to war as in the case of the First World War and to some extent in the beginning of the

Second World War does not do full justice to the existing reality, that is, that the world socialist system is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in the development of society and its impact on the thesis of inevitability of intra-imperialist wars.

78. This question was posed anew at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and some definite conclusions were arrived at. Comrade Khrushchov in his report stated the following: "There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when (i) imperialism was an all embracing world system, and (ii) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organised, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war." Continuing his argument, he showed how at the present time a mighty anti-war force had come to exist in the form of the powerful camp of socialism, the emergence of strong working class movements in capitalist countries, the large group of newly liberated countries where hundreds of millions of people live which are actively working to avert war and the broad movement of peace in the world—all constituting a powerful factor against world war. From this he proceeded to state: "In these circumstances, certainly the Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars will also be preserved, remains in force. That is why we must display the greatest vigilance. As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression, and may try to unleash war." And, he concluded: "But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually do try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans."

79. This undoubtedly was a welcome attempt and a great contribution by the leaders of the CPSU at its 20th Congress to reassess the new mighty forces for peace and against war, particularly a world war between the camp of imperialism

headed by the USA and the camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union. It was also very correct on the part of the 20th Congress of the CPSU to assert the new possibility of averting a world war between the camps of imperialism and socialism. Similarly, it was also right on the part of the leadership of the CPSU to state that such a world war is not inevitable in the sense that it is inescapable as in the circumstances prior to the emergence of the new and mighty anti-war forces.

80. But the manner and method in which this correction was sought to be made at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and different confusing formulations made therein and subsequent development of these ideas and practice in the period since then have definitely tended towards a wrong class understanding on this question.

81. First of all, it is defective in clumsily clubbing different categories of war under imperialism instead of clearly separating these different types of wars, such as the world war between imperialism and socialism, wars between different imperialist states, wars between colonial powers and the liberation movements and also the relation between imperialism and civil wars.

82. Secondly, while asserting the possibility of averting a world war between imperialism and socialism, it clean avoids the topic of inter-imperialist wars, their inevitability or otherwise and their relation, if any, to world war.

83. Thirdly, while thus maintaining on the one hand that "the Leninist precept that so long as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars will also be preserved remains in force", and on the other, boldly stating that "war is not fatalistically inevitable", it casts serious doubts and undermines the faith in the Leninist law of inevitability of intra-imperialist wars, thus paving the way for all sorts of revisionist conclusions that this thesis is completely outmoded and *altogether* ceases to be valid. One can understand if it is stated that the view is still in force but its operation gets restricted in the light of the new correlation of forces and other developments that have taken place.

84. Fourthly, the emphasising of the possibility of averting war is carried to such an extent as to lead to the belief that it is not merely a possibility which can be made into a reality only if certain definite and decisive conditions are fulfilled but has almost become the reality and thus underplays the actual danger of world war and its potentialities inherent in imperialism.

85. This new thesis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU on war and peace and the understanding revealed in the speeches and writing of Soviet comrades became a subject matter of discussions in the world Communist movement. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of World Communist gatherings while carrying forward the correct aspect embodied in this thesis of the 20th Congress, further elaborated and supplemented the entire thesis, thus barring the door for any revisionist and opportunist understanding of Marxism-Leninism on the crucial question of imperialism and war and peace.

86. The Moscow Statement of 1960 correctly and comprehensively stated the correlation of class forces in the present stage in the following words: "*The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national liberation movement, the intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist world and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.*"

87. As against the world socialist system, analysing the present decay of the capitalist system, the Statement rightly characterised U.S. imperialism as the biggest international exploiter, an enemy of the peoples of the whole world and the mainstay of colonialism. The statement said: "The most developed capitalist country has become country of the most distorted, militarised economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into

Africa is increasing. U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter. The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic 'aid'."

"International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world."

"The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the USA, make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms."

88. On the question of war and peace, the Statement, reiterating the Leninist precept on the question said: "War is a constant companion of capitalism..... As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression." The Statement analysed the aggressive policies of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and stated: "The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war." And that "The war menace has grown."

89. The Statement then points out what is new in the situation in the following words: "The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of following its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable." The factors and forces which can avert war were also noted by the Statement:

"The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

"To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples

against those who are heading for war, organise the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interests in new wars."

"Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level."

It ended with the warning: "But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the people will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it."

90. The Statement also made clear under what conditions society can be rid of war altogether: "The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The USSR will become the leading industrial power of the world. The socialist China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial output. The peace zone will expand. The working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.* The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."

91. The above-quoted passages from the 1960 Statement make matters perfectly clear without leaving any room for ambiguity. Firstly it takes note of the mighty growth of the anti-war forces. Secondly, it comes to the conclusion that a world war between imperialism and socialism can be averted and possibilities have arisen which if they are properly utilised can prevent the outbreak of such a war. Thirdly, it takes serious note of the imperialist camp led by the USA, its aggressive war designs and how the danger has grown and how it is incumbent

on the forces of peace and socialism to be ever-vigilant to curb the imperialist maniacs from starting a war and crush them and wipe capitalism out of existence and bury it if they start this gamble. Lastly, the Statement visualises new successes for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism which will not only create conditions for the possibility of averting a third world war but the possibility would have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even if capitalism still exists in a part of the world.

92. Is this correct Marxist-Leninist understanding strictly adhered to by the leadership of the CPSU in their writing, speeches and practice? We are of the opinion that there are serious deviations from it. There is lopsided emphasis on certain aspects, particularly in minimising the danger of world war and the all-sided struggle needed to and weaken and defeat imperialism and avert a world war.

93. A point to be noted in relation to this question of war and peace is the attitude of Marxist-Leninists to this whole question of imperialism and war and the clear distinction they draw between just wars and unjust wars. Lenin said, "We have always said that there are wars and wars. We condemned the imperialist war but we did not reject war in general."

94. Marxist-Leninists have always upheld revolutions, civil wars between the exploited and the exploiting classes and national liberation wars as an inherent right of the people. These are also wars, and they are bound to break out again and again so long as capitalism and its exploitation exists. Communists have always participated in such struggles, led them and done all to make them successful. Keeping this in view Lenin had also said, "To decry all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism."

95. Hence it is impermissible for Marxist-Leninists to talk about war in general and to confuse between war between imperialism and socialism, the intra-imperialist wars, the national liberation wars and civil wars. The possibility of averting a third world war which has arisen in the new circumstances should not

be mechanically extended as a general law to different types of wars as have been mentioned already and a detailed and concrete study of different categories of wars is absolutely essential to take up a correct attitude and adopt a Marxist-Leninist standpoint on them.

96. The Statement categorically speaks of U.S. imperialism as 'the mainstay of colonialism today' and as "the main force of aggression and war." The three years since the Moscow Statement have corroborated the correctness of this. U.S. imperialists have spread their net of war bases to new areas and enlarged their field of aggressive actions. The Seventh Fleet is being sent to the Indian Ocean, thus bringing cold war to this area. They have strengthened their network of nuclear missile bases directed against the socialist camp. Aerial spying has become a routine job. The disposition of missile-equipped submarines abroad has been strengthened. The troops of the NATO bloc under U.S. command have pushed eastward and approached the borders of the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia. NATO forces specially the West German revanchists, are being equipped with nuclear rocket missiles. The number of American troops in South Vietnam has been increased to 16,000.

97. The military expenditure of the U.S. imperialists has increased from 4670 crores of dollars in 1960 to an estimated 6,000 crores of dollars in 1964, the highest total ever in peace time and greater than during the Korean War. In the past two or three years, as per Kennedy's own admission, there has been a 100% increase in the number of nuclear weapons of the U.S. strategic alert forces, and a 45% increase in the number of combat-ready divisions and a 175% increase in the procurement of airlift aircraft. The 'special guerilla and counter-insurgency forces' have been increased five times. The British, French and other imperialists are likewise strengthening their military forces and equipping them with nuclear weapons.

98. This enjoins upon all the contingents of the world Communists movement and more so the CPSU to constantly expose and isolate U.S. imperialism. But this is not consistently done and the leaders of the CPSU frequently indulge in nursing

illusions of bringing U.S. imperialists to the positions of world peace and abandoning their gamble with war. The struggle to expose and isolate U.S. imperialism should, in no case, be subordinated to the struggle for peaceful co-existence of States including the USA and the struggle to develop cultural, trade and other economic relations with it.

99. The Statement very correctly states, "*The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.*" It naturally follows from this that the national liberation movements of the present epoch assume a definite and decisive role in breaking the backbone of imperialism and make an outstanding contribution to the global struggle to avert a world war and achieve peace. Here again, we find the leaders of the CPSU treating this as one of the many factors in the struggle for world peace, sometimes equating and some other times counterposing them to the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries.

100. The Statement pointedly highlights how in the new conditions stronger imperialist states are feverishly trying to penetrate into the economy of their weaker partners on the one hand and making hectic efforts to export foreign monopoly capital under the guise of economic "aid" on the other. This is increasingly becoming the main form of colonialism which in other words is characterised as neo-colonialism. Here again, we observe that the leaders of the CPSU do not concretely expose this menace and fondly hope that this can be fought mainly relying on the economic aid rendered by the Socialist States to the underdeveloped countries. The importance and significance of the struggle of the popular masses under the leadership of the working class against this menace of neo-colonialism to defeat it and completely liquidate it is either glossed over or underplayed. From this a strong tendency is discernible to exaggerate the economic and industrial growth of the newly-liberated underdeveloped countries with the aid of the socialist camp and to grossly minimise the massive penetration of foreign monopoly

capital and the dangers it carries to the economic independence as well as political sovereignty of these countries which, in its turn, will weaken the struggle for world peace and avert a world war.

101. Another deviation on the question of world war and the struggle for peace is seen on the role and impact of thermonuclear weapons. We often hear Comrade Khrushchov asserting that either a thermonuclear war or peaceful co-existence are the only alternatives before humanity. We do not think this way of posing the questions is correct. It is quite correct to say that thermonuclear weapons do change the forms of war and also that they act as deterrents up to a certain stage. We also realise the importance of the socialist camp advancing its armaments and technology to meet this menace and be ever prepared to meet the imperialist blackmail. Is it impossible that these nuclear arms in the possession of two opposing camps of imperialism and socialism can bring about a situation where these weapons are banned from being used and yet the possibility of waging wars with conventional arms remains? Would it not be pedantic on the part of Marxist-Leninists to make the whole question of war and peace hinge on nuclear weapons and their destructive character? Will it be correct to relegate the basic sources of war, its economic, social, political causes, to secondary positions and push nuclear weapons into the forefront as the decisive factor on the question of war and peace? The complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, which if used would lead to enormous destruction and death and suffering for hundreds of millions of people, is an important task in the struggle for world peace. The possibility of outlawing nuclear weapons exists and this is increasingly being realised by different peoples and states. Communists as the foremost champions of peace and defenders of world civilization must do their utmost to get nuclear weapons totally banned and destroyed. But to drift into theory that "weapons decide everything" and that "the nuclear rocket weapons that were created in the middle of our century changed the old notions about war" is harmful and dangerous which may either lead to succumbing to the imperialist nuclear blackmail or distort the whole Marxian concept of the origin, basis and cause of war.

102. The peace movement, undoubtedly, has to embrace everwider sections of people cutting across political affiliations including pacifists. In the same way, in the struggle for peace and against nuclear armaments it is correct to bring before the masses of the people sharply the unprecedentedly devastating nature of nuclear war and the urgency and necessity of banning those weapons from use and demanding their total destruction. But it is impermissible for any revolutionary to paint a picture of gloom before mankind in the face of these destructive weapons with shallow and cheap arguments such as "what is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off", and that a third world war will invariably be a nuclear war which will bring about total destruction of humanity and the like. These breed defeatist and pacifist ideas, emasculate the militant spirit of fighting imperialism and its machination for unleashing a war. It sows despondency and undermines faith in the revolution and the cause of socialism and Communism.

103. The agitation, propaganda and the practical tasks should be such as to inspire millions of people all over the world, infusing into them the spirit of selfless sacrifice in the fight for liquidation of imperialism and ensuring lasting peace for mankind. But the leaders of the Soviet Union frequently indulge in painting a panicky picture of nuclear war and their unbalanced emphasis on this would certainly negate the confident and revolutionary assertion that "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it." Any suggestion by any Party to correct this or any fraternal criticism on these aspects of the Soviet line is dubbed instantaneously as a failure to understand the new epoch, as advocating a third world war for revolution, as the total failure to understand the devastating effects of nuclear war and the like.

104. In the struggle against the menace of a third world war and for peace, the struggle for peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems is certainly one of the key tasks of the world Communist movement. But again, to describe this form of struggle as the *highest form of class struggle*, as it was done sometimes, or as the sole method of maintaining world peace,

and above all, making the principle of peaceful co-existence and this form of struggle as the all embracing general line of the foreign policy of the Socialist States, as is often done by the leadership of the Soviet Union, is not in conformity with Marxism-Leninism or the revolutionary principles embodied in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

105. The demand for disarmament certainly forms a component part of the struggle to avert a third world war and the preservation of world peace. Communists stand for general and complete disarmament. Only a handful of monopolists and war speculators are interested in the arms race. The people should be mobilised in each country against this mad armament programme which imposes intolerable burdens on them making their living conditions more and more miserable. But, here again, to isolate this question of disarmament, and total disarmament at that, from the class battles against imperialism, to eliminate it and rouse all sorts of illusions which go only to deceive the people that the huge funds saved by disarmament would automatically flow into the pockets of the popular masses in the capitalist countries to raise their living standards and the underdeveloped countries to be provided with adequate funds to develop their industrial and independent economics, is obviously incorrect.

106. To conclude, we are fully aware of and acknowledge the great contribution made by the struggle to avert world war and preserve peace organised and led by the socialist camp and the Soviet Union in particular. While not for a moment ignoring or underestimating the significance of this struggle, we are constrained to observe that there are certainly some opportunistic and reformist tendencies expressed in the course of this struggle as we have tried to point out in the foregoing.

107. Coming to our own Party and the experience of our own peace movement against war, all these opportunist and reformist tendencies prevailing in the dominant leadership of the international Communist movement, are undoubtedly manifesting themselves in our work besides several other defects and shortcomings of our own. Certain aspects of this deviation are also pointed out in the Report adopted at the Sixth Congress of

our Party at Vijayawada. It is, of course, true that it is not comprehensive. Nevertheless it says: "There is also a *tailist and reformist* tendency. We underestimate the conspiracies of the imperialists and of their capacity for provocation—due to which we are often taken by surprise. Many comrades take the present foreign policy of the Government of India for granted. We often tend to rely too much on the Government of India and on Prime Minister Nehru and hesitate to go beyond the stand taken by them. We minimise the importance of independent mass mobilisation and mass action against the war conspiracies of the imperialists and in support of people defending their freedom or fighting for liberation." It also expresses in our failure to raise the level of political consciousness of the working class and peasantry including our own Party members and consequently looking upon the peace movement as one confined to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectual circles and sections of the ruling Party. It is true that there is not such a ready response from the popular masses of our country to this issue of peace when compared to their response to economic and such other issues which directly and immediately affect them or when compared to the masses in those countries who have direct experience of the two wars and the colossal sufferings they imposed on them. From this arises the tendency to look upon the struggle for peace as not one of the foremost tasks to be carried out in their day-to-day activities and treat it more or less as an issue that does not concern them much. The peace movement and the organisation that have been built in this whole decade despite its contribution amply bear out this criticism. In this connection, note also should be taken of certain sectarian and dogmatic tendencies in underestimating the significance of the struggle for peace in the present context and in the failure to relate this struggle against imperialism and its specific manifestations in India—both economic and political. It is also proper to state that some comrades amongst us underestimate the possibility of averting a third world war in the present epoch and in particular the role of the peace movement in averting such a war.

108. These, in our opinion, constitute the revisionist and reformist deviations on this question together with certain dogmatic tendencies which have been mentioned.

Peaceful Co-existence

109. Now to take up the question of peaceful co-existence.

110. Socialist countries follow the policy of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems. Today two camps exist in the world, the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism; two types of states with different social systems—the socialist states and the bourgeois states—exist.

111. The imperialist camp and the socialist camp follow diametrically opposite policies. The imperialist camp aspires for world domination and subjugation; the socialist camp stands for the triumph of freedom and socialism throughout the world. The imperialist camp is preparing a new world war; the socialist camp stands for world peace and against a new world war. The imperialist camp follows the policy of neo-colonialism; the socialist camp stands for national liberation and disinterested aid for their national rebirth. The imperialist camp suppresses democracy and working class movements in its own countries; the socialist camp stands for full democracy and class struggles of the workers and peasants and other exploited. The imperialist camp stands for world reaction; the socialist camp stands for world proletarian revolution. Thus, two camps, two economic systems, two ideologies and two policies stand face to face in the international political arena.

Lenin's Precept

112. When the first socialist states were born, the question of mutual relations between the new socialist state and the rest arose and Lenin propounded his famous thesis of peaceful co-existence. He envisaged that for a certain period of time, socialist countries would exist side by side with capitalist countries and hence the mutual relations between these states with different social systems must be based on principles of

peaceful co-existence. Stalin explained this Leninist concept in his political report to the 15th Congress of the CPSU (B). He said, "Our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible", and "the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us."

Policy of Peaceful Co-existence and its Class Content

113. Socialism does not require war but imperialism does. Imperialism has no desire to live in peace with socialism and will do all in its power to oppose and even destroy the socialist states. The 'march' of the 14 nations against the new-born Soviet State, the Hitlerite attack on and aggression against the Soviet Union, the occupation of Taiwan and the offshore islands of China by the U.S. armies, the Korean War, and the Vietnamese War, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Caribbean crisis, etc., all prove the hostility to the policy of peaceful co-existence by the imperialists. Lenin had already pointed to this in his "Report on War and Peace" when he said: "International imperialism could not live side by side with Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interest of capitalist class which are embodied in it He further observed: "the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable, (Report of the C.C. of the Russian Communist Party (B) at the Eighth Party Congress.)

114. Hence, Lenin stressed time and again that the Socialist State should maintain constant vigilance against imperialism. He pointed out that it was only through struggle that the Soviet State was able to live in peace with the imperialist countries. This was the result of the repeated trials of strength between the imperialist countries and the Soviet State. Thus the policy of peaceful co-existence is one of the effective forms of class

struggle between the two camps and two systems and is not by itself a straight and smooth road to peace.

115. Since the Second World War, a fundamental change has taken place in the international balance of class forces. This situation provides more favourable conditions for the socialist countries to impose the policy of peaceful co-existence on the capitalist countries. In these new historical conditions the frightful collisions between the socialist states and the imperialist world which Lenin envisaged, assume new forms and ferocity and yet, opportunities for establishing co-existence between states with different social systems grow.

Peaceful Co-existence Alone does not Constitute Foreign Policy

116. Lenin advanced the policy of peaceful co-existence as a policy of the proletariat in power towards countries with different social systems, but he never made it *the general line and sum total of the foreign policy* of a socialist state. He made it clear, again and again, that the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of a socialist state is proletarian internationalism. Lenin again and again said that it is the proletarian international duty of the victorious working class to assist the proletarian struggle and revolutions in the capitalist countries. He said: 'Soviet Russia considers it her greatest pride to help the workers of the whole world in their difficult struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.' (To the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern). He further said: "alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any and all the imperialists—such is the external policy of the proletariat," (The external policy of the Russian Revolution.)

117. The Draft Programme of the Policy which Lenin drew up for the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party laid down explicitly that "Support to the revolutionary movement of the Socialist proletariat in the advanced countries," and "support

of the democratic and revolutionary movements in general and particularly in the colonies and dependent countries" constituted the important aspect of the Party's international policy.

118. The main features of the foreign policy pursued by Lenin are: (1) to live in peace with all countries with different social systems; (2) to resolutely oppose all imperialist policies of aggression and war and strive for peace; (3) to establish closer ties between the Soviet State and all the weak states which are oppressed by imperialism and such other neighbouring states; (4) to help the workers of the whole world in their difficult struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and (5) to support the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general and in the colonies and dependent countries in particular. The Leninist foreign policy was faithfully pursued by Stalin and the CPSU.

119. Leninism never extended the policy of peaceful co-existence to its logical end and never withheld support to the national liberation struggles and working class revolutions. Stalin forcibly pointed out two opposite lines of foreign policy of socialist country and rejected the policy of capitulation. He said: "We continue to pursue a revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarian and oppressed of all countries around the working class of the USSR—in which international capital will do everything it can to hinder our advance" or "We renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital—in which case international capital, no doubt, will not be averse to assisting" us converting our socialist country into a "good, bourgeois country". He rejected the second and said: "We cannot agree to these and similar concessions without being false to ourselves" (Stalin's Works, Vol. XI, Pp. 58-60). He also observed: "The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries" (Stalin's Works, Vol. VI, P. 419.)

120. Lenin and Stalin always championed the cause of national liberation movement.

Revisionist Understanding of the Policy of Peaceful Co-existence

121. Thus the policy of peaceful co-existence relates to a particular relation between states with different social systems. But to the leaders of the CPSU are substituting this concept of peaceful co-existence for the whole revolutionary foreign policy of a Socialist State thus narrowing its full scope. They make out this policy to be the panacea for all the problems facing the world today. Let us see how the present leaders of the Soviet Union interpret and implement the concept of peaceful co-existence. Comrade Khrushchov, for instance, says about the international class struggle between the two systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, that: "the inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas....." (Report to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, January 14, 1960). Mark how this form of struggle is made into the sole form of struggle between the two opposing social systems! They do not stop here, but go further and say that "peaceful co-existence alone is the best and sole acceptable way to solve the vital important problems confronting society". (Rumyantsev, Editor of the *WORLD MARXIST REVIEW* in its issue No. 1, 1962). Mark it is the best and sole way to solve the vital problems confronting society! They even hold that the principle of peaceful co-existence should be made "the basic law of life of the whole of modern society" (Khrushchov's speech in the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960). Strange that the basic laws of life are reduced to one single law of peaceful co-existence! These views on the concept of peaceful co-existence are not in conformity with the Leninist concept nor express full and revolutionary content of the foreign policy of a socialist state.

122. First of all, in the application of the policy of peaceful co-existence, struggle between the socialist and imperialist countries is inevitable in the political, economic and ideological fronts. It is obviously wrong to reduce this struggle to "ideas" alone. In practical application even this "struggle of ideas" is not consistently followed. For example, take our own experience:

While the bourgeois leaders and their press in our country are free to slander the Soviet Union and denounce the socialist system, Soviet leaders fight shy of criticising and exposing the social system in India and its evil manifestations. They even go out of their way and shower praise on every little progress achieved in our economic rebuilding—all under the plea of non-interference. Of course, we are determinedly opposed to interference in political and military sense, adversely affecting the sovereignty of this or that nation. But it is being extended to the absurd length of abandoning the fundamental internationalist duties and obligations to the revolutionary struggles and movements of different peoples. Even the general mass of the Soviet people are shut out from the actual information of the social, economic and political conditions of the people of India and of other countries with whom the Soviet State has friendly relations. Is it not strange to assert that peaceful co-existence is “*the best and sole acceptable way*” to solve all cardinal problems of the present-day world? What is then wrong in the criticism against the leadership of the CPSU that they are extending this concept to the class struggles in capitalist countries and national liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries? A mere negation that their position is not so does not in anyway absolve them.

123. The leaders of the CPSU say that peaceful co-existence is the mankind’s road to socialism and to national liberation. The CPSU letter of March 30, 1963, to the CPC cites the socialist revolution in Cuba, and the winning of independence by Algeria and 40 other countries. The CPSU leaders say that peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition are enough to “deliver a crushing blow to the entire system of capitalist relations”. These views are equivalent to saying that the oppressed people and nations have no need to wage struggles and make revolutions, but have to only wait till the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries outstrip the capitalist countries in production, when conditions will arise for the peaceful achievement of national liberation and the establishment of socialism.

124. Economic successes in socialist countries undoubtedly play a vital role and are an inspiration to oppressed peoples and nations, who will be more and more attracted to socialism. But national liberation and socialism will succeed only through the revolutionary struggles of the peoples fully utilising these opportunities, not otherwise.

125. It is an undeniable fact that many countries liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke through prolonged and stubborn struggles, armed and peaceful. India, Egypt, Syria, Indonesia and a host of other countries won their independence after the Second World War, mainly due to the struggles of their peoples and to the changed correlation of forces in the world.

126. The birth of the new Socialist States in this period like China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba took place in ‘frightful collisions’ with imperialism and basing mainly on the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these countries and also to the aid given by the international proletariat and the Soviet Union.

127. To attribute that the victory of socialism and the liberation of many countries has arisen from peaceful co-existence alone is to attribute miraculous power to it.

128. The Moscow Statement said correctly: “In conditions of peaceful co-existence *favourable opportunities* are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggles promote peaceful co-existence.” Thus, the correct application of Lenin’s policy of peaceful co-existence by the Socialist countries helps to develop their power, to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to unite all the anti-imperialist peoples and countries and it therefore helps the peoples’ struggles against imperialism and its puppets. At the same time, by directly hitting and weakening the forces of aggression, war and reaction, the peoples’ revolutionary struggles help the cause of world peace and human progress and therefore help the socialist

countries' struggle for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems.

Beware of Imperialist Deceit

129. The U.S. imperialists, the enemy of the people of the whole world, in pursuance of their dual tactics of war and peace, in order to attain their strategic objectives of liquidating the peoples' revolutions, eliminating the socialist camp and dominating the world are today trying to put the people off their guard by their deceitful talk of peace and co-existence sometimes. They are now speaking of 'strategy of peace'. 'A much better weapon than the bomb.....and that better weapon is peaceful co-operation.' But their conception of peaceful co-operation and co-existence is entirely different from that of the socialist states. Eisenhower said that the U.S. would do by peaceful means all it could do "in order that those people who are held in bondage by tyrannical dictatorship finally have the right to determine their fates by their own free votes". Kennedy made it more explicit when he said that the 'task is to do all in our power to see that the changes taking place.....in the Soviet empire, on all continents.....lead to more freedom for "more men and to world peace" and declared that he would "pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring tyranny" towards the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, so as to provide free choice for the people of those countries.

130. The meaning of these words is very clear. The U.S. imperialists malign the Socialist systems as 'dictatorial', abuse the Socialist camp as 'Soviet Empire' and describe counter-revolution to restore capitalism as 'free choice'. Thus, while they speak of peaceful co-operation and co-existence, they have a different meaning and content which is nothing but to suppress popular revolutionary movements and destroy, if possible, the socialist world.

131. It would be gross opportunism and betrayal of the cause of world communism to speak of *all-round* co-operation with imperialist powers, more particularly with U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchov in utter disregard of basic Marxist-Leninist positions has emboldened himself to say: "we, (the Soviet Union and the United States) are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off" (Interview with the U.S. correspondent C. L. Sulzberger September 5, 1961). Gromyko is making an absurdly revisionist statement when he said: ".....if there is agreement between N.S. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet Government, and John Kennedy the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind's destinies depend" (Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 13, 1962).

132. These are thoroughly sweeping and impermissible statements. It is metaphysical way of looking at historical developments, international class war, and not a Marxist way. It is wrong to imagine that 'two great men' can decide the destiny of mankind and settle all international issues. The contemporary world is full of various contradictions, and they cannot disappear by an agreement between the heads of two big power politics, but not Leninist foreign policy.

Leninist Foreign Policy should be the Basis of the Foreign Policy of the Socialist Countries:

133. The Moscow Statement said: "*U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*" "*International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwork of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the whole world.*" "The imperialist form military political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national liberation, working class and socialist movements." The post-war history corroborates the Moscow Statement as completely correct.

134. Was it not the U.S. imperialists who propped up the tottering French and Italian bourgeoisie in the immediate post-war

period ? Who build up aggressive military blocs like NATO, SEATO, etc., to carry forward their nefarious policies of violence and war? Who helped Chiang Kai-shek to wage the civil war in China in the post-war period and continue to hold on to Taiwan and the offshore islands? Who invaded North Korea and tried to destroy the Korean peoples' Democratic Republic and perpetuate its division? Who have propped up puppet dictators like Syngman Rhee, Diem and Kasabuvu? Who overthrew the democratic Government in Guatemala? Who organised the Hungarian counter-revolution? Who organised the invasion of Cuba in 1961? Who militarily intervened in the Dominican Republic's affairs? Who sent U-2 spy planes into the Soviet Union, China, and other countries regularly? Who created the Caribbean crisis in 1962? Who are now militarily intervening in South Vietnam with 16,000 troops? Who are extending the operation of the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean? Who are organising spying, sabotage, ideological corruption, etc., in the socialist countries? Who are building neo-colonialism with the export of billions and billions of dollars of finance capital to several countries? This is all reality.

135. However, it is only owing to unfavourable conditions that the imperialists dare not risk starting a war against the socialist countries and are forced to reconcile themselves for the time being to talk in terms of peace, peaceful co-operation and co-existence. In these circumstances while it is possible to establish peaceful co-existence with all countries including the imperialist countries, at the same time, the socialist countries must unswervingly perform their proletarian international duty and actively support the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the working class movements in the capitalist countries and resolutely fight against all imperialist attempts, intrigues and manoeuvres against peace, democracy and socialism anywhere in the world. It is the inviolable duty and obligation for the camp of socialism to prevent the export of counter-revolution under whatever guise the imperialists may try to do it.

136. It is expected of the leadership of the CPSU to critically examine their understanding and practice of the concept of peaceful coexistence in the light of criticism offered by brother Parties and co-socialist states, instead of adopting a self-justificatory attitude of retaliating as they very often do to the critics that they do not believe in peaceful co-existence. This is neither convincing nor corroborated by facts of life.

Forms of Transition

137. The question of transition to socialism has since long been debated in the international working class movement. Marx had then written about the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism in England and America when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist, and when these countries owing to the particular conditions of their development, had as yet not developed militarism and bureaucracy. That was the situation before the era of imperialism and of monopoly capitalism. Opportunists and reformists of the Second International tried to generalise this thesis of Marx and convert it into a universal law of socialist revolution.

138. Comrade Lenin gave a befitting answer to these reformists and emphasised that the law of smashing the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement.

He said:

“Today, in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the biggest and the last representatives—in the whole world—of Anglo-Saxon ‘liberty’ in the sense that they had no militarist cliques and bureaucracy, have today completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and trample everything underfoot. Today, in England and in America, too, ‘the preliminary condition for every real people’s revolution’ is the smashing, the destruction of the ‘readymade state machinery’ (perfected in those countries,

between 1914 and 1917, up to the 'European', general imperialist standard)."

139. After the victory of the great October Revolution, Stalin again elaborated this thesis of Lenin while explaining the historical necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his lectures to the students of Sverdlov University, while dealing with the question of transition, he said:

"Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the principal capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist encirclement, 'peaceful' path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the 'unfavourable' international situation, will consider it expedient 'voluntarily' to make substantial concessions to the proletariat. But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future. With regard to the immediate future there is no ground whatsoever for this supposition." (Problems of Leninism, P. 54)

140. Here, he was dealing with the subject in a different correlation of class forces, when there was an imperialist encirclement. In such a situation he asserted that the law of violent proletarian revolution applies. But as a far-sighted Marxist-Leninist, he did not shut his eyes to the historical development of the movement to a new stage where qualitatively different correlation of forces emerges. In such a situation when there will be a socialist encirclement instead of an imperialist encirclement, he saw the possibility of a "peaceful" path of development for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists in view of "unfavourable" international situation, would not be able to resist.

141. After the Second World War, the correlation of forces has certainly changed in favour of socialism. It is true that imperialist encirclement no more exists, but it would be wrong to imagine that a socialist encirclement has already come into existence. In this situation the possibility of peaceful transition for a number of countries to socialism was put forward by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. After analysing the working of

capitalism and the growth of socialism, the Report of the C.C. of the CPSU stated about transition in the following words:

"At the same time, the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. The Rightwing bourgeois parties and their Governments are suffering bankruptcy with increasing frequency. In these circumstances the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in Parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event this institution, transitional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions to secure fundamental social changes.

"In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle." (Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 20th Party Congress—Pp. 45-46).

142. Following the emergence of this thesis, the Communist Parties began to generalise on it and most of the parties in the capitalist countries stated that it applied to them. This thesis was understood in a revisionist way and no attention was paid to examine the question concretely and fully. In fact, it tantamounts to making this into a new dogma that the peaceful path had become a general law of socialist revolutions in the present epoch.

Hardly a year after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, these revisionist interpretations had come up for sharp criticism and correction at the Moscow gathering of world Communists in 1957.

143. Comrade Khrushchov had to take note of all this in his Report to the Supreme Soviet on Nov. 6, 1957. He stated: "Some who style themselves Communists and who have fallen for this propagandistic bait advocate socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without guidance of social life by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, without proletarian internationalism. Our opponents call this policy "liberal communism," thereby betraying their secret desire to turn the Communists into run-of-the-mill bourgeois liberals." (Forty years of the Great October Revolution, Report to Supreme Soviet of the USSR).

Then he added: "Some elements deliberately misconstrue this proposition and decisions of the 20th Party Congress concerning the different forms of transition to socialism and methods of socialist construction."

144. In this connection comrade Suslov in his Report to the 12 Parties meeting in 1957 had said that a determined struggle against revisionism, and its ideological and organisational defeat is a prime requisite for the victory of the working class and people in revolution. Dealing with the revisionist interpretation to the question of transition, he said its major manifestation was making a fetish of the parliamentary system and making the peaceful way the only way without dictatorship of the proletariat did the leading role of the working class through its vanguard. Pointing out that the revisionists take their stand on the 20th Congress of the CPSU, he said that they were misrepresenting the 20th Congress and that the thesis of evolution was sheer utopia, could never materialise, only could serve to mislead the working class and bring them under bourgeois influence. He stressed the point that the ruling class never relinquished power voluntarily and both possibilities had to be kept in mind.

145. The matter was thoroughly discussed among the 64 Parties in Moscow and the results were incorporated in the 1957 Declaration. It stated:

"The forms of the transition to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole as well as with the national interests of the country.

"Today in a number of the capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable form of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class, defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in Parliament, transform Parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch a non-Parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolutions. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasants, masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

"In the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

"The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete conditions in each country."

146. So instead of either a general application of the formula of peaceful transition to all countries or vaguely stating it applies to several countries, the emphasis was laid on the concrete conditions in each country prevailing at that moment. And it was also made clear that the realisation of this possibility of peaceful path depended on the preparation of the working class for the other eventualities because the form of transition does not depend on the working class alone and the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily.

147. It is in the light of the above discussions in the International Communist Movement and as a result of subsequent discussions in our Party that we incorporated the following formulations in our Constitution in April 1958:

“The Communist Party of India *strives* to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Parliament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that parliament becomes an instrument of people’s will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure.”

148. This formulation was again interpreted by some in a revisionist way. Forgetting the significance of the word *strive* they began advocating the peaceful path as already a fact of reality in our country and as emanating from the assessment of the concrete situation in our country. In fact all revolutionary ideas of combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary work, utilising different forms of struggle and organisation were given the go-by and in practice, we adopted the social democratic approach to the question, thus disorientating the Party and creating illusions amongst the masses.

149. Again when the discussions were held on this question in the 81 Parties’ Conference in Moscow in December 1960, it was decided to reaffirm the proposition put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism. But our Party has not taken any steps to examine the root of its mistake on this

question and introduce the necessary corrections in its understanding. On the other hand, our Party has in practice been more and more drifting to the position of revisionism on this question. The tendency is finding its expression in ideology, and practice. After the formation of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala, this tendency got further reinforced and some of the leading comrades began to argue that the formation of Kerala Ministry and its functioning showed that a new path had opened for social transformation. But the bourgeoisie did not allow the existence of this Ministry for a very long time.

150. It is very clear to all Marxists that the question of transition to socialism is a question of proletarian revolution where the state power is taken from the bourgeoisie. Leninism teaches and experience proves that the ruling classes never relinquish state power voluntarily. It is captured by the working class to erect the proletarian state in the place of the bourgeois state apparatus built to suppress the overwhelming majority of the people. There is no doubt that the international situation is more favourable now for the working class. Counter-revolution can be defeated, and a favourable situation exists for breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie. But the actual application of the path depends upon the concrete situation at a given moment. In such a situation where the possibility for peaceful transition arises, we should do our utmost to change the possibility into a reality. But while striving to realise this possibility, the Communist Party of the country, on the other hand, must always be prepared to repulse the armed intervention of the bourgeoisie. To sum up, we cannot realise the first possibility without preparing for the other.

151. It should always be borne in mind that realising this peaceful possibility does not entirely or mainly depends on the proletariat and its Party. It mostly depends on whether the bourgeois-landlord Government and its State in deference to the popular wishes and the democratic demand responds to and respects the democratic method or resorts to unleashing organised violence on the people. Let us now concretely examine this question in relation to our country.

152. It is true that we are a newly-liberated country after centuries of imperialist oppression and exploitation. The state machine which has been in existence is not as developed and perfected as is the case in a number of traditional capitalist countries where a monstrous military, police, state machine is perfected. It is also true that our ruling classes are not born, bred and trained in militarism and violence as is the case in some other countries and states. Despite all this, the exploiting class is after all an exploiting class. The bourgeois-landlord Government that has taken over the state from imperialism uses it and is using it against the people to consolidate and continue its exploitation. In the course of the last seventeen years, both the police and the armed forces have been doubled and trebled. And the popular struggles of the workers and peasants are ruthlessly suppressed by using the police and the military.

153. In the face of this reality, let us also examine the other side of the picture. Democracy in our country is recently introduced and deep roots have not yet been struck by it. The working class and other mass organisations have not been united and powerfully built; the Communist Party itself is very weak; most of the parties either of the Left or the Right category in the country are rabidly anti-Communist. For that matter, the ruling Party itself while pretending a liberal democratic attitude towards the Communist Party and Communism is decisively anti-Communist judging from all its attitude and activity. The bureaucracy and the armed forces are strictly kept in isolation from any impact of political, social activities. To be more plain, it is sought to be maintained more as a mercenary type as in the former British days. In the face of all this reality, to talk of the peaceful path in our country more or less as a fact of reality, as an inevitable path, is nothing but self-deception of others. Whatever possibilities are inherent in the situation can only be realised by fulfilling the following:

- (i) Foreign imperialist influence—economic, political, diplomatic and military, if any—must be eliminated and a consistent struggle in that direction must be waged;

- (ii) The decadent and bankrupt ideology of anti-Communism must be exposed, isolated and defeated;
- (iii) Democracy in all spheres of life of society must be consolidated, extended and carried towards;
- (iv) A powerful united working class movement must be built and its alliance with the broad organised and united peasant movement must be cemented;
- (v) A Communist Party based on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism embracing lakhs and lakhs of the best sons and daughters of all the toiling people must be built;
- (vi) The police, bureaucracy and the system of administration must be democratised and their present isolation from the democratic and political currents of the society broken;
- (vii) A broad united front of all the classes and the parties interested in carrying forward the revolution must be forged.

And when all the above tasks are successfully discharged, the possibility of restraining the bourgeoisie from unleashing violence to suppress the revolution will become a reality. To conclude, to fail in any of these vital things is to fail to realise the possibilities that exist for a peaceful path of development and fall a prey to dangerous illusions.

154. Another aspect connected with this peaceful path of the development of the revolution is regarding Parliament to be transformed into a genuine instrument in the hands of the people to effect the necessary fundamental social changes. Our country, surely, has had a parliamentary system since independence based on universal adult franchise. However, it would be a mistake not to realise that the parliamentary system in our country is a recently born one and it has not struck deep roots, and is easily shakable. That is why even our bourgeois leaders talk of it as "a tender plant to be nursed." Again we observe that the present rulers often treat the fundamental rights embodied in the Constitution as a plaything whenever they face a small difficulty

and resort to suspension of these rights and impose a state of emergency. One also should not lose sight of the fact that our Parliamentary democracy, strangely enough, has made the Preventive Detention Act to use against the political adversaries of the bourgeois-landlord classes whenever they choose and this despicable Act has all these years been on the Statute Book. How President's rule is imposed on some flimsy pretext or the other was amply demonstrated when the duly selected and constitutional Government in the State of Kerala was arbitrarily dismissed and the legislature dissolved. As we go down below it has become a common phenomenon that several municipalities, panchayats and other organs of local self-Government are summarily dissolved at their sweet will by the rulers chiefly to beat down their political opponents. In view of all this, to take out parliamentary system as either granted or to think it is safe in the hands of the present ruling classes without constant and unremitting vigilance and fight by the democratic masses to defend and extend democracy is to nurse the worst illusions.

155. The deviations prevailing in our Party on this aspect were sharply pinned down by the late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in his report to the Vijayawada Congress. He stated: "All the more it is necessary to stress this because in our Party, the tendency is strong which equates peaceful path with *parliamentarism*, a tendency which has resulted in the concept that advance of the toiling masses towards the conquest of power may be achieved through successive elections, in each of which we shall grow gradually stronger. It is a concept *which takes parliamentary democracy for granted and envisages no serious danger to it*, at least for a long period, and visualises a process of smooth and continuous advance through free and fair elections in the bourgeois liberal spirit." "In essence this is a reformist and even revisionist concept."

156. But our duty does not end here by merely noting this right opportunist deviation. A systematic ideological and political battle has to be waged and the entire Party has to be moulded on the sound propositions on this question enunciated in the Moscow Statement of 1960. All our Party building and mass

movement building activities must reflect this and overcome the lag on this score.

Revisionism as the Main Danger

157. In the course of its development the International Communist Movement had to combat the alien class ideas of both the right and left variety manifested in the working class movement. The whole history of Marxism-Leninism is full of examples of constant struggle against right and left opportunism.

158. In the post-war period the chief manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat was seen in the form of revisionism. It was expressed in a crude form first by Browder in the CPUSA in 1944-45 and then by Tito and Kardelj in 1948 in Yugoslavia. The leadership of our Party was not only able to see this dangerous trend but was to some extent taken in by it. It is clearly reflected in some of our past writings. After the first rebuttal, this trend again raised its head in a big way after the 20th Congress of the CPSU by using some of the corrections it sought to introduce in the theoretical, political spheres and Party activity.

159. Immediately after the 20th Congress and its deliberations, questions were raised in our Party by certain leading comrades challenging the correctness of the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism, democratic centralism, etc.

160. The demand was raised in our Party for changing its line on the basis of an article written by Rubinstein, a Soviet Academician, in which he raised the question of non-capitalist path for India's development and tended to describe the efforts at nation-building by the Nehru Government as paving the way for socialism in India. In this connection, an observation made by Com. Togliatti in his Report to the C.C. of the Italian C.P. on the 20th Congress of the CPSU that "the Nehru Government is also building socialism in India" was also ceased upon by some of our leading comrades who wanted to put forward this revisionist line, which of course, had been earlier defeated at the Palghat Congress of our Party.

161. The counter-revolution in Hungary further emphasised the revisionist danger which was threatening our Party, when some of the leading comrades characterised the counter-revolution in Hungary as a popular revolt and opposed the efforts of the Socialist Camp and the Soviet Union to defend Hungary from counter-revolution. Some went even to the extent of expressing the view: what does it matter if one country is lost to capitalism if the people there could not defend socialism? They began lauding bourgeois democracy.

162. It is in this background that a gathering of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the October Revolution in 1957 and discussed the ideological-political problems facing the International Communist Movement. On the eve of this meet, Com. Khrushchov in his Report to the Supreme Soviet, emphasising the revisionist danger, stated the following.

"..... In keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism, the Communist and Workers' Parties are consolidating their ranks and combating revisionist tendencies and the harmful prejudices of national limitation and aloofness."

"The imperialists, adhering to their hoary principle of "divide and rule", seize upon nationalist prejudices in their struggle against the socialist camp, and report to ideological sabotage in the guise of so-called 'national communism'. The ideologues of imperialism and their agents seek to sow the poisonous seeds of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism in order to oppose one socialist country to the other."

"Some who style themselves Communists and who have fallen for this propagandistic bait advocate socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without guidance of social life by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, without proletarian internationalism. Our opponents call this policy 'liberal communism', thereby betraying their secret desire to turn the Communists into run-of-the-mill bourgeois liberals. Whither modern revisionism leads can be seen from the example of Djilas or Imre Nagy, who descended to outright betrayal of the cause of socialism and basic national interests of their

countries. The political and ideological defeat suffered by these enemies of socialism will benefit socialism in their countries and the socialist system as the whole."

"Another weapon of the present-day revisionists is the lauding of bourgeois democracy. This is an old weapon, borrowed from the opportunists of the Second International. There was a time when the renegade Kautsky and the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries wielded the same weapon in their bitter struggle against Lenin and the young Soviet Republic. The 'wise men' in the leadership of the Right-wing Socialists, as well as the latter-day revisionists, reason more or less along these lines: if the Communists in the countries where they are in power were to permit political activity against the socialist system we would submit that they have freedom and would praise them."

"But the revisionists will never get the chance to praise the Communists for anything of the kind. We proceed from the Leninist standpoint, of consolidating the socialist state, of developing socialist, not bourgeois democracy, nor do we intend to abandon this Leninist stand."

163. After thorough discussions, the international gathering of Communist and Workers' Parties came to unanimous conclusions on the various problems facing International Communist Movement and accordingly a declaration was adopted by Parties of the 12 Socialist countries in 1957 in Moscow.

In emphasising the importance of intensified struggle against opportunist trends mainly Right revisionism in the working class and Communist movement in the present stage, the Declaration stated:

.....The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Revisionism and dogmatism in the working class and Communist movement are today, as they have been in the past, international phenomena. Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in changing conditions, replace the study of the concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books, and lead to the isolation of the

Party from the masses. A Party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class."

"In condemning dogmatism, the Communist Parties believe that *the main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism*, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism. However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one Party or another. It is for each Communist Party to decide what danger threatens it more at the given time."

It should be pointed out that the conquest of power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion. After the conquest of power the working class is faced with the serious tasks of effecting the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and laying the economic and technical foundation of socialism. At the same time the overthrown bourgeoisie always endeavours to make a comeback; influence exerted on society by the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia, is still great. That is why a fairly long time is needed to resolve the issue of who will win—capitalism or socialism. The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.

"Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organisation and, above all of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party

from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society". (Emphasis added)

164. It is necessary for us to review the struggle against revisionism in the International Communist Movement and in particular, the role played by the leadership of the CPSU in it. In the light of all this we should specifically examine our own Party and its activities in discharging this task.

165. In fact, a careful examination would reveal that modern revisionism as has been mentioned in the 1957 Declaration finds its concentrated expression in the League of Yugoslavia. As early as 1948, this revisionist trend came up for sharp criticism from the International Communist Movement. The criticism of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in 1948 is as follows:

That in the sphere of foreign policy, Yugoslavia has begun to identify the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with the foreign policy of imperialist powers. And that the slanderous propaganda about the "degeneration of the CPSU", and degeneration of the Soviet Union is being made.

That in the Sphere of Home Policy :

1. They are breaking with the Marxist theory of class and class struggle.

They deny that there is growth of capitalist elements in their country.

They ignore the class differentiation in the countryside contrary to the Leninist thesis that small individual farming gives birth to capitalism and bourgeoisie, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.

2. They are refuting the leading role of the working class by starting that the peasantry is the "most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state."

3. They ignore the leading role of the Party. The people's Front and not the Communist Party is considered to be the main leading force in the country. They belittle the role of the Communist Party and actually dissolve the Party in the non-Party people's Front.

4. They ignore the principle of democratic centralism. There is no inner-Party democracy, no elections and no criticism and self-criticism in the Party.

5. They have taken the path of seceding from the United Socialist Front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity and have taken the position of neutralism.

166. Despite the fact that some serious mistakes were committed by the then leadership of the Soviet Union in dealing with Yugoslavia, its Party and State, in the period 1949-53, which were, of course, corrected later, the basic criticism made in 1948 by the Information Bureau is essentially correct and the entire course of development and the present state of affairs in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia completely confirms it.

167. Since 1954, the Soviet Union and other countries of the Socialist camp have taken the initiative and done their utmost to improve their relations with Yugoslavia and win it back to the camp of socialism. The Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries adopted attitude of waiting patiently, hoping that the L.C.Y. would return to the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. However the L.C.Y. spurned all these well intentioned efforts. They played the inglorious role of provocateurs and interventionists in the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary and yet they were invited to participate in the discussions in the 1957 gathering of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. But in the end they refused to affix their signature to the 12-Parties Declaration. On the contrary, approving the work of their delegation, the plenum of the L.C.Y. adopted the following resolution in Dec. 1957.

"The Delegation acted correctly by not signing the Declaration which contains some attitudes and appraisals contrary to the attitude of the L.C.Y. which considers them incorrect."

Again four months later, in April 1958, Tito declared:

"It would just be waste of time for any quarter to expect us to retreat from our principled position of international and national questions."

168. And later in February 1958, at the 7th Congress of the L.C.Y. they came forward with a full-fledged revisionist programme as against the line of the 12-Parties Declaration.

The main points of this revisionist Programme were:

1. "The divisions of the world into antagonistic military blocs led to the economic division of the world and thus obstructs the process of integration of the world and thus social progress of mankind."

They proposed that the United Nations "encourage and promote comprehensive co-operation and closer connections between peoples, in short to assist efforts towards achieving a fuller unity of the world."

2. They took up position of "standing above blocs", making it clear that they do not belong to socialist camp.

All this means: (a) Replacing revolutionary proletarian internationalism by bourgeois nationalism, (b) adaptation to the requirements of the imperialist bloc.

3. They have acted as apologist for the war policy of the imperialists. Tito declared that owing to Stalin's inflexible and uncalled-for threatening foreign aims by diplomatic means, the big western powers decided that they would be able to do so by displaying force. This, according to him, was the basic reason for the formation of Atlantic Pact.

That is, the danger of war arose not from imperialism but from the Soviet Union:

4. "They maintain that the world today has already passed beyond the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution, that the capitalist system in its classical form is increasingly becoming a thing of the past."

That "the socialist thinking is no longer primarily concerned with questions relating to the overthrow of the old capitalist system". It implies, that the theory of proletarian revolution is already outmoded.

5. That monopoly capitalism is peacefully growing into socialism through the form of state capitalism, that is the state stands above classes and is expropriating monopoly capital.

6. That the working class can "make the state apparatus serve the society" i.e. without smashing the state apparatus.

7. They glorify bourgeois dictatorship in every way. They allege that proletarian dictatorship must inevitably lead to "bureaucracy" and "bureaucratic stateism."

8. They describe ownership by the whole people, i.e. state ownership in the socialist countries, as "state capitalism". They allege that "private land holding is a component part of large-scale socialist agricultural production" and that small proprietors also represent "a component part of the socio-economic forces of socialism".

9. They repudiate the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction and slander common ideology and concerted action as "ideological monopoly" and "political hegemony".

10. They say, "The conception that Communist Parties have a monopoly over every aspect of the movement of society towards socialism and that socialism can only find its representatives in them—is theoretically wrong and practically very harmful."

169. All Communist and Workers' Parties, showed complete unanimity in resolutely condemning the revisionist propositions, running counter to Marxism-Leninism, of the L.C.Y. Draft Programme and the wrong position of Yugoslav leaders. In line with the 1957 Declaration Com. Khrushchov had to sharply come out against the Yugoslav revisionists. In his speech at the Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on June 3, 1958, Com. Khrushchov said: "Marx, Engels and Lenin always attached primary importance to the struggle for the purity of ideological principles of scientific communism. They were irreconcilable to any and all attempts to deprive the militant theory of working class of its revolutionary soul. They taught us that the theory of scientific communism is the chief ideological weapon of the working class in its struggle for its liberation and the transformation of society on Communist lines. They taught us that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.

After relating the history of the relations of the CPSU with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and attacking their revisionist positions, he again said:

"Some Yugoslav comrades are trying to find a difference in the assessment of their mistakes by separate Communist and Workers' Parties. They attack the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They would like to somehow single out the Communist Party of China, claiming that it criticises their mistakes in some special manner. The attempts, however, to find some different shades in the criticism of present day revisionism by the fraternal parties are in vain. All the fraternal parties are at one in this matter. We consider that the Chinese comrades as well as fraternal parties are quite correctly and profoundly criticising the revisionist propositions of the L.C.Y. Draft Programme, and are consistently upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We fully agree with this principled criticism."

"The forces of socialism and the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties can strengthen only in struggle against revisionism, in struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory."

He went on to say, I would not like to offend anyone but at the same time I cannot refrain from asking question which agitates honest Communists everywhere. Why do the imperialist leaders who seek to wipe the socialist states from the face of the earth and to crush the Communist movement, at the same time finance one of the socialist countries, give it credits on easy terms and free hand-outs? No one will believe that there are two socialisms in the world: one socialism viciously hated by world reaction, and the other socialism acceptable to the imperialists to which they render assistance and support.

"Everyone knows that imperialists have never given anyone money for nothing, simply because they like his 'beautiful eyes'. They invest their capital only in enterprises from which they hope to get good profits."

"If the imperialists agree to render 'aid' to a socialist state this way, they do this of course not in order to strengthen it. The

monopoly sections of the United States can by no means be suspected of being interested in strengthening Socialism and developing Marxist-Leninist theory. Representatives of this country allege that we are deviating from Marxism-Leninism but they stand on correct position. We get quite a curious situations that the imperialists want to 'develop' Marxism-Leninism through this country. It is in place to recall Bebel's apt words: If the enemy praises you, think what stupid thing you have done.....".

He further emphasised:

"The Communist Parties safeguard and preserve the unity of the ranks like the apple of the eye. They wage an irreconcilable struggle against revisionism and dogmatism. In this struggle the main fire of the Communist Parties is, naturally, directed against the revisionists as scouts of the imperialist camp. The ancient legend of the Trojan horse is widely known. When the enemies could not take the city of Troy by siege and storm, they 'presented' a wooden horse to the Trojans, in which they concealed their men so that they could open the city gates at night.

"Modern revisionism is a kind of the Trojan horse. The revisionists are trying to undermine the revolutionary parties from inside, to undermine their unity, to sow disarray and confusion in the Marxist-Leninist ideology."

Again, in July 1958, speaking at the 5th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Com. Khrushchov said:

"The anti-Marxist-Leninist views of the Yugoslav leaders were subjected to thorough-going principled criticism by the CPC, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all other fraternal Parties. In decisions taken by their leading bodies and in articles in the Party Press, all the parties took a clear cut position, and condemned these views, paying considerable attention to a critical analysis of them. And this was correct.

".....When Yugoslav leaders declare they are Marxist-Leninists and use Marxism-Leninism only as a cover to mislead gullible people and divert them from a path of revolutionary class struggle chartered by Marx and Lenin, they want to wrest

from the working class its sharpest class weapon. Whether they wish to or not, they are helping the class enemy of the working people, and in return for this they are given loans; in return for this imperialists praise their 'independent' policy of 'no blocs'; which the reactionary forces make use of in an attempt to undermine our socialist camp.

"In their speeches and official documents the Yugoslav leaders have taken a clearly schismatic, revisionist line and by so doing are helping the enemies of the working class in the fight against communism, in the imperialist fight against Communist Parties and against the unity of the international revolutionary working class movement.

"In essence, the Programme of the L.C.Y. is a worse version of the whole series of revisionist platforms, held by right-wing Social Democrats. Consequently the Yugoslav leaders have not been drawn to the party of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teachings; they have followed the path laid down by revisionists and opportunists of the Second International—Bernstein, Kautsky and other renegades. In actual fact they have now joined forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring—his son Benedict."

In 1959, the 21st Congress of the CPSU sharply criticised Yugoslav revisionism and adopted a resolution stating that the CPSU would continue "to follow faithfully the great international teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, combat revisionists of all hues, uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and work for the new success of the world Communist and working class movement."

170. For a second time in 1960 the world gathering of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960 discussed the situation in the International Communist Movement and reiterated the position taken by the 1957 Declaration of revisionism being the main danger and also levelled sharp criticism against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying

Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist, revisionist Programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the International Communist Movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.....

"The further development of the communist and working class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism."

171. The same understanding was incorporated in the report adopted in October 1961 by the 22nd Party Congress of the CPSU. It reads: "It plays into the hands of imperialist reactionaries, foments national tendencies and may in the end lead to the loss of socialist gains in the country which has broken away from the friendly and united family of builders of a new world."

Sharply attacking the position of Yugoslav revisionists, the new Programme of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress said: "The Communist movement grows and becomes steeled as it fights against various opportunist trends. Revisionism, Right opportunism, which is a reflection of bourgeois influence, is the chief danger within the Communist movement today. The revisionists who mask their renunciation of Marxism with talk about the necessity of taking account of latest developments in

society and the class struggle, in effect play the role of pedlars of bourgeois reformist ideology within the Communist movement. They seek to rob Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary spirit, to undermine the faith which the working class and working people have in socialism, to disarm and disorganise them in their struggle against imperialism. The revisionists deny the historical necessity of the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, undermine the foundations of proletarian internationalism and drift to nationalism. The ideology of revisionism is most fully embodied in the Programme of the L.C.Y."

172. What had been the attitude of the L.C.Y. to repeated criticism by the leadership of the CPSU and other Parties and by the 1960 Statement? In February 1961, the CEC of the L.C.Y. in a resolution on the Moscow Statement had the following to say:

"The Moscow Statement can have only harmful consequences not merely for the cause of socialism but also for the efforts to consolidate peace throughout the world."

Did the L.C.Y. leaders later on give up their revisionist positions on any single basic question on which they were deviating from Marxism-Leninism? We have no evidence whatsoever. In fact, as late as in December 1962, Tito reasserted his false theories and expressed his determination to cling to them. He said in Belgrade after his return from Moscow:

"Discussions.....about how Yugoslavia will now change the policy are simply superfluous and ridiculous. We have no need to change our policy." A few days later he further stated: "I said there (in the Soviet Union) that there is no possibility of Yugoslavia changing her foreign policy."

173. Matters stand clear. The long passages we have cited would clearly reveal that the Yugoslav leaders have been consistently following the revisionist policy and refuse to budge an inch. It is also clear how the leadership of the CPSU was sharply coming out against Yugoslav revisionism and taking its stand on the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the world gatherings of Communist and Workers' Parties.

174. And yet, the leaders of the CPSU have surprisingly changed their whole attitude to the L.C.Y. and the modern revisionism they spearhead. It is all the more striking to hear from the CPSU leaders that the L.C.Y. had changed its positions very much when the L.C.Y. leaders themselves repeatedly assert that they have not changed an iota nor is there anything wrong with them which they have to correct. This is really intriguing. Not only the Soviet leaders have completely changed their attitude to Yugoslav revisionism from the accepted positions of the 81 Parties' Statement but following them several other Communist Parties have invited Yugoslav delegations to their respective Party Congresses.

175. This is what PRAVDA on January 7, 1963, wrote editorially: "The steps taken recently by Yugoslav Communists and their leaders in their home and foreign policy have removed much of what was erroneous and damaging to the cause of building socialism in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Communists took steps toward rapprochement and unity with the whole world communist movement...The CPSU declares openly that there still exist differences with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on a number of ideological questions. But the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the country building communism can, doubtlessly, help in overcoming the differences on a number of ideological questions much quicker."

In the same article, they deviated from the accepted position and began emphasising revisionism and dogmatism as equal danger.

The same views were expressed by Com. Khrushchov in his speech delivered to the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on January 15, 1963.

176. Whereas in the Moscow Statement and the Programme of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the necessity to fight against revisionism which is the main danger in the International Communist Movement was emphasised, here suddenly satisfaction is shown at the change in home and foreign policy by Yugoslavia and the overcoming of remaining differences with the L.C.Y. is left to the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Soviet

Union. And instead of revisionism as the main danger they have placed both the dangers of revisionism and dogmatism on equal footing. Similar views were expressed by some other parties like that of France and Italy.

177. Comrade Togliatti, for instance, in his article on January 12, 1963, went still further and challenged even the basic propositions of the Moscow Statement. He stated: "There may be and there are differences between us and the Yugoslav Communists, but Yugoslavia has a popular regime aiming at socialism, not a capitalist one. And this thoroughly justifies the position taken by us and others towards the Yugoslav comrades, thus correcting, because it was mistaken in this case, the 1960 resolution."

178. What does all this show? Firstly, the leadership of the CPSU, contrary to what they have been all along maintaining from 1957 to 1961, have almost absolved Yugoslav revisionism which is characterised as the concentrated form of modern revisionism. Secondly, they began to argue that the L.C.Y. has corrected and changed its positions while, in fact, the leaders of the L.C.Y. refuse to admit that they have made any mistake and reject the idea of correction. Thirdly, the leaders of the CPSU, in utter disregard of the positions taken by the 81 Parties' Statement, unilaterally and arbitrarily tried to reverse them thus violating the accepted norms of behaviour between brother Parties. Lastly, besides the question of L.C.Y., they are going back on the accepted proposition in the 81 Parties' Statement to continue a determined struggle "against revisionism, which remains the main danger". As a result of all this, we are pained to note that in the final analysis it is the leaders of the CPSU who have moved closer to the positions of Yugoslav revisionism and thus increased the menace of modern revisionism in the International Communist Movement.

179. In the foregoing chapters and pages, while discussing the topics of war and peace, peaceful co-existence, forms of transition, we have seen how there have been Right opportunist and reformist deviations prevailing in our Party. We shall take up here, for more detailed examination, the revisionist deviation

in our Party and its manifestations in different aspects of our activity.

180. After the 1957 world gathering of Communist and Workers' Parties, repeated demands were made for an examination of our understanding and practice in view of the revisionist danger which was threatening the world Communist movement as the main danger. The West Bengal and Punjab State Committees of the Party actually prepared documents on this question and placed them before the Central Executive Committee and the National Council. But the leadership of the Party failed to take up this job though repeated promises had been made at the Congresses in Palghat and Amritsar, the Madras National Council and subsequently at various meetings. In fact, to this day nothing has been done on this score. No serious examination has been undertaken to find out whether there are serious Right and Left deviations in our Party or revisionism is the main danger as pointed out by the 1957 Declaration. Without carrying out any of these tasks when the Party was sharply divided ideologically and politically a resolution was pushed through by the majority of the National Council at its last session in October 1963, which blindly and uncritically endorsed the general line of the CPSU as is put across in the present ideological debate. Consequently, this resolution has failed to unify the Party or clarify the issues.

181. At the outset we would like to state frankly that Marxist-Leninist grounding in our Party has been very inadequate and from time to time there have been serious departures of both the Right and Left varieties from the correct Marxist-Leninist positions over a long period in the past. We do not venture here to take upon ourselves a review of the whole past of our Party as it requires wider and more concrete study and discussions. We propose for our purpose here to confine ourselves to the post-1947 period of our activity and, in particular, to the period following the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

182. In the Second Congress of our Party in 1948, we tried to pin down the Right reformist deviation that was for a long time prevailing in our Party. In the attempt to eradicate it and bring

the Party on the correct rails, our Party had sunk into Left sectarianism and adventurism in the period between 1949 and 1951. These Left sectarian mistakes were expressed as follows: Firstly, the Indian bourgeoisie after the transfer of power was characterised as having deserted the revolution and *finally and irrevocably* gone over to imperialism. Secondly, it underestimated the contradiction between the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole with foreign imperialism on the one hand and native feudalism on the other. Thirdly, it clumsily confused the stage of the revolution and made a single-stage revolution combining the democratic and socialist stages into one. Fourthly, it based its tactics on an oversimplified understanding of the general crisis of capitalism and the spontaneous mass uprisings under its impact and tried to base its day-to-day tactics and forms of struggle on spontaneity. Lastly, the experience of the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution were sought to be mechanically applied. Then again while correcting this deviation, a balanced fight could not be conducted against both the Left and Right opportunist trends giving no room for either and putting the Party on the sound foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

183. Though, with the change of the line and adoption of the Party Programme in 1951, we could extricate our Party and its political line from the extreme Left sectarian line and practice, the new programme as well as the policy resolutions adopted from time to time were not completely free from these tendencies. Particular note must be taken here of one dogmatic mistake which continued to haunt us, that is, in the issue of the nature of the political independence which we had won in 1947. The inadequate appreciation of the new correlation of forces that had come into existence in the post-Second World War period where a mighty camp of socialism emerged and world imperialism was getting weakened, led us to underestimating the new possibilities of consolidating the political independence with the aid of the world socialist camp making it impossible for the imperialists to make it formal and nominal as they could do in times when they were all-powerful. From this mistake also arises the underestimation of the potentialities of the Indian bourgeoisie

and its new state, its capacity to pursue an independent and non-aligned foreign policy as well as its efforts for internal economic development.

184. At the same time, in the struggle against the Left deviation in our Party, many unhealthy tendencies and concepts of gross Right reformist nature penetrated into the Party. The discipline of the Marxist-Leninist Party was very much shaken. The concept of democratic centralism came under serious challenge. In the name of fighting against dogmatism and denouncing it, the dangerous idea of contempt towards theory and study of classics has gained ground. Naturally under these circumstances both Right reformism and Left sectarianism were haunting us in this period—sometimes one dominating and sometimes the other. All these tendencies got reinforced following the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its decisions, more and more drifting towards revisionism. Some of the corrections introduced in the sectarian and dogmatist understanding prevailing in the International Communist Movement was sought to be interpreted as vindicating the Right reformist and opportunist positions of certain sections inside the Party. While correcting the mistakes on the nature of the independence and the radically altered new correlation of forces in the world, pronounced tendencies began to appear and grow of minimising the danger of imperialism and its finance capital, treating our independence as more or less complete and the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment as one taken for granted and tending to acquiesce in the idea of the Indian bourgeoisie more or less fulfilling the democratic tasks of our revolution. To put it in short, Right reformism and revisionism have grown all along the line questioning the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism opening the floodgates of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

185. The revisionist ideas and their depth in our Party can be grasped if, for example, we look at the way several leading comrades of our Party reacted and approved of the opportunist thesis contained in Soviet Academician Rubenstein's article in *NEW TIMES* Nos. 29, 30 of July 1956, under the heading *A NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES*.

It contained the formulation: "It would, of course, be naive to expect monopoly capital to strive for socialist reconstruction. Nevertheless, in India, which is advancing along the road of independent political and economic development the objective possibilities exist for obviating the continued growth of monopoly capital and, by peaceful methods in conformity with the will of the overwhelming majority of the people taking the Socialist Path." The article proceeded: "That path has been advocated for many years by Jawahar Lal Nehru."

The thesis in a nutshell concedes that the bourgeoisie of India under Nehru's leadership will not only be able to fulfil the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic tasks of our revolution but also is capable of placing the country on to the road to socialism. This negates the necessity either of the democratic revolution or the socialist revolution and above all, the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It goes without saying that it negates also the role of the working class and of the Communist Party as the leading force of the revolution. To substantiate his contention, the author has the following to state: "The present international situation and the fact that India has such friendly neighbours as the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples' Republic of China on whose experience and economic co-operation she can draw, lead one to believe that, given close co-operation by all the progressive forces of the country, there is the possibility for India to develop along Socialist lines."

186. These are the same thoroughly revisionist ideas which have been put forward as a full-fledged thesis in the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in relation to the path towards socialism through an evolutionary process and the negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Party. This article was rightly criticised by the then P.B. as misleading and reply was written refuting this understanding by the then General Secretary of our Party. But the comrades who had hailed the article criticised and pooh-poohed the P.B. answer to that article.

187. Take another example. At the time of the Hungarian counter-revolution, a section of the Party leadership opposed the

armed assistance by the Socialist camp and the Soviet Union to defeat the counter-revolution. They characterised the Hungarian counter-revolution as a popular revolt. One member of the C.C. even went to the extent of resigning from the C.C. disapproving the stand of the Soviet Union. The same type of panicky retreat before bourgeois offensive was witnessed in certain leading circles of the Party on the question of meeting out capital punishment to the leader of the counter-revolution, Imre Nagy. The corrosion into proletarian internationalism and the rapid growth of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism could be glaringly seen in a series of resolutions and statements of the Party's leadership on the Sino-Indian border dispute, as sharply pointed out by Com. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

188. We have self-criticised ourselves several times and said how this bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism is penetrating fast into our Party and how the various State units of our Party had begun to follow the bourgeoisie of their nationalities on the question of disputes between States and came into direct conflict with each other. By uncritically lining up behind the bourgeoisie of nationalities, Party units began coming against each other openly on these questions. Border and water disputes between various States are a glaring example. This has happened between Orissa and Andhra, between Kerala and Tamilnad on the question of Devikulam and Peeramedu, on the question of Belgaum between Maharashtra and Karnataka. The Maharashtra Committee of the Party went to the extent of leading a satyagraha to settle the border dispute with Karnataka in Maharashtra's favour. The Madras National Council meeting had to sharply criticise the Maharashtra Committee in this connection. Again, we find its expression in the Krishna-Godavari water dispute between Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra, the Party units taking the stand of supporting the bourgeoisie of their States.

189. The revisionist tendency in our Party as has already been pointed out is expressed grossly in parliamentary work. Instead of a revolutionary outlook, a social democratic attitude is developed towards parliamentary work and a marked tendency

has grown of more and more relying on representations as a substitute for struggles and mass activity. This also finds expression in tendencies of collaborating with the bourgeoisie without taking into consideration its dual character and compromising role with imperialism and feudalism. A non-class approach is generally taken towards the bourgeoisie. The independent and positive role of the Communist Party is negated.

190. It also finds its expression in the form of crude economism in the working class front. The need for politicalisation of the working class has been emphasised in many documents of the National Council and Party Congresses but this emphasis has remained only formal. The practice is not much changed.

191. It is seen in the failure of the Party to understand the prime importance of radical agrarian reforms at this stage, the rousing, organising and leading of the broad peasant movement and building the worker-peasant alliance as the core of the democratic front. To the extent the work is done among the peasantry, necessary concentration on the agricultural worker and poor and middle peasant is not placed.

192. It is seen in the wrong understanding of building the democratic front. Electoral alliances are sometimes confused with the building of the democratic front and its class content is not kept in mind. It is not realised that the democratic front is a front of the classes who are interested in fulfilling the tasks of the present stage of our revolution but is looked upon as a combination of some parties and groups and reduced sometimes to over-emphasising it as more of a question of our approach towards the ruling Congress Party. The independent growth of Party and its leading role in the front and the worker-peasant alliance as its base is missed. That is one of the important reasons why the building of Party and mass and class organisations is neglected. Many such 'united fronts!' we have been building in several states from time to time and which have been going out of existence go to eloquently prove our contention.

193. Revisionist tendency is further expressed in the contempt developed towards Marxist-Leninist classics, cynically equating

them with dogmatism and the neglect of ideological work among the Party and the masses. Leave alone education of the Party with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, we have failed even to answer the bourgeois ideological propaganda offensive unleashed against us. Very often we have been making concessions to it.

194. It is with this revisionist understanding that the dominant leadership of our Party looks at the present international debate and takes its positions on it. The danger of modern revisionism, in a very crassest form advocated by the Yugoslav revisionists and abetted and supported by the others, is ignored. The revisionist menace as the main danger to the international movement and our Party in particular is not grasped.

195. In view of all this, we have to fight this danger of revisionism in our Party. But while fighting against it, we have to simultaneously guard against tendencies of dogmatism and sectarianism and a serious and sustained inner-Party struggle has to be carried on in this respect.

32 National Council Members' (of C.P.I.) Appeal To Party Members

(Joint Appeal dated April 14, 1964)

Appeal to Party Members on April 14, 1964, made by 32 members of the National Council immediately after their dissociation with the National Council meeting of April 1964. Signatories to the Appeal were: (1) P. Sundarayya, (2) M. Basavapunniah, (3) T. Nagi Reddy, (4) M. Hanumantha Rao, (5) Venkateswara Rao, (6) N. Prasada Rao, (7) G. Bapanayya, (8) E. M. S. Namboodiripad, (9) A. K. Gopalan, (10) A. V. Kunhambu, (11) C. H. Kanaran, (12) E. K. Nayanar, (13) V. S. Achutha Menon, (14) E. K. Imbichibava, (15) Promode Das Gupta, (16) Muzaffar Ahamad, (17) Jyoti Basu, (18) Abdul Halim, (19) H. K. Konar, (20) Saroj Mukherjee, (21) P. Ramamurti, (22) M. R. Venkataraman, (23) N. Sankariah, (24) K. Ramani, (25) H. S. Surjeet, (26) Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, (27) D. S. Tapiala, (28) Dr. Bhag Singh, (29) Sheo Kumar Misra, (30) R. N. Upadhyaya, (31) Mohan Punamiya, (32) R. P. Saraf.

We, the members of the National Council who walked out of the meeting on 11.4.64, have been exchanging our views on how to carry forward the struggle against the anti-Party factional activities being carried on by the Secretariat headed by S. A. Dange.

This exchange of views revealed the fact that we are united not only against the factionalism and anti-Party organisational methods resorted to by them, but also against their political line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie through general united front with the Congress.

It may be mentioned in this connection that three years ago, at the sixth Congress held at Vijayawada, the line of Congress-Communist unity as the general political tactical line of the Party was advanced. This, however, was stoutly opposed by the delegates and rejected by the Congress in the resolution which was finally adopted. The comrades who had championed that nakedly reformist political line had to accept defeat at the Congress. They, however, tried to push that line in their practical activities even after the Party Congress.

The crisis which arose in the country in October-November 1962, the declaration of Emergency and the arrests of a large number of comrades became a God-sent for the champions of this line of class-collaboration who, under the new circumstances, got a majority in the National Council. They used this opportunity to launch a political and organisational offensive against those who resisted the reformist line of Congress-Communist unity.

This, naturally, roused the indignation of ordinary Party members. Larger and larger numbers of them began to express their protest against it. But, far from seeing the gap that was forming between the mass of Party members and themselves, the leaders of the National Council and their supporters at lower levels began to use the weapon of disciplinary measures against those who protested against their activities. Furthermore, they adopted the most reprehensible tactics of denouncing those who opposed the reformist line of general united front with the Congress as followers of the Peking line, thus joining the chorus of rabid anti-Communism. It was as a part of this tactics that they raised the bogey of "anti-Party groups" functioning at various levels and disrupting the unity of the Party.

We have been trying to put a stop to this. We, of course, had our own differences concerning the estimation of the economic and political situation in the country as well as in our approach to the problem of how to offer resistance to the reformist politics and factional organisational methods of the Secretariat headed by Dange. Despite these differences, however, we were united in our understanding that the inner-Party problem posed

under the circumstances can be solved only through an appeal to the Party membership as a whole, culminating in the convening of a Party Congress.

We, therefore, made several proposals for the organisation of inner-Party discussion, for the creation of the necessary conditions in which a Party Congress can be convened and for the postponement of all other inner-Party organisational questions till the Congress is convened and takes appropriate decisions. The Secretariat and the majority of the National Council, however, refused to help this process. They, on the other hand, insisted on so using their majority in the National Council and in various State Councils to prevent the expression of the genuine will of the majority of the Party members.

They refused to have an agreed Commission to prepare the draft documents which should form the basis of pre-Congress inner-Party discussion.

They refused to have an agreed method of scrutinising the membership with the result that large numbers of members have been denied their right of participation in pre-Congress discussions and in the conferences which would culminate in the Party Congress.

Above all, they started the process of taking disciplinary actions against some of the most effective opponents of their line with a view to prevent them from participating in the pre-Congress discussions and from getting elected as delegates to the Congress.

The proposed expulsion of 7 members of the Central Executive Committee which they broadcast to the press even before the National Council had met was only the culmination of these efforts and at preventing the convening of a genuine Party Congress. This had been preceded by disbanding the elected West Bengal Council and imposing an illegal Provincial Organising Committee; by holding an illegal conference in Punjab and replacing the properly elected leadership; by expulsions and other forms of disciplinary action against several Party members, including members of the National Council and Central Executive Committee in Tamilnad and Punjab and

threats of similar action in several other provinces. As a matter of fact, the period that intervened between the public censure administered to Com. A. K. Gopalan in October last and the proposed expulsion of 7 CEC members at the recent meeting of the National Council, witnessed a spate of disciplinary actions all over the country. It is also no secret that the entire machinery at the disposal of Dange's followers has been kept ready for large-scale expulsions after the National Council meeting.

It was against this background that the existence of the incriminating letter, alleged to have been written by Dange in 1924 was publicly revealed in the columns of the "Current". This too was used by the Secretariat in order to carry on a campaign against those in the Party who oppose their political organisational line. The members of the Secretariat, even without visiting the Archives, declared the letters as 'forged' and even joined the "Current" in its assertion that it was the 'Left' in the Communist Party that had helped in the revelation of the story. When this attack on them was answered by some leaders of the CPI by a public statement that according to them the letters are genuine, the Secretariat went to the extent of calling them "neo-Trotskyites" and "splitters." The responsibility for initiating the public controversy around the Dange letters therefore rests squarely on the Secretariat.

A review of this whole controversy would show to any impartial observer that the Secretariat and its supporters have become so factional that they are prepared to renounce every norm enjoined upon the Communist Party. For, the existence of the letters in the National Archives is not in dispute. The only basis on which it had been declared "forged" is the assertion of Dange.

Under these circumstances, the normal practice in the Communist Party would demand of its leadership that Dange is removed from all responsible posts pending the enquiry. However, considering the present inner-Party situation we suggested that he should first be asked to vacate the chair when the two leading bodies of the Party—the CEC and the National Council consider the question.

Even this was stoutly resisted by Dange and his followers. It is obvious that they are prepared to renounce all principles if their observance weaken their faction. It was against this that we protested when we walked out.

Having reviewed the situation for two days, we have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle against this factional approach of the followers of Dange is an integral part of our struggle against their anti-Party factional method of preparing for and convening the Party Congress as well as against the reformist political line. Our call to the majority of the Party members and units to repudiate Dange and his group is therefore a call to repudiate the reformist political line of general united front with the Congress, to repudiate the line of factional preparation for a fake Party Congress, to repudiate their efforts at white-washing the suspicious conduct of Dange in relation to his alleged letters whose existence in the National Archives is not in dispute.

We do have our differences among ourselves.

Even among the comrades of the "Left", who met here from the 2nd to the 9th of April, there are differences on ideological questions. They, however, are united on the draft programme which they have provisionally accepted.

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad who did not participate in these meetings, and who had written his own document covering the ideological and political questions, differs on certain questions of the draft Programme.

Despite these differences, however, we are all agreed on the necessity to resist the reformist political line, the anti-Party factional organisational methods and the shameless effort to whitewash Dange's alleged conduct in having offered his services to the British.

We are conscious that unity on this alone would not be a sufficient basis for real unity of will and action. We, therefore, propose to have further exchange of views on the ideological and political questions that divide us. We propose to associate the entire Party membership in these discussions. With this idea in view, we have decided to circulate among Party members and

sympathisers the following documents: (1) The Draft Programme which was provisionally accepted by the meeting of the "Left" comrades; (2) Comrade EMS's Draft on the party programme; (3) the Draft on ideological questions prepared by Comrade M. Basavapunniah and others; (4) another draft on the above prepared by Comrade Jyoti Basu and others. We may subsequently circulate EMS's critique on the first as well as the critique of Comrade EMS's draft by the other comrades.

We are confident that these discussions and the active political and mass work we propose to carry on jointly will enable us to rally the large mass of Party members and sympathisers not only in offering effective resistance to the policies and practices of Dange and his followers, but also to make the necessary political and organisational preparations for convening the 7th Congress of the Party. We, however, want to add that, if even at this stage the Dange group renounces its anti-Party organisational methods and creates, in consultation with us, the machinery that ensures full and unfettered inner-Party discussions and representation to all genuine members, we would be prepared to give our support and co-operation for its success. It is obvious that if they are honest about the unity of the Party about which they talk so-loud when resorting to disciplinary actions, they would have to recognise that, divided as the Party is from top to bottom, the success of a Party Congress depends on agreement between the various sections in the National Council on at least the machinery which will conduct inner-Party discussions and prepare for the Party Congress. It was their resistance to this reasonable stand of ours that led to this crisis. We, therefore, appeal to all those comrades in the National Council and outside, who are pained at the developments which took place at the recent meeting of the National Council, to put their full weight in favour of the following proposals which we are making:

1. The enquiry regarding the Dange letters should be conducted through a machinery created by agreement between them and us. We would like to take this opportunity to repudiate the charge

made by Dange that any of us is opposed to examination by experts. We are of opinion that the enquiry should be thorough, it should be conducted by a body which certainly utilises the services of experts but which consists of persons who are competent of examination of all aspects of the case. We also insist that the personnel of the enquiry body and the methods of the enquiry should not be dictated by Dange and his followers, but acceptable to all sections in the National Council.

2. The question of the so-called "disruptive and splitting activities" should be dealt with more comprehensively and in a thorough manner. The Dange group should realise that they are very much in the dock. This being so, all disciplinary actions arising out of the so-called "disruptive and splitting activities" should be held over till the inner-Party discussion, which culminates in the Party Congress, is over. All disciplinary actions taken on this count during the last year and a half should be immediately cancelled.

3. Arrangements should be made for a fresh scrutiny of Party membership in those cases where disputes have arisen in relation to it. And all those members who were in the lists at the time of Vijayawada Party Congress should be allowed to renew their membership.

4. A commission with agreed personnel should be appointed to examine the documents that have already been prepared by us and the documents that may be prepared by other comrades and to decide whether any of them can form the basis of inner-Party discussion, and if not, how one document or more documents can be prepared for the same.

It is also obvious that, if the above steps are to be taken, then the method of functioning the Party Centre, running the Party organs, etc. will have to be reviewed and necessary changes made in them.

In making the above proposals, we have not much hope that the Secretariat and its followers would accept them. Their whole conduct during the last year-and-a-half has shown that they would stoop to anything in their resistance to the observance of

democratic practices in the functioning of the Party. We are nevertheless offering the above proposals with the hope that those who are earnest about the unity of the Party would ponder over them and force the Secretariat and its followers to accept them. We are sure that all those who are genuinely interested in the unity of the Party would agree with us that only through the acceptance and implementation of the above proposals can inner-Party democracy be assured and split in the Party averted.

While thus appealing to all sincere advocates of Party unity to force the Secretariat and its supporters to reverse their present policies and practices, we wish to declare that, if the Secretariat and its supporters persist in their attitude, we will have to appeal to the entire Party membership to join us in convening the Seventh Party Congress which will be a Congress of struggle against the reformism, factionalism and the renunciation of revolutionary traditions, which are the characteristics of S. A. Dange and his group.

We have decided to organise an inner-Party and mass campaign on the above lines. We have decided that we will convene a meeting of the representatives of Party members from all over India after two months in order to review our activities during this period and to chalk out further programme.

We are confident that increasingly vast masses of Party members will lend their support to us in these endeavours and thus contribute to the emergence of a still stronger Communist Party of India, which has been built up by great sacrifices of innumerable martyrs and glorious struggles of our people and uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Resolutions of the Tenali Convention of the Communist Party of India

(Held on July 7-11, 1964)

With a Foreword by Harkishan Singh Surjeet

146 Delegates from all-over India representing 1,00,000 Party Members met at Tenali, in Andhra Pradesh, to discuss about the serious inner-Party situation created due to revisionist, reformist political line followed by Dange Group and decided to convene 7th Congress.

Tenali Convention of the CPI

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

146 delegates from all over the country representing 1,00,000 Party members met at Tenali from 7th to 11th July to discuss the serious inner-Party situation which the CPI has been facing since long because of the revisionist, reformist political line followed by the Dange group and the disruptive organisational methods adopted by them. They were not ordinary Party members. 136 out of them had joined the Party more than 15 years ago and 10 of them had joined the Party before 1935. They were leading comrades from leading States who had made tremendous sacrifices in building the party and for the cause of national independence, democracy and socialism. They were very much concerned about the unity of the Party as well as the future of the Communist movement in India. They had gathered there to assess the situation after the walk out of 32 National Council members and the response to their appeal in order to decide the future course of action.

It was traced in the appeal of 32 members of the National Council how Dange and his followers had exploited the situation after the declaration of Emergency to push their line of Communist-Congress unity; how larger and larger members of the Party protested against it; how they began wielding the weapon of discipline, adopted of the most reprehensible tactics of denouncing their political opponents as the followers of Peking line and raise the bogey of "anti-Party groups"; how they rejected all proposals to create the necessary condition for

convening the Party Congress in a democratic way; how they started taking disciplinary actions against some of the most effective opponents of their line with a view to preventing them from participating in the pre-Congress discussions and getting elected as delegates to the Congress culminating in their recommendation to the National Council to expel 7 members of the CEC from the Party and their attempt to use even the exposure of Dange Letters against their opponents. Dange and his supporters became so factional that they are prepared to renounce every norm enjoined upon the party.

Having reviewed all this 32 had said in the appeal; "we have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle with this factional approach of Dange and his followers is an integral part of our struggle against their reformist political line. Our call to the majority of the Party members and units to repudiate Dange and his group is therefore a call to repudiate the reformist political line of general united front with the Congress, to repudiate the line of factional preparation for a fake Party Congress; to repudiate their efforts to whitewash the suspicious conduct of Dange in relation to his alleged letters whose existence in the National Archives is not in dispute". But the Appeal made it clear that "if even at this stage the Dange Group renounces its anti-Party organisational methods and creates in consultation with us, the machinery that ensure full and unfettered inner-Party discussions and representation to all genuine members, we would be prepared to give our support and cooperation for its (democratic party conference) success". But if the Secretariat and its supporters persist in their attitudes, "we will have to appeal to the entire Party membership to join us in convening the 7th Congress which will be a Congress of struggle against revisionist factionalism and renunciation of revolutionary traditions which are the characteristics of S. A. Dange and his group."

We, on the basis of the Appeal, organised an inner party and mass campaign and approached party committees and members throughout the country. The situation was by no means normal.

Among the party ranks there was desire for unity but the majority was very critical of the revisionist line pursued by Dange and his supporters and their disruptionist methods. Hence in the two months that followed with all the limitations we had because the party machinery was firmly in their hands we were able to rally the majority of party members behind the Appeal of 32.

The National Council of Dange group which met after two months was forced to pass a resolution calling for the need for unity of the party but it hushed the real issues that had led to the present state. It refused to take lessons from the fact that overwhelming majority of the party members have supported our proposal for ensuring unity in the party and a united party congress. But the resolution did not contain a word about these proposals.

The urge for the unity which Dange and his supporters were pretending got further exposed when they in the same National Council where they talked so much about unity decided to set up a parallel State Committee in West Bengal. When after, Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad had some talks with them and Comrades Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta and Surjeet were to meet them, they issued a statement saying that whatever talks they held would only be within the framework of the National Council resolution—belying hopes if there were any left, that even at this late stage, they would make some genuine effort for restoring party unity. Further talks with them made it clear that they are not prepared to concede any of the demands which we had put forward to get a democratic verdict of the whole Party. In fact, they were busy in splitting the Party. They had already split the Party. They had already split the Communist Group in Lok Sabha and then took steps to split the Assembly groups in States. They shamelessly tried to use to their advantage the Vijaywada fires and in Trivandrum Municipal elections, they set up rival candidates. Similar activities were carried on in various other States. Along with these methods the political documents

submitted for National Council discussion confirmed that they are bent upon pursuing their collaborationist political line. It is in this background that the convention of the CPI at Tenali met.

The convention began on 7th July at 4 p.m. While hoisting the Communist Party flag, Com. Muzaffar Ahmad, a founder member of the Communist Party of India, said: "Let us pledge to build a real Communist Party". To conduct the proceedings of the convention a presidium consisting of Comrades A. K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, Shiv Varma was elected. After passing the condolence resolution on the untimely death of late Prime Minister Nehru, Comrade P. Sundarayya welcomed the delegates on behalf of the reception committee. The convention then decided upon the agenda and the time table. The proceedings began with the report on the unity talks between the representatives of the 32 and those of the Dange National Council. It was followed by the reports from various States giving a comprehensive picture of the inner-Party situation in their States as well as the revisionist political line and disruptive activities carried on by the Dange group. The reports showed that the overwhelming majority of the Party members in various States have rejected the Dange leadership and have rallied round the appeal of 32 National Council members to convene the Seventh Party Congress. It showed that except in the States of Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi, in no other State, Dange group has the support of majority of the Party members, on the other hand more than 60 to 70 per cent members have lent their support to our appeal.

In our appeal we had made it clear that there are political differences amongst us, but despite that we were agreed to resist the reformist political line and anti-Party factional methods. We proposed "to have further exchange of views on ideological and political questions that divide us" associating the entire Party membership in these discussions and "we are confident that these discussions and active political and mass work that we propose to carry on jointly will enable us to rally the large mass of party members and sympathisers not

only in offering effective resistance to the policies and practices of Dange and his followers, but also to make the necessary political and organisational preparations for convening the Seventh Congress of our party. Therefore we took up these questions for discussion.

On the ideological questions there are differences amongst us. A document was circulated among the delegates on the ideological questions entitled "A Contribution to the ideological Debate" stating the various viewpoints. Com. E.M.S. had earlier explained his point of view on the international ideological debate. These differences are there in the Party since long. In October 1963, some of us had proposed to the National Council as to how these differences should be resolved. A proposal was made that on the ideological differences in the international Communist movement, our Party as an independent sovereign unit of the international Communist movement, shall arrive at its own independent decisions after a full and democratic discussion in the entire Party. No question of either pro-Peking or pro-Moscow shall arise whatever our enemies shout to slander the cause of communism. We should not resort upon criticism and attack either on the CPSU or the CPC until our Party concludes its inner-Party discussions and arrives at its own conclusions. But the National Council instead of accepting our suggestion committed itself to one point of view on the ideological debate. Basing itself on the above suggestion the convention decided not to clinch this issue in a hurry and to organise proper discussions inside the Party on these questions after the Party Congress is over. But the convention accepted the suggestion made by Com. E.M.S. that those issues which are of immediate bearing in our political and ideological work like forms of transition and peaceful coexistence should be discussed and clinched along with the Draft Programme.

Then the Convention took up the question of Party Programme. We had circulated a Draft Programme as well as a Note on the Draft Programme by Com. E.M.S. We had also circulated among the delegates the 3 drafts circulated in the Dange National Council by Dange, Bhupesh Gupta and P. C.

Joshi. More than 30 comrades took part in the discussion on Programme. It was found in the discussion that there was a wide area of agreement among the delegates on the Programmatic questions. Com. E.M.S. expressed his disagreement on some points. His first point of Criticism was that the National factor is underplayed in the Draft; a Marxist-Leninist critique of bourgeois integration is not there and the questions of caste, religion and tribal Communities have not been dealt properly. He was supported by many delegates on this point. On the question of class alliance Com. E. M. S. expressed disagreement that the draft underestimates the role of developing conflict between Indian and foreign monopolies. According to him in the 3rd stage of general crisis of capitalism, the more capitalism develops and bourgeoisie of a country uses its state power to grow, the more are the chances of conflict with foreign imperialists. He contended that the Draft has underestimated the contradiction between imperialism and the nation as a whole including the big bourgeoisie. This point of view was contested by others. Third important point which he made as to programme was is the question of National Democracy and non-Capitalist path. He did not fully agree with the formulations made in the Draft but he made it clear that his concept of National Democracy and non-Capitalist path is different from that of Dange group. Regarding the class alliance of National Democracy he made it categorically clear that he does not visualise any class alliance without leadership of the working class and worker-peasant alliance as its basis.

After two days discussion it was decided that the Draft Programme along with a critique by Com. E.M.S. should be circulated throughout the Party for discussions to be clinched in the 7th Congress.

Having decided upon the ideological political questions the Convention took up the question of Party unity and the Seventh Congress. In the resolution moved by Com. E.M.S. on the subject it is stated that "the hope expressed by the 32 comrades,

the convention notes, has been completely fulfilled. The overwhelming majority of Party members including many who doubted the wisdom of the walk out staged by the 32 comrades accepted the correctness of the proposals made in the statements of 32 comrades. They exerted their pressure on the members of the National Council to accept these proposals and thereby pave the way for the convening of a united Party Congress". The convention expressed its grateful appreciation of the efforts made by the larger number of Party members both those who were fully, behind the 32 comrades, as well as those who had differences with them, but yet demanded of the Dange leadership that unity should be restored broadly on the basis of the proposals made by the 32 comrades to make the Dange group retrace their steps.

The resolution further stated that "having heard the reports of talks the convention is fully convinced that the Dange group is determined to prevent the genuine unity of the Party on the basis of a correct political line and the observance of correct organisational methods. Even though they talk loud about the need for unity they are not prepared to concede on any point which has been made by the 32 comrades in their statements." The most amazing part of the reply given by Dange group is that they justify their negative stand in these talks on the basis of a so-called "principle". That "principle" is nothing other than that every question, political or organisational, is to be decided by majority. They use this principle to oppose the proposal made by the 32 comrades that the major issues involved in the problem of Party unity should be decided by agreement. They claim that this is giving the minority the right of veto and that it would result in paralysing the Party".

Exposing the utter hypocrisy which lies in the argument the resolution stated that "it would be clear to all those who know that the present National Council, the CEC, the Secretariat and the Chairman came into existence through the very principle of agreement which they are now rejecting. For, the National Council was not elected by majority vote at the Sixth Congress.

Differences on the panel of names for the National Council created a deadlock which was resolved only by agreement. Those who now oppose decision by agreement as unprincipled did not do so then. Even though for the sake of that agreement the Party Congress went out of the way in amending the Constitution without having put the question of constitutional amendment on the agenda. Again in April, 1962, when the National Council had to elect its office bearers, the much talked of "principle" of majority decision was given up and the much abused one of decisions by agreement was accepted. Furthermore, agreement was arrived at by amending the constitution (which the Council had no authority to do) in order to provide for a new post of Chairman and to increase the number of CEC. At this stage too, those who form the present Secretariat now and who are so indignant at the very suggestion of decision by agreement did not stand by their "principle" of majority decision. On the other hand, they used that opportunity to entrench themselves in positions of authority and then to use those positions in order to consolidate themselves as a faction.

Finally, the resolution gave a call for the convening the 7th Party Congress with the co-operation of large number of Party members who have rallied around the appeal of 32. It ended with an appeal which stated that "we want to assure those comrades and friends who are concerned at the possible consequences of this step that it is not a pleasure for us that we have been forced to this position. We have been anxious to avoid it. That is why we made approaches for unity when such approaches were possible. However all our efforts have met the stiff resistance of those who would maintain themselves in power at all costs. We would therefore appeal to such comrades and friends to give us their support in our activities. We would call upon our supporters to help us in reorganising the Communist Party making it a strong united Party of the working-class in the revolutionary traditions of the Indian people".

The Convention further decided to hold the Seventh Party Congress from October 24 to 31 at Calcutta and adopted the

agenda for that. It elected a Central Organising Committee of 41 members alongwith an executive committee and a secretariat in order to discharge functions in relation to preparation for the Party Congress, helping the states in organising the state conferences and giving necessary guidance to T. U., Kisan, Parliamentary and other mass fronts—and to discharge other functions of the Party Centre.

On the last day Convention took up the discussion on current political and economic issues and passed resolutions for the guidance of the Party and for mobilising the people.

The resolution on the release of the detenus and withdrawal of emergency called the continued detention of communist leaders like B. T. Ranadive, S. V. Parulekar, Dasratha Deb, M.P., Biren Dutta, M.P. and others as an act of vindictiveness and discrimination and emergency as weapon to suppress democratic movements of the people and to cripple democracy in the country. It urged upon the central and state governments for immediate release of all detenus and the withdrawal of emergency. The convention called upon all Party units to observe August 2 as Release Detenus Day by holding demonstrations and rallies.

In a resolution on Vijaywada fires the convention warned against the conspiracy to put the blame on the communists and demanded a judicial tribunal to conduct an open public enquiry to find out the truth behind these fires and pinpoint the culprit.

In another resolution the convention strongly protested against the servile utterances of T. T. Krishnamachari about South Rhodesia, Laos and foreign aid in London as Government of India spokesman. The convention characterised those utterances derogatory to Indian dignity and self-respect but would project the image of India as a supporter of colonial and neo-colonial policies of the western imperialists.

Many delegates participated in the discussion on the resolution on "Campaign against soaring prices". They reported that how alongwith foodgrains, the prices of all

essential articles in daily use including edible oils have registered steep rise. They also reported that the Government has failed to put any check on the soaring prices and the unprecedented spiralling of prices has heaped untold sufferings on the common people.

Going into the cause of soaring rise in the prices of foodgrains the resolution stated that it is the result of the Government policies—inflation, over mounting indirect taxation, refusal to adopt radical agrarian reforms and unleash the creative and productive capacities of the peasants and agricultural labourers, and failure to arrange equitable distribution at reasonable prices of the existing foodgrains in the interests of monopolies and vested interests. It also pointed out that “the big landlords and speculators have a big part in the present rise in the prices”.

After analysing the situation the resolution formulated the demands to control the rise in prices and for immediate relief and called upon the working class and the people to carry a sustained campaign and struggle for the realisation of these demands. It called upon all party unity to observe August 16 as anti High Price Day and organise demonstrations and meetings in co-operation with all parties and organisations that agree with these demands. The resolution ended with a call for a united struggle of the people against soaring prices.

In the resolution on India-China Border Dispute the convention welcomed the new initiative taken by some Colombo powers to bring about direct negotiations between India and China. It stated that “there is no alternative to the peaceful negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute.”

Then the convention took up the resolution on foundation centenary of “First International”. As a loyal detachment of the international proletariat the CPI convention decided to celebrate the foundation centenary on September 28, 1964 in a fitting manner.

Lastly the Convention decided to celebrate on August 5, 1964, the completion of 75th birthday of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad—a founder member of the Communist Party of India and who has 43 years of devotion to the cause of the working class and unflinching determination and unending opposition to the foreign imperialist and internal class enemies to his credit.

In the end the Convention gave a call for the collection of central fund of Rs. 25,000 to enable the central organising committee to discharge its responsibilities.

Full texts of the resolutions are being published herewith.

This Convention will always be remembered as a historic event in the life of the Communist Party of India. It ended with a firm determination to reorganise the Communist Party of India based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, capable of leading the Indian people in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist Democratic Revolution to complete the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly tasks; a party which is able to defeat revisionism in the Indian Working Class Movement and can carry forward the revolutionary traditions of the Communist movement in India.

1. Resolution on Party Unity and the 7th Congress

(Adopted by the Convention of Communist Party of India at Tenali on 11th July, 1964)

[This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Convention. Only two comrades from Bengal had some reservations. They were agreed on convening of the 7th Party Congress, but they wanted it to be postponed after the Dange group holds its Party Congress. They also wanted to repeat the appeal for unity in this resolution. Replying to them Com. E. M. S. stated that it is they who closed the door for unity and if some initiative comes again from their side we will naturally respond to it.]

When the 32 members at the National Council walked out of the National Council meeting on 11.4.1964, they made it clear that theirs was an act of protest against the renunciation of all

principles by the Dange group if and when the observance of these principles weakens their faction.

Having reviewed the situation for two days after the walkout they came to the unanimous conclusion that it was necessary for them to call on the Party membership to repudiate Dange and his group. In this, however, they were anxious that every avenue should be explored to channelise the struggle against the Dange group's reformist political line and disruptive organisational methods into correct organisational forms. They therefore declared that they would be prepared to give their support and co-operation to the preparation of a United Party Congress if proper machinery is created to ensure full and unfettered inner-Party discussions and representation to all genuine members.

With this aim in view, they made several proposals. In doing so, they did not have much hope that the Dange group would accept them. They, however, hoped that those who are earnest about the unity of the Party would ponder over them and force the Secretariat and its followers to accept them.

This hope expressed by the 32 comrades, this convention notes, has been completely fulfilled. The overwhelming majority of Party members, including many who doubted the wisdom of the walk-out staged by 32 comrades, accepted the correctness of the proposals made in the statement of the 32 comrades. They exerted their pressure on the members of the National Council to accept these proposals and thereby pave the way for the convening of United Party Congress.

This Convention expresses its grateful appreciation of the efforts made by a large number of Party members—both those who were fully behind the 32 comrades, as well as those who had differences with them but yet demanded of the Dange leadership that unity should be restored broadly on the basis of proposals made by the 32 comrades—to make the Dange group retrace their steps. It was their pressure for Party unity from the Party membership that forced the Dange leadership to give a new look to their stand on Party unity. They had to give up their earlier stand according to which the suspension resolution should have been followed by the out-right expulsion of the

32 comrades. They on the other hand had to make it appear to the Party members and the general public that they were anxious for Party unity and that, to realise their aim, they were prepared to have the suspensions rescinded. They indulged in the talk of importance of Party unity in the serious situation in the country which arose after the demise of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They also authorised the opening of talks with the representatives of the 32 comrades with a view to finding points of agreement on the basis of which Party unity could be restored.

Even while resorting to such manoeuvres to deceive the large number of Party members and sympathisers who are concerned about Party unity, Dange and his colleagues have been carrying on their disruptive activities. Everyone of the weekly and daily organs run by them was printing foul abuse of the large majority of Party membership, who were rallying behind the call given by the 32 comrades. Everyone of their leaders was attacking and slandering who supported the statement of the 32 in various ways. At the very time when the Secretariat was to have initiated talks with the representatives of the 32 comrades, Dange made a foul attack on them, going to the extent of calling them "Chinese agents". Slandorous charges are also made that opposition to the reformist political line of the Dange group is an attempt to back to the sectarian politics of 1948. Above all they went on repeating the lying charge that the opposition to the Dange leadership is nothing but obeying the Chinese directive of splitting the Party.

It was therefore not with much hope that the representatives of the 32 comrades opened talks with the representatives of the Secretariat. It was clear that, for the Dange group, the proposed talks were nothing but a smoke-screen behind which they could consolidate themselves as a faction, deceive a section of the honest Party members who were anxious for unity, and with their support to carry on their own reformist political activity and disruptive organisational methods. It was nevertheless thought that no avenues should be left unexplored, no possibility left unutilised, for the efforts at restoring Party unity. This

Convention endorses such efforts which resulted in the talks between the representatives of the Secretariat on the one hand and four out of the 32 members of the National Council on the other.

Having heard the reports of the talks, the Convention is fully convinced that the Dange group is determined to prevent genuine unity of the Party on the basis of correct political line and the observance of correct organisational methods. Even though they talk loud about the need for Party unity, they are not prepared to concede on any point which has been made by the 32 comrades in their statement. In thus resisting the proposal for unity advanced by the 32 comrades, the Dange group is treating with contempt the sentiments of the majority of Party members and sympathisers who have expressed their agreement with those proposals. They however have no valid argument with which to oppose these proposals.

In the resolutions adopted and letters written by them, the Dange group makes repeated references to what they call rival committees and parallel activities. They want to make it appear as if it is the existence of these rival committees and parallel papers that prevent Party unity. The baselessness of this has been thoroughly exposed before and we want to repeat it again. What are called rival committees, parallel papers etc. came into existence precisely because the Dange group at the centre and its counter-parts in the States turned the respective committees and organs of the Party into their own factional organs. It should be mentioned further that wherever the Dange group is in a minority (as in West Bengal, Punjab and in several Districts, Talukas etc.), the minority formed its own committee in violation of Party Constitution. The moment an end to this state of affairs is put and the Party committees and organs are made to function in a non-factional way, the so-called "problem" of "rival committees" and "parallel papers" will be fully and satisfactorily solved.

It is however precisely this that is resisted by the Dange group. This Convention notes that the representatives of the Secretariat in their talks with the representatives of the 32

comrades made it clear that everyone of the questions involved in the problem of Party unity—reorganisation of the Secretariat, agreed Commission to probe into the Dange Letters and the financial affairs, agreed Commission to prepare for the Party Congress, scrutiny of Party membership—they have no other consideration than safeguarding their own factional interests. They are so afraid of any genuine reorganisation of the Secretariat, any addition, to the Dange Letter Commission, any enquiry into the financial affairs of Dange that they gave the uniform negative answer to proposal made by the representatives of the 32 comrades.

The most amazing part of the reply given by the Dange group is that they justify their negative stand in talks on the basis of a so-called "principle". That "principle" is nothing other than that every question, political or organisational, is to be decided by majority. They use this "principle" to oppose the proposal made by the 32 comrades that the major issues involved in the problem of Party unity should be decided by agreement. They claim that this is "giving the minority the right of veto" and that it would result in "paralysing the Party".

The utter hypocrisy which lies behind this argument would be clear to all those who know that the present National Council, the Central Executive Committee, the Secretariat and the Chairman came into existence through the very principle of agreement which they are now rejecting. For, the National Council was not elected by majority vote at the Sixth Congress. Differences on the panel of names for the National Council created a deadlock, which was resolved only by agreement. Those who now oppose decision by agreement as "unprincipled" did not do then, even though for the sake of that agreement the Party Congress went out of the way in amending the Constitution without having put the question of Constitutional amendment on the agenda.

Again, in April 1962, when the National Council had to elect its office-bearers, the much-talked-of "principle" of majority decision was given up and the much-abused one of decisions by agreement was accepted. Furthermore, agreement was arrived at

by amending the Constitution (which the Council had no authority to do) in order to provide for a new post of Chairman and to increase the number of CEC. At this stage too, those who form the present Secretariat now and who are so indignant at the very suggestion of decision by agreement did not stand by their "principle" of majority decision. On the other hand, they used that opportunity to entrench themselves in positions of authority and then to use those positions in order to consolidate themselves as a faction.

It is thus clear beyond doubt that what the Dange group is concerned with is not the restoration of Party unity but the retention of themselves in positions of authority. Any "principle" is correct if it helps them to secure and maintain their own power. At the Vijayawada Congress and at the April 1962 meeting of the National Council, they accepted the "principle" of agreement since it helped themselves into power. Agreement was not then the "giving of veto to the minority." But now, when the majority of Party members have expressed themselves clearly against their reformist political line and disruptive organisational methods, and when therefore a united Congress on the basis of an agreed machinery to organise such a Congress would result in their being thrown out, they want to assure that the Congress will be organised by their own faction. They are not prepared to take any risks and hence they have given up the old 'principle' of decision by agreement and in its place insist on the new "principle" of majority decision.

This has fully confirmed the view expressed by the 32 comrades in their April 14 statement that the Dange group, "would stoop to anything in their resistance to the observance of democratic practices in the functioning of the Party". The hope entertained by them at the time that the pressure put by the mass of Party members and sympathisers would force the Dange group to accept the proposals made by the 32 comrades, has been belied. It has become clear that even though repudiated by the overwhelming majority of the Party members, sympathisers, the Dange group would continue their anti-Party activities and

claim their right to do so on their being the majority in a body which was itself created by agreement.

This Convention of Communist Party of India resolves that the time has come to put into practice the idea which has been put across by the 32 comrades in their April 14 statement, that "if the Secretariat and its supporters persist in their attitude, we will have to appeal to the entire Party membership to join us in convening the Seventh Congress.

We want to assure those comrades and friends who are concerned at the possible consequences of this step that it is not a pleasure for us that we have been forced to this position. We have been anxious to avoid this. That is why we made the approaches for Party unity when such approaches were possible. However, all efforts have met the stiff resistance of those who would maintain themselves in power at all costs. We would therefore appeal to such comrades and friends to give us their support in our activities. We would call upon all Party members and supporters to help us in reorganising the Communist Party, making it a strong united Party of the working class in the revolutionary traditions of the Indian people.

2. Resolution on Seventh Party Congress

This All India Communist Convention decides to hold the Seventh Party Congress from October 24 to 31, 1964 at Calcutta with the following Agenda :—

1. Adoption of the Party Programme;
2. Adoption of the amendments to the Party Constitution;
3. Adoption of the Political Organisational Report since Vijaywada Congress and a Resolution on current situation;
4. Election of the New Leadership; and
5. Election of the Central Control Commission.

Membership Basis

The Seventh Congress will be held on the basis of the membership till December 31, 1963. The candidate members whose term expire by December 31, 1963, will have the right to full membership. And those who were on Party membership

rolls in 1961, but were not able to renew their membership will be given the chance to renew till the local Conferences concerned begin. For the representation in the All India Party Congress, only that membership will be considered valid for which its Central Quota of membership fees has been paid.

Delegates

The delegates will be elected on the basis of one delegate for 250 Party members, with the minimum of 5 from each State. Central Staff will also elect 5 delegates. Members of the CEC and the Central Control Commission will be ex-officio delegates with full rights.

The State conference will be held and completed by the end of September 1964. The Time Table for District, Taluka and other local Party Conferences will be decided by the appropriate State units, whether old elected state units or newly elected ones which are hereby given formal recognition.

3. Resolution on Election of Organising Committee

This Convention elects an Organising Committee consisting of all members of the National Council and Comrades S.S. Srivatsava from Bihar, Achintaya Bhattacharya from Assam, S.Y. Kolhatkar from Maharashtra, Banamali Das from Orissa and a comrade from Karnatak, to prepare for the Seventh Party Congress.

This Organising Committee will have an Executive Committee and a Secretariat to discharge minimum functions in relation to preparations for the Party Congress, helping the States in organising the State Conferences and giving minimum guidance to T.U., Kisan, Parliamentary and other mass fronts and to discharge other minimum functions of the Party Centre.

The Executive will consist of all members of the Central Executive Committee and Com. Kolhatkar and Shiv Kumar Misra.

The Secretariat will consist of Comrades M. Basavapunniah, P. Ramamurthy, A. K. Gopalan, H. S. Surjeet and one comrade

from the Executive members from Bengal will attend the meetings of the Secretariat. Com. M. Basavapunniah shall be the Convenor of the Secretariat.

4. Resolution on Release of Detenus and Withdrawal of Emergency

The All-India Communist Convention held at Tenali views with serious apprehension the continued detention of Communist leaders like B.T. Ranadive, S. V. Parulekar, Mrs. G. Parulekar and others of Maharashtra, Dasarath Deb Barman, M.P., Biren Dutt, M. P. Nripen Chakravarty, Leader of the Opposition and many others of Tripura and detenus of West Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Delhi. The Convention is of the view that this detention is nothing but an act of vindictiveness and discrimination. No abnormal situation exists in the country to justify in any way such detention.

Similarly, the continuation of Emergency is being utilised to suppress democratic movements of the people and cripple democracy in the country. The application of D. I. Rules against worker's strikes, mass peaceful hartals and other democratic movements has become a serious threat to democratic and free expression of the will of the people. It is nothing but a crude method to thrust upon the people the anti-people policies of the ruling class and to suppress all resistance to them.

The Convention strongly protests against such detention, continuation of Emergency and indiscriminate application of D. I. Rules. It urges upon the Central and State Governments to release forthwith all detenus detained under D. I. Rules, to withdraw all cases and release all political prisoners convicted under D. I. Rules. It demands the removal of all restrictions on the movements placed by the U. P. Government on Communists and trade unionists.

It further urges upon the Government of India to withdraw the emergency considering the normal situation prevailing in the country.

The Convention calls upon all Party units to observe August 2, 1964 as Release Detenus Day and hold demonstrations and rallies.

5. Resolution on T. T. Krishnamachari's Utterances

The utterances in London of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Government of India's spokesman on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference are not only derogatory to India's dignity and self-respect but would project the image of India as a supporter of the colonial and neo-colonial policies of the Western imperialists. They would thereby isolate India from the peoples and countries of Asia and Africa.

The people and countries of Asia have risen in support of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia against the domination of the minority of white settlers and of their demand for a Government elected on the basis of one-man one vote. The British Government has refused to accept the demand. In these circumstances the statement of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari at the London Air-Port that the Government of India sympathises with the stand of the British Government cannot but cause resentment among the African People.

The situation in Laos has been complicated by the continued U. S. interference and attempts to prop up its puppets. Attempts are being made to ease the tension by a meeting of the three Parties of the Laotian Coalition Government. India herself has supported the demand for reconvening of the Geneva Conference on Laos and find an equitable solution. In this situation, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari had not a word to say on the U. S. interference and obstruction to the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. On the other hand he proposed the partition of Laos.

The partition of Korea and Vietnam have clearly demonstrated that this is a weapon used by the imperialists to impose neo-colonialism on the resurgent countries of Asia. India itself is still experiencing the bitter fruits of partition. In the face of this experience of the Asian peoples, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari's

gratuitous proposal to partition Laos cannot but gladden the imperialists.

In this context, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari's appeal to the British Chancellor of the Exchequer to persuade the British Banks to 'aid' India by large investments in the Private Sector of India is significant. This plea is made under the alleged need to prevent the 'menace' of Communism. Obviously these utterances are not isolated, but are interconnected.

The Convention strongly protests against such servile utterances. They threaten to completely emasculate the proclaimed policy of non-alignment. The Convention hopes that all democrats in the country would raise their voice of protest against these statements.

6. Resolution on Vijaywada Fires

This Convention extends its deep sorrow and sympathy to the victims of recent fires in Vijaywada Town, and appeals to the Party members to stand by the people and do everything to help them.

These fires occurred in the wards inhabited by the working class and the town poor, and especially in those areas where the Communists enjoyed overwhelming support. The Convention believes that these fires are not accidental but deliberately carried out by certain anti-social elements according to a diabolical plan.

The Convention strongly condemns the statements of certain Congress leaders and of the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, throwing the blame of the fires on the communists; following which a large number of Communists were arrested.

This Convention notes that in connection with Vijaywada fires people have caught many suspicious persons with chemical incendiaries and handed them over to the police. Some persons, who are known to belong to the group of a particular Congressman, were reported to the police of having spread rumours, through loudspeakers, that particular areas were going to be set on fire. The police not only did not take any action

against them, but conducted series of house searches and arrested Communist Workers at the instigation of this gang. The Convention also notes that the police in different towns of Andhra Pradesh, when the rumours of setting fires started, instead of rounding up the underworld gang, inquiring who are the "lefts" and the "right" among the Communists in that particular area and try to implicate them.

The Convention calls upon the people and the democrats in all parties to beware of this conspiracy to put the blame on Communists, as a dangerous move, which if not checked in time will ultimately lead to the destruction of democratic movement in India, as it happened in Germany, after Reichstag fire.

The Convention demands a judicial tribunal to conduct an open public enquiry to find out the truth behind these fires and pinpoint the real culprits.

7. Campaign Against Soaring Prices

This All India Communist Convention is alarmed at the soaring prices of all foodgrains throughout the country. Along with the foodgrains, prices of all essential articles in daily use, including cloth, dal and edible oils, have registered steep rises. This unprecedented spiralling of prices heaps untold suffering on the common people. It has become a specific instrument in the hands of a handful of monopolists, speculators and big landlords, for defrauding the labouring people the fruits of their labour and their appropriation.

The scaring rise in the price of foodgrains is the result of Government's policies—inflation, ever-mounting indirect taxation, refusal to adopt radical agrarian reforms and unleash the creative and productive capacities of the peasants and agricultural labourers and failure to arrange equitable distribution at reasonable prices of the existing foodgrains in the interests of monopolies and vested interests. The big landlords, profiteers and speculators take advantage of this situation to fleece the peasants and the consuming public. They are aided by the big bank advances and the vast amount of unaccounted money in their anti-social

activities. Instead of taking effective steps against the vested interests and ensuring reasonable prices, the Government has been continuously depending on PL 480 loans from the U. S. on onerous terms.

It is particularly significant that this unprecedented rise in prices has taken place in a year when rice production is reported to have increased by as much as 4.5 million tons. This proves beyond shadow of doubt that the big landlords and speculators have a big part in the present rise in prices.

This alarming increase in prices had been recognised by the Government of India itself. The Finance Minister had warned that if the situation is allowed to continue, the entire economy would get disrupted. However in the recent Chief Ministers' Conference no decision which could even curb, to the slightest extent the activity of the profiteers, speculators and hoarders were taken. On the other hand, the Government conceded all the demands that had been made by these same interests in their meeting with the Food Minister a few days earlier. This, despite all tall talk by Government, firm measures to control food prices the people have been left to the tender mercies of the very forces which have brought about the present acute distress. It could be noted that the Government had broken the solemn undertaking it gave in the Standing Labour Committee in July 1963 to start Fair Price Shops in all factories employing 300 or more workers.

The Convention therefore demands (1) active and effective steps to institute state monopoly of foodgrains trade; and (2) nationalisation of banks.

Without such state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains all attempts at fixing minimum prices would be self-defeating.

Pending the above steps, the Convention demands:

- (1) The government should ensure fair prices to the peasants for the produce at the time of the harvest;
- (2) Procure stocks of the landlords and hoarders at the fair prices fixed;

- (3) Open a net-work of fair price shops throughout the country with guaranteed supply of essential commodities;
- (4) A reasonable margin between the price paid to the peasant and the retail saleprice.

For this purpose, the Central Government should rush stocks to the distress areas and state governments should undertake de-hoarding the stocks with the big landlords and speculators with the co-operation of the people.

The Convention calls on the working class and the people to carry on sustained campaign and struggle for the realisation of these demands. In particular, the Convention calls upon all trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural labour unions, irrespective of their affiliations to come together and devise steps for united struggle of the people for the realisation of these demands.

The Convention calls upon all Party units to observe August 16 as Anti-High Prices Day and organise demonstrations and meetings in co-operation with all Parties and organisations that agree with these demands.

8. Resolution on India-China Border Dispute

The Convention welcomes the new initiative taken by some Colombo Powers to bring about direct negotiations between India and China. There is no alternative to peaceful negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute, and the sooner an agreement is arrived at, the greater the advantage not only for the Indian and Chinese people but also for all the anti-imperialist forces in the world.

The Convention notes that Mrs. Bandarnaike has sought the opinion of the Government of India to the suggestion that without prejudice to their claims, no posts of India and China should remain in the demilitarised area of Ladakh.

The Convention notes that the Government of India is prepared to favourably consider the said proposals; therefore the Convention urges upon it to directly communicate with the Government of China for the breaking of the deadlock and

starting negotiations in order to formalise the cease-fire and settle the border dispute.

The Convention further hopes that Indian and Chinese representatives will meet together to explore the possibility of opening negotiations either on the above basis or on any other basis acceptable to both the countries.

9. Resolution on Foundation Centenary of First Internatioal

The Foundation Centenary of the International Workingmen's Association—the historic First International—falls on the 28th September of this year.

Memory of the First International is intimately connected with the immortal names of Marx and Engels—the great founders of Scientific Socialism. It was they who took initiative in founding the First International and unified the Working Classes of the different countries of Europe into a mighty international force.

Since then the inspiring idea of international unity of the working class has been the guiding principle with all separate detachments of the International Proletariat.

The hundred years that have passed since the foundation of the First International has witnessed many glorious class battles waged by the International Proletariat, and many victories have been won. Today the very existence of the mighty Socialist Camp and the surging tide of national liberation movements stand as the universal validity of Marxism.

The Convention of Communists of India calls upon all the party units and the Working class of India to celebrate the Foundation Centenary of the First International in a fitting manner.

10. On 75th Birthday of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad

All India Communist Convention held at Tenali from 7th to 11th July, 1964 adopted the following resolution on 75th Birthday of Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad:

“Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad, the founder member of the Communist Party of India, completes his 75th birthday on August 5, 1964. The 43 years of his activities in the Communist Movement are characterised by dogged devotion to the cause of working-class, unflinching determination and unbending opposition to the foreign imperialist enemy and internal class enemies.”

“Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad is one of those leading comrades who have held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism under all circumstances.”

“We wish Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad long years of fruitful service to the working class in the coming days.”

“This Convention of the Communist Party of India urges upon the Party units all over India to celebrate his 75th birthday in a befitting manner on August 5, 1964.”

11. Rs. Twenty-Five Thousand Fund Drive

The Convention decides to collect Rs. 25,000 to carry on the work of the Organising Committee. The Convention appeals to all Party members and sympathisers to contribute liberally to the fund and thus enable the Organising Committee to discharge its responsibilities.

Report of the Credentials Committee

A simple questionnaire was issued to all the delegates attending this Convention. Many questions which are generally asked at the Party Congresses were omitted in the questionnaire but even then the report shows the real face of our Party, its revolutionary traditions and the sacrifices made for the cause of working class, peasantry and the other toiling people for freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Convention is attended by 146 delegates out of the total quota of 151. All the delegates present have supplied the information. The information shows:

Statewise Delegation attendance

Assam	5	Punjab	7
Delhi	1	Rajasthan	4
Tamilnad	20	Maharashtra	10
Gujarat	1	U. P.	10
J. & K.	2	Himachal	1
Bihar	7	Mysore	4
M.P.	3	Orissa	2
Andhra	23	Kerala	20
W. Bengal	23	Central Office	3

Agewise groups

25—30	4	31—35	12
36—40	29	41—50	65
51—60	31	Above 60	5

The oldest veteran is Com. Muzaffar Ahmad 75 years old and then Com. Ganesh Ghosh 64 years old. While the youngest among the delegates is Com. N. Padmalochanan from Kerala of 25 years.

Occupation

Out of the total 146 delegates attending the Convention there are 135 whole-timers and only 11 are part-timers (2 teaching, 1 journalist, 1 lawyer and the rest business).

Education

7 are M. As; 34 Graduates (including 7 double graduates); 28 Intermediates; 35 Matriculates; 21 under-Matric; 21 Primary and 9 know only the national language.

Children

41	have no children—there is no division of married and unmarried
22	have one children only
27	have two children
18	have three children
20	have four children
9	have five children
4	have six children
2	have seven children
3	have eight children.

Class wise

From working class	21
From peasantry	41—8 have mentioned as landlords.
From middle class	82
From Agricultural labour	2

Joining the Party

Those who joined the Party before 1935	10
Between 1935—39	49
1940—43	34
1944—47	25
1948—51	16
1952—56	9
1957—61	3

Com. Muzaffar Ahmad is a founder member of the Party since 1921.

Jail Undergone

In all 130 delegates out of 146 have undergone 617 years and 3 months, 16 delegates have not gone to jail.

The longest term of imprisonment undergone is by Com. Ganesh Ghosh from West Bengal. He has spent 26 years in Jail.

Underground Period

120 comrades have in all spent 388 years and one month as underground life, while 26 comrades had not that experience. The longest period of underground life is of Com. P. K. Chandranandan from Kerala that of 12 and a half years.

Position in the Party

30 are National Council members.

2 are Central Control Commission members.

86 are members of the present or past state councils.

24 are members of the present or past district councils.

4 are party members only.

Position on Mass Fronts

40 hold no position in any mass organisation.

45 hold positions in Kisan Sabha at different levels.

43 hold positions in Trade Unions at different levels.

8 hold positions in Agricultural labour on state level.

2 hold positions in the women's organisations.

5 hold positions in other organisations—not mentioned above.

3 hold positions in two mass organisations.

DES RAJ CHADHA

A. P. VAJRAVELU

Members, Credentials Committee.

Report on Unity Talks

Talks between Rajeswar Rao, Dr. Adhikari and Bhupesh Gupta from the Central Secretariat and Com. Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta and Harkishan Singh Surjeet were held from 9-00 to 10-30 a.m. on 4th July, 1964 at Bhupesh Gupta's residence—5, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi. A detailed report is given below:

JYOTI BASU (JB)—On reading the National Council resolution we had thought that there is no point in talking to the Secretariat because the resolution had not touched the main points of our statements. The matters are complicated by Bhupesh Gupta. He gave a telephone call to me saying that I should not react to the National Council resolution because according to him it was not all; lot of discussions took place in the National Council and there are certain things which are not said in the resolution. Then he came to Calcutta and reported about his understanding of the things. He talked to Promode Das Gupta also. There were no concrete points for discussion but we decided to have talks so that if some way can be found for Party unity we should try for it.

Then came Dange's statement calling us Chinese agents. Comrades felt it very much and questioned the use of any talks

in the light of that statement but we said since we had told Bhupesh, we would go for talks.

When we reached here we saw another statement of the secretariat. That is very categorical, that if anybody desires to discuss, the Secretariat is prepared for it. We told Bhupesh that it does not tally with what you told us. We told him that on the basis of National Council resolution there was no question of talks. On that basis we were not prepared to discuss. He told about the Committee formed by the Secretariat. He said it is not his impression. The Committee would like to meet us. Then he said that when he rang up Rajeswar Rao he asked "when are we meeting them". We had thought worthwhile to find out the possibilities of Party unity. He fixed up the meeting and wrote us a letter. So we have come here. Now you have to tell us about Dange's statement and the Secretariat statement. We should like to know your views on our four points. If your position is that we first come back, then only the other things can be discussed, we cannot agree. Whatever talks are held they are exploratory and we have to report back to comrades in Vijaywada.

RAJESWAR RAO (RR)—With regard to the Chinese agents we asked Com. Dange, he said he had not said that. What he had said that some comrades agree with the Chinese views and the Press had likely made out from this. We told that we have to say that we do not think they are Chinese agents but on some points they agree with them. Press is reporting just as it is reporting that you are calling Dange as British agent and then the spy of present government. Since he is coming, we can tell him and ask for the clarification.

Regarding the resolution there is a sentiment behind it. We were in the same Party since long, facing the same enemy. But simply because we want unity, unity does not come. The spirit cannot go against the letter of the resolution. The letter is there. We felt that since there are very serious differences in our movement your point of view is that we go by agreements alone upto the Party Congress. Only in this way we can work together. But agreement between whom. If there were two trends we could understand that but now two Parties are there.

You are functioning like a parallel Party. It is functioning from top to bottom. It will be agreement between two Parties. On issues on which we will not agree we will carry on in our own way. On issues like attitude towards the present government, on issues like taxes, we will function as two Parties with separate programmes. If third section is formed, it will be so with them. Your stand is only working on the basis of agreements. Another condition also. The secretariat must be abolished. The Chairman's institution must be abolished. This position National Council has rejected. It has put forward the three conditions for the unity:

1. The authority of the National Council has to be accepted.
2. Parallel Committees are to be abolished.
3. Journals have to be stopped.

If these things are accepted in principle, we can try to come to agreement.

JB : Rajeswar Rao has grasped our point. That we have so decided that things must go by agreement. We know that you have a majority in the National Council. We have a majority in the ranks. Let us agree that such a crisis is there in the Party and let us go by agreement. He says this is not the Party principle.

BHUPESH GUPTA (BG)—If there are important current issues which demand decision?

JB : Let us go by default if there are serious differences.

BG : For instance Kashmir question, attitude towards Sheikh Abdullah.

JB : We can go by default, heavens do not fall.

HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (HSS)—Do you agree with the line put forward by Dange on Kashmir question? It is Jan Sangh line, how can we accept such decisions. On such occasions we can work on the basis of earlier decisions. Before November 1962 on many issues we have worked on the basis of majority decisions but if serious differences are there we will have to work on the basis of agreement.

JB: To me primary thing is not a majority decision but a decision which will save the unity of the Party. I will do the same thing in Bengal.

PROMODE DAS GUPTA (PDG)—No use of discussing hypothetical questions. We are in a serious crisis. We have resolved the crisis on this basis earlier. We go by the tradition. Why did you agree for the Chairmanship in April 1962?

JB : How many times we have violated the Constitution? Did you not violate it at Vijaywada, then in April 1962. Now the situation is that we do not trust you and you do not trust us. You ask us to stop papers but you have never asked rightists to stop the papers like KALANTAR and MAINSTREAM which were started much earlier. Now about the Dange Commission. You have appointed a Committee of Seven. Will you accept the addition of three or four from us?

RR : We do not accept. There are already comrades of your view. Addition means your majority.

G. ADHIKARI (GA)—We are sitting here to see that there should be one Party and one Party Congress. If you find it difficult we do not do anything. There is a National Council. The Party Organs must function as Party Organs. If you were in a majority what would you have done? If the spirit is there we can do something. If you agree to this we are prepared to make certain adjustments. Then we can take up point by point.

JB : Formal acceptance is there; but what does it mean? Obviously we accept the authority of the National Council. But we think you are violating Vijaywada. You are saying you are implementing Vijaywada. You are so unreasonable that you will not accept anything. On ideological things you have passed a resolution, we would have asked you not to take immediate decision. Let it be placed before the Party ranks for discussion. On Yugoslavia you have violated the 81 Parties Statement. We have never discussed the International Documents in our Party and you want to commit the Party without that. You can keep quiet on certain issues. On certain matters of urgent practical importance you can take decisions by majority but others by agreement.

HSS : Do you agree with Dange's statement on Kashmir?

RR : Here we are not in a position to assess individual statement.

HSS : In the past, in spite of our difference we had submitted to the majority decision, we can do so in future also. But no decisions on fundamental question by majority and minority.

JB : What difficulty will you have if you do not say anything for some time on some issues?

HSS : May I understand that the National Council has rejected all our points?

RR : Yes!

GA : Secretariat cannot be abolished. It can be reorganised. Com. E.M.S. wanted radical changes in the Secretariat. We do not agree with that.

—No agreed Commission for Party Congress. Now documents are ready. Reports and resolutions will be prepared by the Secretariat. Forum will be run by the Secretariat.

—No abolition of the post of the Chairman and the General Secretary.

—Dange Commission. You can have one. National Council can add another.

RR : If three or four are to be added from your side, then where is the question of any enquiry? You have already given your verdict.

JB : So have you.

Are you prepared to have a commission on financial matters especially re. LINK and PATRIOT. The CEC had passed a resolution that no Party member should have any links with LINK, but we find that these papers have been started with the direct encouragement of Dange and Dange gave Rs. 30,000 to PATRIOT. Will you have a Commission for that?

RR : Financial transactions are a separate thing. No agreed Commission can be there. We will have to go into all the finances of CEC some time.

- JB : Are you prepared to have an agreed Commission for the Party Congress?
- RR : We do not agree to any Commission. Secretariat will do the job.
- GA : What would be the purpose of Commission?
- HSS : To conduct inner-Party discussion. To run FORUM and prepare documents.
- GA : These jobs will be done by the Secretariat. No Commission is required.
- JB : Will you rescind all the disciplinary measures taken after November 1962?
- RR : They are not many.
- PDG : Will you restore the Punjab Council elected at regular Party Conference?
- RR : No.
- HSS : Will you rescind other disciplinary measures?
- RR : We cannot off hand do that. We can examine individual cases. For instance we will not rescind two disciplinary actions in Andhra that are taken for the circulation of documents against the State Council leadership. We cannot cancel all the disciplinary actions.
- HSS : If we take this attitude, then there are comrades who have given an undertaking for their release, but we are not demanding disciplinary action against them immediately.
- RR : It is your business.
- JB : Are you prepared to have an agreed committee for the scrutiny of Party membership?
- RR : No. we will have scrutiny by the Party Committees.
- HSS : You are not prepared to have agreed scrutiny even where complaints are there!
- RR : We do not want agreed scrutiny.
- JB : Do you accept the 1961 membership as the basis? Because some 40,000 Party members are not found in lists. You had rejected my proposal in the CEC by 3 votes. Are you prepared to give chance to those

- who were not enrolled for the renewal of membership within a specific time?
- RR : No! It would mean approaching Party members by both sides and further quarrels. We stick to the CEC Resolution.
- HSS : It means you do not agree to the Bihar proposal.
- GA : National Council resolution gives chance to those who could not enrol themselves—being in jail or because of certain other things. We are prepared to consider other cases subject to the approval of the Secretariat.
- HSS : It means that you do not want to go beyond the old CEC resolution.
- RR : Yes.
- PDG : If we accept Dange as the Chairman, are you prepared to restore the old Secretariat with Com. E.M.S. as the General Secretary.
- RR : No. That balance has gone now. Positions have been changed now. We are not prepared to restore the same balance. National Council majority will have the majority in the Secretariat. Old Secretariat will tilt that balance. It does not represent the National Council.
- JB : How is the balance tilted? Where do you count Bhupesh?
- RR : Politically he is with us. Organisationally we are not sure. Sometimes he takes sides with you. We do not want to take risk.
- BG : Let the Old Secretariat be restored minus me. It will give the National Council clear majority.
- RR : No. There are some neutrals also, they will also have to be represented in the reorganised Secretariat.
- JB : It means you do not accept any of our proposals. You say that you accept the authority of the elected National Council but you do not accept the unanimously elected Secretariat.
- RR : Yes. That is the position. There is no mutual confidence. We want to be sure of our majority.

GA : If you accept the National Council resolution, then we can think of some accommodation. But it seems we will have to rethink our positions after four years. Meeting is useful. We have been able to understand each other clearly.

JB : We have also understood clearly.
The meeting ended there.

On Some Questions Concerning The Ideological Controversy Within The International Communist Movement*

*Jyoti Basu
Niranjan Sen*

I. Our Approach

It is no use denying the fact that on a series of theoretical and ideological questions, serious differences have now appeared in the international Communist movement. What is even more disturbing is the fact that the general line of international Communist movement as enunciated in the Moscow Declaration (1957) and the Moscow Statement (1960) is itself now a subject of debate between the two greatest Parties of the world. Different interpretations are being attached by CPSU and CPC to almost every important formulation in the Declaration and the Statement.

We are not in favour of haughtily dismissing the one interpretation or the other. We consider the CPSU to be a great Party. The CPSU is the party of Lenin, the party which accomplished the first socialist revolution in the world. During these forty years the Soviet Union under the leadership of CPSU has advanced from strength to strength. The great economic and military might of the USSR, its phenomenal scientific achievements, and the great international prestige that it commands today is a fitting testimony to the impressive achievements of the CPSU.

No less glorious is the record of the CPC. The CPC has the credit of accomplishing the second great socialist revolution of our time, following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It has

*This was a draft for discussion.

with courage and with success grappled with the gigantic task of transforming a country of 800 million for the construction of socialism and has become a guiding star to the peoples struggling for national liberation and socialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Such being the circumstances, we believe that every Communist Party should take a responsible attitude, to the controversy in which the two great parties are involved today. To unthinkingly take sides in this controversy and to condemn one or the other is to further embitter their relations. We scrupulously avoid this course.

Some people tie themselves up with the one party or the other in the controversy in an off hand manner. We refuse to pursue this course. We shall not shrink from supporting or criticising both when we think it is necessary.

Our very approach compels us to take a serious view of the ideological controversy. We believe that the CPI is a sovereign independent party and should therefore judge the issues of the controversy independently. While strictly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the international Communist movement as embodied in the Declaration and the Statement, we are in favour of expressing our own independent opinion on each and every ideological question of importance.

II. Moscow Declaration & Moscow Statement: The Guiding Line of The International Communist Movement

We consider the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement to be the guiding line of the international Communist movement. Our attitude to the Declaration and the Statement is categorical. The Declaration and the Statement are the most basic joint documents of all Communist parties, and they contain the joint guide and programme which must be upheld and practised by all Marxist-Leninist parties. Loyalty in theory and in practice to the Declaration and Statement is the most important yardstick of the purity of the Communist party.

It is, therefore, a matter of much satisfaction that both CPSU and CPC declare that they adhere to the principles laid down in the Declaration and the Statement. We welcome the declaration by both the parties that the Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement contain the agreed general line of the world Communist movement.

Adherence to the principles of Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement, therefore, gives us the basis on which the differences between the two parties can be composed.

What then are the main formulations in the Declaration and Statement which it is the duty of all Communist parties to adhere to?

The Declaration and the Statement sum up the profound changes in the objective situation since the Second World War and define a new strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement in the new world situation.

The most distinctive feature of the general line of the world Communist movement as envisaged in the Declaration and the Statement is the concept of the 'new epoch', that is, a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical stage in which mankind is now living.

The Declaration and the Statement emphasise the following questions having the concept of the new epoch as the central point: (i) the nature of the world revolutionary process—intimately connected with it is the question of the main contradiction of our epoch viz. the contradictions between capitalism and socialism and other fundamental contradictions; (ii) peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems—intimately connected with it is the question of war and peace and the development of the world revolutionary process in conditions of world peace rather than of world war; (iii) possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism—intimately connected with it is the question of the diversity of forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful; (iv) revolutionary significance of National Liberation Movement—close interconnection between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for national liberation; (v) the question of the unity of the international Communist movement.

III. Characterisation of the New Epoch

The concept of the new epoch is intimately bound up with the question of the development of the world revolutionary process.

1. The nature of the world revolutionary forces:—The Declaration and the Statement emphasise the fact that the three great revolutionary forces of our time are (i) the world socialist system; (ii) the National Liberation Movement; (iii) the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries.

These three revolutionary streams are closely interlinked and they merge into one powerful current, thus constituting an integral world revolutionary process.

The leading role—the central position in the world revolutionary process belongs to the world socialist system. In the words of the Moscow Statement : “The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation the world socialist system.”

2. Four fundamental contradictions:—The world revolutionary process is the outcome of *four* fundamental contradictions : (i) the contradiction between the world socialist system and the world capitalist system; (ii) the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; (iii) the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; (iv) contradictions among the imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

Of these four fundamental contradictions, however, the *main* contradiction, the *pivotal contradiction*, is the contradiction between the world capitalist system and the world socialist system. As the Moscow Declaration states : “In our epoch world development is determined by the course and result of the *competition between two diametrically opposed social systems.*”

3. World socialist system—The decisive force of our epoch:—The main content of the present epoch as defined by the Declaration and the Statement is the “transition from capitalism to socialism.”

What does this indicate? It indicates that our epoch is no longer *the epoch of capitalism*, it is no longer the epoch when capitalism could dictate its will upon the people. Neither is it correct to describe it as the epoch of socialism, that is, the epoch when capitalism is no force at all—it is significant that the epoch is described as one of *transition from capitalism to socialism*, that is, the present epoch is characterised by the competition between the two systems—the epoch when imperialism still retains its power, but it is daily losing its ground to socialism.

Recent events have confirmed that the balance of forces between the capitalist system and the world socialist system has profoundly changed in favour of the latter. Emphasising this radical change in the correlation of forces, the Statement declares: “Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the *main content, main trend and main feature* of the historical development of society.” The statement asserts: “It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.”

To put it briefly, the running thread of both the Declaration and the Statement is the conviction that the world socialist system is the central point, the key to the understanding of the laws of social development in the present epoch. To underestimate the role of the world socialist system is to underestimate the laws of social development, to miss the perspective and the direction of social change in our time.

Viewpoint of CPC

It is not wholly correct to assert that CPC does not at all take into account the changes in the world situation since the Second World War. There is a recognition in CPC thesis that “the balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II” (Twenty-Five Points). As they put it metaphorically “It is now the East Wind that prevails over the West Wind”.

1. Under-estimation of the role of the world socialist system:—It must be understood that the CPC understanding of the changes in the world situation is highly inadequate. One searches in vain to find in the Twenty-Five Points the recognition of the main characterisation of the new epoch viz. “the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism” (Declaration and Statement) or of the fact that “in our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems” (Declaration). The CPC fails to recognise adequately the significance of the emergence of the world socialist system and as a consequence of the profound historic changes and the decisive switch in the balance of forces in the international sphere in favour of socialism.

2. One-sided views on contradictions:—This is not accidental. It follows from an inadequate understanding of the contradictions of our epoch. The CPC correctly points out that there are four-fold fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world. The CPC also correctly emphasises that “Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp”, or that “nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest”. But this is only one part of the story. It is not enough to point out all the four fundamental contradictions. What is most important is to point out which is the main contradiction, the pivotal contradiction, of the contemporary period.

In its entire literature including the policy statement known as 25 points, the CPC underestimates the *main* contradiction of our epoch, viz. the contradiction between the world capitalist system and the world socialist system.

3. Substitution of the decisive role of the world socialist system by the decisive role of National Liberation Movement:—What is more, the CPC practically gives preference to the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nation rather than to the contradiction between the world

socialist system and world capitalism system. The CPC states: “The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.” Summing up its position, the CPC states: “In a sense,.....the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of these areas.” Is this statement not in contradiction with the spirit of the Moscow Statement? Whilst it is true that the weakest link in the chain of imperialism lies in these areas, it is incorrect to state that the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of this struggle. If one follows the Declaration and the Statement, he will, on the contrary, declare that the whole cause of the proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the struggle between the two systems and on the consolidation of the world socialist system.

Not only the CPC has a wrong position in this regard but also Com. D. N. Aidit who generally agrees with the CPC. Com. Aidit, having given a list of the four contradictions, declares—“of these four contradictions, there are two main contradictions namely: the contradiction between socialism and imperialism and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialists and colonialists.....the foremost contradiction of these two main contradictions is the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialist and colonialist.....” etc.

These Statements of CPC and CPI prove that they not only underestimate the main content of the new epoch, viz. the decisive role of the world socialist system, they virtually substitute the decisive role of the world socialist system by the decisive role of National Liberation Movement. This is no doubt a shift from the position taken by the Declaration and the Statement.

Viewpoint of CPSU

1. One-sided view on contradictions:—While the CPC underestimates the main contradiction or the pivotal contradiction between the world capitalist system and the world socialist

system, the CPSU sometimes underestimates other fundamental contradictions, particularly between imperialism and the oppressed nations. The CPSU correctly stresses the main contradiction but by relegating other contradictions to the background the CPSU is bringing harm to the cause of the revolution itself, for while the strength of the world socialist system adds to the strength of the revolutionary movement and National Liberation Movement the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and National Liberation Movement in their turn add strength to the world socialist system. Hence these contradictions must be viewed not in isolation but in their interconnection.

2. Lack of adequate emphasis on the basic laws of class struggle:—We recognise that the 20th Congress of the CPSU made a very rich contribution towards the definition of the new epoch and the assessment of the increasing possibilities of revolutionary movement of our time, but we entertain doubts whether the CPSU is not over-estimating the new possibilities. Some of the utterances of the CPSU leaders give the impression that the successes of the socialist construction in Soviet Union will almost bring about the automatic victory of socialism in one or another country, without much struggle, without much sacrifice. Facts belie such expectations. The terror that the imperialists unleashed in Algeria, and are still resorting to in Laos, South Vietnam, etc. shows that the imperialists have not changed their nature and the basic law in the class society is the law of class struggle—a law that is perfectly valid today, although more favourable conditions have been created today due to the emergence of the world socialist system.

3. Under-estimation of the struggle for National Liberation:—The CPSU does sufficiently recognise the tremendous revolutionary significance of the National Liberation Movement in our epoch. Hardly do the CPSU writings reflect the spirit of the Moscow Statement which declares that “the impact of the National Liberation Movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of world socialist system” (Statement).

Conclusion

Therefore, so far as the characterisation of the new epoch is concerned we believe the following should be borne in mind: (i) The maturing of the world revolutionary process is the core of the general line of the international Communist movement as embodied in the Declaration and Statement; (ii) The world revolutionary process today consists of three revolutionary streams: (1) World Socialist System, (2) Revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, (3) National Liberation Movement. The National Liberation Movement today is of profound revolutionary significance and we emphasise the point that it is “a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system”; (iii) The leading role in the world revolutionary process today, however, belongs to the world socialist system and the international working class. The world socialist system is the decisive force of our time and the greater the consolidation and might of the world socialist system the better will be the prospects of the world revolution.

IV. On the Question of War & Peace

1. New perspective of the struggle for peace in the background of the change in the balance of forces on the international sphere:—The Moscow Statement emphasises the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin that “war is a constant companion of capitalism”. It further states: “As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression”.

Hence to eliminate the causes of war we need elimination of capitalism itself. The Statement declares: “The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.”

Thus the Statement calls upon all Communists to keep in view this long-term Leninist perspective of the struggle against imperialism and war.

But does this long-term perspective mean that under all conditions wars are inevitable under capitalism? To accept that under all conditions world wars are inevitable is to concede that imperialism and socialism will always be at par. The reverse is,

however, true. In the competition between capitalism and socialism, socialism is on the winning side.

As early as 1921 Lenin wrote about the comparative position of capitalism—"There are now two worlds: The Old world of capitalism that is in a state of confusion—and the rising New world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible. A certain, unstable equilibrium has been reached. Materially, economically and militarily—we are extremely weak; but morally—by which, of course, I mean not abstract morals, but the alignment of the real forces of all the countries—we are the strongest of all". (Report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of Peoples' Commissions to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets).

This was written in 1921. What phenomenal changes have taken place since then! Particularly heartening has been the situation since the Second World War. With the emergence of the world socialist system and the tremendous growth of the economic and technological base of the Soviet Union, a decisive switch has taken place in the international sphere and if the new possibilities are properly utilised, the Moscow Statement adds: "A real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world."

Does this Statement mean that the Leninist theory that capitalism is the breeding ground of wars is being revised?

Not at all. The basis of this formulation is not that imperialism has changed its nature but that there has been a radical change in the correlation of forces in the world situation which makes the forces of peace and socialism rather than war and imperialism the decisive forces of our time.

2. The change in the balance of forces makes it possible for the forces of peace to prevail over the forces of war:—

Describing the predatory nature of imperialism, the Statement declares: Imperialism has already imposed two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe—this time, the catastrophe of a nuclear war.

The source of this danger is the camp of imperialism and war headed by U.S. imperialism. The Statement notes: "U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war." The U.S. imperialists together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany endanger universal peace and security.

This shows that the nature of imperialism has not changed.

But the power of the forces curbing imperialism has definitely changed and this is the crux of the new situation.

As the Statement declares: "The time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war." Today imperialism is not in a position to start a war even if it wills. Because real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling the imperialist plans of aggression.

What are these forces? These are: The world socialist system, the international working class, the National Liberation Movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

By the joint efforts of these forces it is possible today to foil the imperialist attempts to start a world war. Because of this new situation, because of the fact that the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war, "war is not fatally inevitable today" (Moscow Statement).

3. The fight for peace—the prime task:—The Declaration and the Statement which stress the danger of a nuclear war consider the struggle for peace to be an urgent task, "the prime task" of Communist Parties. The Communist Parties must mobilise all the forces of peace in "a broadest possible united front".

In order to win the struggle for peace, the following factors as the Statement notes, must be kept in view:

- (i) Further consolidation of the world socialist system is of prime importance in preserving world peace.
- (ii) The peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who take an anti-imperialist stand and form together with the socialist camp, "a broad peace zone."
- (iii) The struggle for peace must also rally "a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries

which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and the dire consequences of a modern war".

- (iv) The peace movement is "the broadest movement of our time", which must unite people of diverse political and religious creeds of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

4. Right and Left deviations in the fight for peace:—

While waging the struggle for peace we must be on guard against both Right and Left deviations. The Right paint imperialism in a favourable light. They propagate the thesis that imperialism has changed its nature. The Leftists underestimate the struggle for peace and they counterpose the struggle for peace to the struggle for socialism and national liberation. We must fight against both these deviations.

Viewpoint of CPC

The CPC position vis-a-vis war and peace is much at variance with the position taken by the Declaration and the Statement. While the Declaration and the Statement consider the struggle for peace "the prime task" of Communist Parties, the CPC thesis (25 points) relegates it to the background.

3. Lack of urgency for the struggle for peace and disarmament:—Unlike the Declaration and the Statement where the danger and the destructiveness of world thermonuclear war and the urgency of the struggle for peace are emphasised, the CPC thesis raises non-existent disputes about just and unjust wars and in this unnecessary controversy.

What is missed or lightly treated is the danger of a new world war and the urgency of the struggle for peace. The Declaration and the Statement devote a long passage to the danger-spots in the world situation and they devote whole sections to emphasise the struggle for peace and the urgency of organising it on the broadest basis.

The CPC theory of "an intermediate zone" lying between the United States and the Socialist Camp (see 25 points) cuts across

the root of the theory of "a peace zone" advocated by the Declaration and the Statement.

The Declaration states that the world socialist system and the newly liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America form the basis of a peace zone. And facing this peace zone there is a military block comprising U.S., British, French and West German imperialism.

In the name of fighting against U.S. imperialism, the CPC thesis of an 'intermediate zone' gives an alibi to the intrigues of the British, French and West German imperialists and war-mongers.

Moreover, this theory lumps together such imperialist countries as Britain, France and West Germany and the non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The peaceable initiative shown by the newly liberated countries finds no mention at all in the 25 points.

The CPC also underestimates the struggle for disarmament. On the question of disarmament, the CPC holds: "While some kind of agreement on disarmament" can be reached, general disarmament is an "illusion", and can only come when imperialism is abolished.

This is in flat contradiction to the Moscow Statement that "through an active, determined struggle...it is possible to force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament."

The CPC underestimates the fact that the balance of forces has changed radically on the world plane and that a world war is not fatally inevitable today. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Twenty-five points make no mention of the formulation in the Moscow Statement that world war can be prevented today with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.

2. One-sided emphasis on the abolition of war through socialist revolution and national liberation movement:—The CPC draws a misleading conclusion from the thesis that war can be abolished through socialist revolution and National Liberation Movement. The CPC states: "while the system of imperialism and of the exploitation of man still exists," it is, "sheer illusion" to speak of a world without a war (25 points).

In justification of its theoretical position, the CPC quotes from Lenin who said—"Our object is to achieve the socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes—will inevitably abolish all possibility of war."

Lenin's thesis that imperialism is the source of all wars and wars can be *abolished* only with the victory of the world socialist revolution is fully valid even today.

But does this mean Lenin dismissed the necessity of an anti-war movement on the ground that nothing short of a socialist revolution will abolish war.

On the contrary, Lenin believed that "any war is but of continuation of peacetime politics by other means" (i.e. by violence) and hence he always preferred peace to war. He called the interval between two wars "a respite", something of a "breathing space" and this 'respite', this 'breathing space' he valued so much. (Lenin: "Better less, but better", and Stalin: "Report to the 14th Congress of CPSU".) This is why Lenin concluded Brest Treaty. This is why Lenin proposed peace with countries belonging to the capitalist system. This is why Lenin declared peaceful co-existence between the two systems as the basis of the foreign policy of the socialist state. Lenin believed that if the breathing space be greater, the greater will be the opportunities of the first socialist state of the world to consolidate its position.

Since the day of Lenin the world communist movement consistently advocated the urgency of the struggle for peace.

Uptil the Second World War, however, the forces of peace headed by the USSR and the international working class were not strong enough to impose peace on the imperialists. The imperialists were stronger and hence they succeeded in unleashing a new world war.

The situation has radically changed today with the emergence of the world socialist system and the rise in the tide of the National Liberation Movement, imperialism can no longer dictate its will on the people. The balance of forces has so changed that it is today *possible to prevent a world war*, provided the peace forces are united and organised.

This is a new possibility. Now shall we utilise this possibility or not?

The struggle for peace, being a broad democratic movement, creates favourable conditions for the maturing of the international class struggle, the National Liberation Movement and the struggle for socialism.

Lenin always supported democratic movements because he believed that democratic movements are helpful for the development of the socialist revolution.

The CPC by virtually counterposing the struggle for peace against the struggle for socialism is actually counterposing the struggle for democracy against the struggle for socialism.

3. Wrong emphasis in some of the practical application of Chinese policy:—The faulty understanding of CPC vis-a-vis war and peace is reflected in some of the practical applications of Chinese policy in international relations.

(i) *The Caribbean Crisis of November 1962*—The USSR has not been able to explain why nuclear missiles were needed in Cuba when it could be defended from Soviet Union. The CPC is right when it criticises USSR for adventurism. But it failed to take a positive attitude when the Caribbean crisis broke out in November 1962. The USSR did the only correct thing under the circumstances. It saved world peace despite the retreat in the face of the piracy on the high seas by USA. It was not however correct for the USSR to agree to inspection by USA inside Cuba which was successfully resisted by Cuba herself. The CPC does not answer the question as to what the USSR should have done when the situation was leading for war.

(ii) *Partial Test Ban Treaty*—On July 31st the Chinese Peoples Government in a Statement denouncing the partial Test Ban Treaty, said that "the policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the people of the world". The Chinese Government further alleged that as a result of the signing of the nuclear Test Ban Treaty, "the danger of war has grown".

We categorically declare that we are not in a position to agree with these views of CPC.

We welcome the partial Test Ban Treaty on the grounds that it means a halt to the poisoning of the atmosphere by the main nuclear powers. It opens the way to further negotiations on nuclear disarmament. It opens the way to further negotiations on all key issues with a view to making a break in the cold war and reaching agreement on specific questions.

At the same time, we are conscious of the limitations of the treaty. It does not put a ban on underground explosions. It does not end the arms race or the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It is a feeble step in an arduous journey for a total ban, for general nuclear disarmament and for ending the cold war.

The Chinese criticism alleged that the Soviet approval of the partial Test Ban Treaty in July 1963 represented a change of line from the rejection of a partial test ban in the preceding year.

This fails to recognise that the technical and nuclear advance of the Soviet Union (see the Statement of Soviet Government on August 21, 1963) has *now* made it possible to make such an agreement. We have to accept the Soviet statement on this point.

(iii) *Proliferation of nuclear weapons*—The Chinese Government's Statement of August 3rd lays down that "greater the number of socialist countries possessing nuclear weapons the better."

But it is obvious that if the socialist countries were to adopt the principle of favouring the extension of nuclear weapons in their camp, this would facilitate the imperialist aim of extending nuclear weapons to other countries in the imperialist camp, to West Germany, Japan, Chiang-Kai-shek and others.

This would increase the danger of nuclear war. It would be a step not to peace but to war.

We also reject the presentation in the Chinese Government's Statement which lumps the nuclear powers together as upholders of a "nuclear monopoly". This amounts to treating U.S. imperialism and socialist Soviet Union on the same level. It is fantastic. We believe that the Soviet Union today as always

defends the socialist world against imperialist aggression and war.

Viewpoint of the CPSU

The 20th Congress of CPSU which underlined the change in the balance of forces in the international sphere represented before the people the prospect of an enduring peace and made rich contributions to the theory that wars are no longer inevitable.

But we think, some of the writings of CPSU reflect an one-sided emphasis on the struggle for peace to the detriment of the revolutionary working class struggle and the struggle for national liberation. In its reports and writings the CPSU underestimates the fact that the revolutionary working class movement in capitalist countries and the National Liberation Movement contribute effectively to the strengthening of world peace.

What is more, some of the writings of CPSU give the impression that they believe in the theory that a single spark out of national liberation wars may be the occasion of the new world war. We agree with the CPC that this betrays a wrong attitude and there is not a single instance which proves that a national liberation war has been the occasion of a world war. On the contrary, national liberation wars curb the imperialist policy of domination and are therefore one of the factors that facilitate the cause of peace.

Conclusion

On the question of war and peace, we, therefore, conclude :

1. As long as imperialism exists, there will be the soil for wars, but today imperialism is not what it was yesterday. With the change in the balance of forces on the international plane, imperialism, even if it wills, cannot impose a war on the peoples. Today the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. And in this sense, wars are not today fatally inevitable.

2. Peace is the most faithful ally of socialism. Peace facilitates the cause of the socialist revolution. Hence the Communists in the past stood in the forefront of the struggle for

peace. Today with the world on the brink of a nuclear war, peace forces must be organised and organised into a broadest possible united front.

3. We must distinguish between just wars and unjust wars. We oppose unjust wars which are wars of aggression. We support just wars which are wars of resistance against imperialism. Just wars, rather than endangering peace, accelerate the cause of world peace and social progress.

V. The Struggle for Peaceful Co-existence Between The Two Systems

1. In the words of the Moscow Statement—"in a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems."

It should be recalled that the theory of peaceful co-existence is a theory that was first advocated by Lenin. In his reports to the 14th and 15th Congresses CPSU (B) Stalin further elaborated the theory of peaceful co-existence.

Since the day of its birth the first socialist state of the world wanted to live in peace with the states of the capitalist system. But the imperialists did not. In 1939 between the forces of socialism (the Soviet Union was then the only socialist country in the world) and the forces of imperialism, the forces of imperialism were stronger. Hence the imperialists, succeeded in bringing about a war and in obstructing the policy of peaceful co-existence. But it must be borne in mind that profound changes have taken place since the Second World War. The imperialists are not what they were in 1939. They are not today in a position to dictate their will.

Today the balance of forces has so changed that it is possible to foil the imperialist plans of war and to *impose* on the imperialists the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence.

Thus a new possibility opens up today, *a rare possibility of the revolutionary working class movement and the National Liberation Movement maturing in conditions of world peace.*

To transform this possibility into an actuality, what is wanted is a mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

Imperialism remains as before the sworn enemy of the policy of peaceful co-existence. The foreign policy of a socialist country and that of an imperialist country are completely opposed—with the imperialists the general line of their foreign policy is war and tension between the two systems, with the socialist countries the general line of their foreign policy in relation to states with different social systems is peace and peaceful co-existence. Hence the implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence presupposes a long-drawn struggle with imperialism.

On the outcome of this struggle will depend whether or not we succeed in accomplishing the tasks of world socialist revolution and National Liberation Movement in the conditions of peace rather than of war.

It is in this context that the struggle for the preservation of peace and peaceful co-existence assumes such a great significance today.

2. Peaceful co-existence and the world revolutionary process:—The principle of peaceful co-existence works in close connection with the basic laws of social development. Social changes take place in the world through the operation of the objective laws of history by which one economic structure is replaced by another, the process by which capitalism is replaced by socialism.

Peaceful co-existence must not be interpreted as a *status quo* between capitalism and socialism. Peaceful co-existence hastens rather than prevents the development of the historical processes in which capitalism is replaced by socialism.

Peaceful co-existence facilitates the prospects of world revolution. It defeats the imperialist policy of solving its contradictions through war and intervention. It compels the imperialists to test their strength with socialism through peaceful competition.

Peaceful competition presupposes struggle with imperialism in the economic, political and ideological sphere. In this sense, therefore, peaceful co-existence is a sort of class struggle on the international plane, "a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism" (Statement).

Peaceful co-existence weakens in the long run the economic and political positions of imperialism and strengthens the socialist camp.

Moreover, peaceful co-existence also facilitates class struggle in individual countries. The conditions of war are accompanied by conditions of militarism, fascisation and loss of democratic liberties. Hence such conditions bring additional difficulties in the path of the class struggle. The conditions of peaceful co-existence deprive the imperialists of the opportunity to take advantage of so-called 'war measures', that is measures of fascisation and militarisation. In conditions of peaceful co-existence, therefore, favourable opportunities are provided for the development of class struggle in the capitalist countries and the National Liberation Movements of the colonial and dependent countries. In the turn, the successes of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and National Liberation Movement promote and further the struggle for peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence is, therefore, a specific form of struggle with imperialism. And in this struggle, the world socialist system and international working class must play the leading part.

3. The international policy of socialist countries has two directions:—In his report to the 13th Congress Stalin spoke of two spheres of the international policy of the Soviet Union: "The sphere of the international revolutionary movement, and in the sphere of the Soviet Union's foreign policy." Today with the birth of a group of socialist states, the sphere of the international revolutionary movement has expanded. So today the two spheres of the international policy of socialist states are: The sphere of the relation of one socialist state with another and the support the socialist states offer to the revolutionary movement in the other countries and the sphere of the foreign policy of socialist states.

The two spheres of the international activity of socialist states are guided by two principles. In relation to countries with different social systems, the socialist countries follow the policy of peaceful co-existence, but in their relation with other socialist countries and with revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and with National Liberation Movement, they are guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism. The Moscow Declaration states: "The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of the two systems...is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries." It further declares: "At bedrock of the relations between the countries of the world socialist system and all the Communist and workers' parties lie the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism".

It is clear that the relations between one socialist state and another or one Communist Party or another must not be treated on the same level as the relation between one socialist state and another capitalist state. Relations of socialist countries are based on proletarian solidarity. It is the international duty of the socialist country to extend full moral and material support to the revolutionary working class movement and National Liberation Movement.

4. The Statement, while emphasising the revolutionary content of the slogan of peaceful co-existence, warns against its vulgarisation both from the Right and from the Left:—Revisionists divert the slogan of peaceful co-existence of its revolutionary content. In the name of peaceful co-existence they justify all sorts of compromise with imperialism. In the name of peaceful co-existence they renounce the struggle against imperialism.

The revisionists confuse the theory of peaceful co-existence of states with peaceful co-existence of classes. Thus they advocate "the renunciation of class struggle". They use the theory as a smokescreen for the bourgeois theory of class peace or class collaboration.

Equally harmful is the vulgarisation of the slogan of peaceful co-existence by the Left. The Statement warns against "the under-estimation of the possibility of peaceful co-existence" by the Left.

Those who underestimate the possibility of peaceful co-existence, underestimate the perspective of world revolution maturing in conditions of peace.

Viewpoint of CPC

The CPC accepts the theory of peaceful co-existence between two systems with much reservation. The CPC concedes only to this extent that peaceful co-existence is "advantageous for achieving peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war".

The CPC has written long dissertations on peaceful co-existence. But nowhere does the policy of peaceful co-existence receive the due recognition that it deserves. Nowhere in the CPC thesis "the co-existence of states with different social systems" is described as "a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism" (Moscow Statement). Nowhere in the CPC thesis it is admitted that "in conditions of peaceful co-existence favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the National Liberation Movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. Nowhere in the CPC thesis is the admission that the alternative of peaceful co-existence is war and that the forces of peace are so formidable today that it is possible to impose on the imperialists peace and peaceful co-existence and that today a revolution need not mature in conditions of war, that it has a real possibility of maturing in conditions of peace. The CPC fails to emphasise the point that "peace is a loyal ally of socialism for time is working for socialism and not capitalism" (Statement).

2. The CPC correctly states that "peaceful co-existence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the peoples". But it should also be borne in mind that revolutionary struggles of the peoples cannot replace peaceful co-existence. In the CPC thesis all the emphasis is one-sided. Nowhere is the recognition that peaceful co-existence itself creates favourable conditions for revolutionary struggles of the peoples. It is perfectly permissible to conduct

simultaneously the two—the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the struggle for peaceful co-existence. It is wrong to counterpose the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

3. The CPC makes an one-sided analysis of the basis of the foreign policy of socialist states. The CPC thinks that "the fundamental principle of this foreign policy" (i.e. foreign policy of a socialist country) is "Proletarian internationalism" [quoted from *Peaceful Co-existence—Two Diametrically Opposed Policies—comment on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU (VI)*]. To put it in this way is to underestimate the theory of peaceful co-existence. One must not counterpose proletarian internationalism to peaceful co-existence. The two represent two aspects of the international policy of the socialist states. Just as it is wrong to make peaceful co-existence the sum total of a socialist country's international policy, so it is wrong to make proletarian internationalism the sum total of socialist country's international relations. Peaceful co-existence and proletarian internationalism—both are equally important. By following a policy of peaceful co-existence, the socialist countries force the imperialists to forsake the path of war, force them to undo the policy of exporting counter-revolution. By following proletarian internationalism the socialist countries cement the solidarity among socialist countries and grant assistance to the revolutionary movement in different countries.

Viewpoint of CPSU

We should equally be on guard against wrong interpretations of the theory of peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence of states is a slogan of struggle with imperialism. It is impermissible to interpret it in a way that fosters illusion about imperialism. Khrushchov's description of Eisenhower as a "a man of peace" is an example of a vulgarisation of the slogan of peaceful co-existence. Neither is it permissible to use the theory of peaceful co-existence in justification of an opportunist compromise with imperialism. We have doubts whether peaceful co-existence was not used to cover up a weak foreign policy in the case of Congo or Iraq.

2. Peaceful co-existence is no doubt a form of class struggle, but it is wrong to describe it as "the highest form of class struggle". Equally wrong is to state that "peaceful co-existence is the basic law of social development" or "the main content of world politics". Today peaceful co-existence cannot replace the basic historical laws governing the development of modern society. It cannot and must not be a substitute for the laws of class struggle.

3. A grossly opportunist view of the theory of peaceful co-existence is revealed in the writings of Yugoslav Party. Peaceful co-existence is here defined as a sort of balancing between two military blocs. It is an urgent task of the world Communist movement to combat these harmful and opportunist interpretations of the policy of peaceful co-existence. The CPSU has upto now failed to wage a consistent struggle against such vulgarisation of the slogan of peaceful co-existence.

Conclusion

1. We stress the urgency of the struggle for peaceful co-existence, for on it will depend whether or not the world socialist revolution and the National Liberation Movement today will develop in conditions of peace rather than of war.

2. Peaceful co-existence must not be interpreted as *status quo* between socialism and capitalism. Peaceful co-existence means peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism and therefore it is a specific form of struggle with imperialism.

3. Peaceful co-existence is the basis of the foreign policy of socialist states in relation to states with different social systems. Proletarian Internationalism is the basis of the relations of socialist states with one another and with the revolutionary working class movement and the National Liberation Movement. Peaceful co-existence and proletarian internationalism are not contradictory but supplementary to each other.

The National Liberation Movement

1. **The revolutionary significance of the National Liberation Movement:**—The Moscow Statement emphasises "the

progressive, revolutionary significance" of the National Liberation Movement. As the Statement declares: "The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the National Liberation Movement is a *development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.*" The statement further notes: "A new historical period has set in the life of mankind: The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics."

The intensity of the National Liberation Movement in our day is proved by the very fact that 50 new sovereign states have arisen in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

These facts unmistakably prove that the national liberation struggles today constitute a very important component of world revolution ranking next in importance only to the emergence of the world socialist system.

2. **Relationship of the struggle for socialism with the struggle for national liberation:**—The advance of the National Liberation Movement has only been made possible by the victories and the strength of the Socialist camp and the consequent weakening of imperialism; and continued advance is dependent on close co-operation with the Socialist camp and the international working class.

As the Statement declares: "The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the worldwide revolutionary movement."

It should be noted that the National Liberation Movement is older than the October Revolution. Prior to 1917, all national liberation struggles were crushed by imperialism, because the forces of national liberation then proved to be weaker than the forces of imperialism.

Since the emergence of the USSR, the situation changed; the Soviet Union extended its full support to the National Liberation Movement in all countries. Of particular importance was Soviet help to the National Liberation Movement in China (support to Sun Yat Sen) and to Kemal Ataturk (alliance between USSR and Turkey).

The more the Soviet Union and the international working class increased in strength, the more the National Liberation Movement gathered momentum, the more it became difficult for the imperialist forces to crush the forces of national liberation.

In the period following the Second World War, with the emergence of the world socialist system and the victory of the Chinese Revolution, there was a radical change in the situation. During this period, as the Statement declares, "the forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggles of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression".

In other words, during this period, backed by the mighty support of the world socialist system, the forces of national liberation proved to be stronger than the forces of imperialism. This explains the victory of the National Liberation Movement in 50 countries of Asia and Africa including such small countries as Cuba, Ghana, Mali, etc.

The newly liberated countries are weak economically and politically because the ravages of imperialist domination are so hard to overcome. But the future of these countries is bright. For no longer have they to depend on imperialist countries. They can now count upon the support of the socialist countries. The statement points out—"the socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom."

In case of any imperialist attack on the newly acquired independence of these countries, the world socialist system comes to the aid of the newly independent countries fighting for the defence of their national independence. The imperialist acts of aggression in Suez and Cuba, could be frustrated only with the support of the socialist countries, particularly that of USSR.

The role of socialist aid is also very important. Socialist countries help and support the newly independent countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training

national personnel. They help to build up the economic base of these newly independent countries.

The world socialist system helps the newly independent countries to follow an independent and peaceful foreign policy. The socialist countries co-operate with the newly independent countries in the struggle for world peace against imperialist aggression and war. The peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa are thus encouraged to take an anti-imperialist stand and form together with the socialist countries, "a broad peace zone".

3. The nature and stage of the National Liberation Movement in newly liberated countries:—Discussing the stage of the revolution in the newly liberated countries, the Moscow Statement declares these countries have achieved "political independence—an important step towards complete independence."

After taking full note of the fact at the achievement of political independence, the Statement also emphasises the point that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in these countries has not yet been completed. It declares: "After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence."

Hence the main agenda before the National Liberation Movement in these newly liberated countries is "the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution".

Concretely speaking, the National Liberation Movement in these countries has entered into a new stage. In the present stage, the imperialists headed by USA make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the people of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms—generally known as neo-colonialism. Hence in these countries the struggle is mainly directed against neo-colonialism which is nothing but a veiled form of exploitation. The most important new question developing in these countries is the struggle for economic independence.

In the fight against neo-colonialism, and feudalism what is needed is "a united anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front of the workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic forces" (Moscow Declaration). Numerous facts show that the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle.

4. The role of the national bourgeoisie:—Within these countries different classes take different attitudes and offer different solutions.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution.

As the Statement declares, "the working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem".

Particularly important in this respect is a correct assessment of the role of the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie who constituted the National Liberation Movement in the majority of the newly independent countries and who also today lead the Government in the majority of these countries, offers their own solutions to the problems.

The Communists should "support those actions of national Governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists positions". At the same time they firmly "oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence—they also expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans" (Statement).

It should be borne in mind that "the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialism, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore, retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is

progressive, but it is unstable, though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism" (Moscow Statement). Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of contradictions between imperialism and feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

Such being the position the measure of opposition to imperialism by the national bourgeoisie will vary from country to country. So on the concrete condition of each country will depend which variety of the democratic revolution will that country chose—the Peoples' Democratic Revolution or the National Democratic Revolution.

Viewpoint of CPC

1. One-sided emphasis on the National Liberation Movement:—The CPC puts one-sided emphasis on the National Liberation Movement. It is one thing to recognise the profound revolutionary significance of the National Liberation Movement, and it is another to describe it as the decisive force of our time, the main contradiction of our epoch.

The CPC statement that "the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these areas" (Asia, Africa and Latin America) is not in keeping with the spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and to say the least is misleading. Since the National Liberation Movement is led in the majority of countries by the national bourgeoisie at the present moment to regard the principal role in the world revolution as being played by the National Liberation Movement is to place the primary role in the world revolution in the hands of the bourgeoisie instead of in the hands of the working class and its outcome the world socialist system.

2. Lack of adequate emphasis on the relationship between the struggle for socialism and the struggle for National

Liberation:— The CPC thesis fails to emphasise the close connection between the struggle for national liberation and the growth of the power of the world socialist system. It is not surprising that the CPC thesis does not mention at all the formulation of the Moscow Statement that "the socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom."

Is it not misleading that the CPC thesis (25 points) makes no mention at all of the supremely important factor of socialist aid for newly liberated countries, although the Chinese Government itself offers aid to a number of countries?

In their entire thesis the CPC altogether ignores the effective assistance that the Soviet Union offers to the newly liberated countries in the form of economic aid, military assistance and diplomatic co-operation. The whole experiences of the modern period, Suez in 1956, Syria in 1957, Iraq in 1958, Indonesia in 1960, Cuba in 1962 and also the example of Algeria are an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Soviet Union and the world socialist system are unfailing friends of the national liberation struggle.

By bringing such wild charges against the Soviet Union that it "caters to the needs of imperialism" the CPC is in fact causing harm to the National Liberation Movement. The wall of separation and distrust that is thus sought to be created between the National Liberation Movement and the Soviet Union will only help to isolate the National Liberation Movement from its real supporters.

3. Lack of emphasis on the struggle for peace:—The CPC thesis while emphasising that the National Liberation Movement is a mighty force in defence of world peace, does not stress the fact the struggle for peace is also separate from the struggle for national liberation, and the countries struggling for National Liberation Movement are vitally interested in the struggle for peace. In the 25 points there is no call for organising a separate peace movement in the newly liberated countries.

We should also take note of the fact that the CPC thesis (25 points) does not attach any importance to the policy of non-

alignment as a factor for the preservation of peace. The formulation in the Moscow Declaration that the Socialist countries together with these non-aligned countries form "a broad peace zone" does not find recognition in the CPC thesis.

The newly liberated countries need peace as much as the capitalist countries. It is precisely the war plans of imperialism which seek to entangle the newly independent countries in imperialist military blocs. Similarly the first nuclear offensive of imperialism was conducted against an Asian country. The nuclear tests of imperialism have always been conducted in Afro-Asian regions. The peoples of the newly independent countries have the same common interests with the peoples of socialist countries and the capitalist countries to prevent a nuclear war and win aims of peaceful co-existence and nuclear disarmament. Every step towards the fulfilment of these aims improves the conditions for the advance of the national liberation struggle.

4. One-sided emphasis on Peoples' Democracy and armed struggle:—The CPC puts one-sided emphasis on Peoples' Democracy and armed struggle—it virtually considers the Peoples' Democratic Revolution and armed uprising as the general line for all Communist Parties fighting for national liberation.

This arises from the fact that the CPC does not at all take into account the radical changes that have taken place in our day in the correlation of forces between imperialism and national liberation.

Is this position consistent with the formulation in Moscow Declaration and Moscow Statement?

While the Statement declares, "that in the present historical situation, favourable domestic and international conditions for the establishment of an independent national democracy," the CPC brushes aside the concept of national democracy altogether. We believe that neither national democracy nor peoples' democracy, neither armed struggle, nor peaceful uprising can be considered the universal line for all the Communist Parties. Within the general framework of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, democratic revolution the specific condition differ from

country to country, for example, in India, UAR, Iraq and Ghana. Who can deny today that the forms of struggle also vary from country to country? For example, it leaves no scope of doubt that comparatively peaceful forms of transition to political independence have been possible in a number of newly liberated countries in present-day Africa. At the same time, the comparatively peaceful form cannot be considered to be the general line. We have before us the example of the armed uprising in Algeria. Experience in South Vietnam and Laos shows that in these countries too non-peaceful transition is the only alternative.

So we think that whether a country will go through the stage of national democracy or peoples' democracy or whether it will choose peaceful or non-peaceful form of transition will depend on the concrete condition in each country.

Viewpoint of CPSU

1. Underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the National Liberation Movement:—While correctly stressing the significance of the world socialist system as the decisive force of our time, the report and statements of CPSU fail to carry the conviction that the National Liberation Movement is today a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

The Open Letter of the CPSU (in reply to CIC's 25 points) fails to bring into broad relief the concrete manifestations of the revolutionary potentialities of the present-day National Liberation Movement.

The CPSU Open Letter while correctly emphasising the fact that the National Liberation Movement cannot be seen in isolation from the world socialist movement, fails to stress that the National Liberation Movement itself in its turn adds strength to the world socialist system.

Some of the CPSU writings similarly, while correctly asserting that the National Liberation Movement must not be seen in isolation from the world struggle for peace, fails to emphasise

that the National Liberation Movement and the national liberation wars effectively contribute to the struggle for peace.

2. The CPSU attitude to some of the actions of the newly liberated countries is somewhat misleading. The Moscow Statement calls upon the Communist Parties to "support those actions of national Government leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists positions".....and to "firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. The Communist Parties in these countries find themselves in a state of bewilderment when they find the CPSU line is practically one of uncritical support to the Government of these newly liberated countries. They sometime see to their bewilderment that the Soviet Government is overstressing the contradiction between imperialism and the bourgeoisie. In Iraq, for example, we have doubts whether the Soviet Government did not place great reliance on the role of Kasem Government than on the independent mobilisation of the people by the Communist Party of Iraq against imperialist aggression and native reaction. The Soviet policy with regard to India also suffers from a wrong emphasis. Some of the writings of CPSU on the Indian situation are misleading and do not give a correct lead towards the understanding of our tasks.

3. The Moscow Statement, while stressing the progressive—though unstable role of the national bourgeoisie in the newly liberated countries, calls upon the Communist Parties "to expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans" to cover up their narrow and selfish interest. Some of the writings of the CPSU however fail to discriminate between demagogic and genuine expression of socialist sentiments by bourgeois politicians and such writings only help to sow confusion in the ranks of the Communists in these countries.

By its failure to emphasise the *increased importance* of the National Liberation Movement in our time; the CPSU not only hamper the cause of the national liberation struggle, it also hampers the cause of the world revolution of which the National Liberation Movement is component part.

This failure to emphasise the increased importance of the National Liberation Movement helps to build up a wall of misunderstanding between the peoples struggling for national liberation and the Soviet Party and Government. Hundreds of thousands of people struggling for national liberation entertain doubts whether Soviet support to the National Liberation Movement in the present period is not lukewarm, whether Soviet Press and propaganda are fulfilling their due part in extending their full-throated support to the National Liberation Movement.

Particularly painful have been some of the denunciations in the Soviet Press of the domestic and foreign policies of the Chinese Government. Such statements only help the enemies of the Chinese Revolution. Moreover, such statements help to build up a wall of separation and distrust between the Soviet Party and the Chinese Party, between the Soviet Government and the Chinese Government and thus divide the forces struggling for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Conclusion

1. We must understand properly the great historical significance of the national liberation movement—its revolutionary significance consists in the fact that it is today a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

2. We must emphasise the interconnection between the National Liberation Movement and the world socialist system and should always bear in mind the historic role of socialist aid in the newly liberated countries.

3. We must emphasise the general laws guiding the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution in these countries and should try to understand the necessity of concretely analysing the specific conditions in each newly independent country within the framework of the general line.

4. We should emphasise the leading role of the working class in the National Liberation Movement in these countries and should take advantage of the partial opposition by the

national bourgeoisie to imperialism taking into account the democratic character of the revolution.

5. We must differentiate between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation—we must utilise to the fullest extent the policy of non-alignment as a factor for the preservation of peace.

Forms of Transition to Socialism

1. The question of peaceful transition to socialism:—In 'Left-wing Communism' Lenin stressed the need to master all form of struggle without exception and to be prepared for rapid and unexpected transition from one form to another.

This Leninist concept has been further elaborated in the 12 Parties' Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement, which point out the necessity of keeping in view two forms of transition to socialism—peaceful and non-peaceful.

As the Moscow Declaration states—the Communists always "seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means" but it is the ruling classes which resort to armed suppression of the people and hence make it impossible. Hence the Declaration adds—"in the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition should be borne in mind."

The nature of the ruling classes has not changed, as before they seek to thwart peoples' struggles by armed attacks. Hence while striving for the peaceful transition to socialism, the possibility of a non-peaceful path must always be kept in view.

2. The chances of peaceful transition have increased:—The radical changes in the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism increase the chance of the peaceful development of the revolution.

Imperialism is still strong. It is still capable of resorting to armed force. It uses armed force constantly. But it no longer can do so with impunity as it did before.

Although the chances of the revolution taking a peaceful course are *greater* than before, this does not mean that the non-peaceful way can be completely ruled out. In many countries it

remains the most likely course. "What is to be stressed is not that now-a-days the revolution can be easily channelled into peaceful lines everywhere, but that advantage should be taken of the possibility wherever it exists."

3. Peaceful transition does not negate the theory of class struggle:— The concept of the peaceful achievement of socialism has nothing in common with that of the reformists, who assume that of its reformists, who assume that of its own violation capitalism will evolve into socialism, without class struggle, without revolution, without subjecting the bourgeoisie to any social compulsion.

Marxism proceeds from the fact that socialist revolution whether peaceful or non-peaceful is always the supreme form of class struggle and presupposes the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It can be effected only in a revolutionary situation. The fundamental issue is always the question of power, and its principal driving force is the revolutionary masses under the political leadership of the working class and headed by its vanguard.

Viewpoint of CPC

The CPC, while professing acceptance of the Moscow Statement regarding the possibility of two ways of achieving socialism, in all their actual arguments deny the possibility of the peaceful path. They emphasise that there is "no historical precedent". They also quote Lenin who said the peaceful development of the revolution is an opportunity "very seldom to be met within the history of revolutions". But Lenin also said that wherever it did take place it would be extremely "advantageous" (on Compromise). Moreover, Lenin rejected the theory that "armed uprising is form of struggle which is obligatory always and in all conditions" (Strange & Monstrous). And he stressed time and again that "it is our duty to help in every possible way to secure a 'list' chance for the peaceful development of the revolution" (The Tasks of the Revolution).

The CPC states: "To the best of our knowledge, there is still not a single country where this possibility (of peaceful transition)

is of any practical significance" (Peoples' Daily & Red Flag, article of Sept. 6, 1963). This statement of CPC is in contradiction with the Moscow Statement which declares that "in a number of capitalist countries" the possibility now exists "to win state power without civil war."

Moreover, by these arguments the CPC is in fact trying to impose on the other parties the road of non-peaceful transition. The British Party, for example, decided as early as 1951 that in the actual conditions of Britain in the present period a peaceful transition to socialism is possible (The British Road to Socialism). This stand has been reiterated by the Executive Committee of the CPGB on Sept. 14, 1963 in its Resolution on the International Communist Movement.

We think CPC does not adequately take into account the radical change in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism and the favourable conditions that it creates for the maturing of the revolution in comparatively peaceful conditions in certain countries. Can one deny that today the opportunities for the export of counter-revolution (easiest of all in time of war) have diminished? Consequently, the reactionaries at home, too, can rely less on armed force in their fight against the people.

Viewpoint of CPSU

Just as it is wrong to push the non-peaceful path as a general line for all Communist parties, it is also incorrect to advocate peaceful path as the absolute rule for all parties. Some of the CPSU writings put one-sided emphasis on the peaceful path. Such one-sided emphasis leads to legalistic illusion and parliamentarianism. Revisionists advocate the peaceful path almost as an absolute rule and play down armed struggles even where these are inevitable (for example in South Vietnam, Laos, Algeria etc). Sometime after the 20th Congress, the situation became so serious and reformist interpretations became so fashionable that the CPSU had to put on record its criticism of such reformist vulgarisation of the theory of peaceful transition to socialism. As Khrushchov reported to the Supreme Soviet on

Nov. 6, 1957, "some elements deliberately misconstrue..... decisions of the 20th Party Congress concerning the different forms of transition to socialism.....advocate socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without guidance of the social life by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist party, without proletarian internationalism.

The question that comes to our mind is that: Did not some of the utterances of the CPSU leaders provide the ground on which such opportunist concepts thrived?

Conclusion

1. We must not place a one-sided emphasis either on the peaceful path or on the non-peaceful path. Which path is practicable for a Communist Party will be decided by the party concerned.

2. Peaceful transition, though desirable, is not always possible because of a number of factors—hence, while striving for a peaceful path, the working class must always be prepared for a non-peaceful path, the working class must learn to combine the peaceful and non-peaceful path and to master a variety of forms of struggle.

3. Peaceful path does not mean renunciation of class struggle, on the contrary, peaceful transition can only be the outcome of a consistent class struggle and an uncompromising struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the Question of the Unity of the World Communist Movement

We believe some of the policies and actions of both CPSU and CPC have not been conducive to the unity of the world Communist movement.

1. The Role of CPSU: The CPSU in its writings and utterances of leaders, makes one-sided interpretation of the Declaration and the Statement. Thus on various occasions the revolutionary content of the Declaration and Statement is lost.

The CPSU in practice often counterposes the theory of peaceful coexistence to world revolution. In the name of

maintaining the inter-connection between the world socialist system and National Liberation Movement, they overestimate the role of socialist aid (to newly liberated countries) and thus lay themselves open to the charge of preaching the theory of waiting for a painless transition to socialism.

In practice the CPSU has helped in many areas revolutionary wars when they have broken out and stood against imperialism. But sometimes they have disoriented the revolutionary movements by their writings and speeches.

The CPSU failed to make a proper and correct assessment of the role of Stalin and has not been able to analyse historically the cause of development of the personality cult. Thus for all the drawbacks and ills of Soviet society and Party, Stalin has been made guilty but for all the advance and development and glory the Party and the people are praised. There is no self-criticism of present leaders who were colleagues and active supporters of Stalin. There is also distortion of history since the 20th Congress.

All this is surely not helpful for the world Communist movement. The responsibility of the CPSU to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement was the greatest. But it was the CPSU which first disrupted unity by trying to impose its views on others without discussion. Attacks against the Albanian Party calling for a change of its leadership from Congress of CPSU, unilateral violation of decision of 81 Parties' Conference on Yugoslavia, participation in attacks against CPC at various party congress of other countries etc., are some of the instances which have been disruptive of unity.

The CPSU has made theoretically correct formulations about equality of parties but in practice sometimes 'big brother' attitude continues.

2. The role of the CPC: The CPC does not emphasise the newness of the situation and it refuses to draw the correct implications arising out of the character of the new epoch. It underestimates the struggle for peace and one is left with the impression that it counterposes the struggle for world revolution to the struggle for peace. It narrows down the wide sweep of the peace movement by advocating that only anti-imperialist should

be participants. Hence its lack of understanding of the role of peace movements in Britain, USA and other countries of Europe.

The CPC emphasises certain general formulae about world revolution through armed struggle. But it seems that local and national peculiarities are not taken into account.

The stand taken by Communist Parties of Italy, France, USA, etc. on issues connected with their own countries and world Communist movement, no doubt, needs to be reviewed and the CPC's criticism must be seriously considered. But there seems to be dogmatic and doctrinaire approach in the CPC criticism of the stand taken by these parties. Similarly wrong and harmful analysis of the Indian economy and Government is made by the CPC in the article—'More on Nehru's Philosophy.'

Some policies of CPC, e.g., attitude to Colombo Proposals demonstrates a strange lack of initiative which socialist country should take to preserve peaceful co-existence between states having different social systems and to isolate the reactionaries. It arises out of a doctrinaire approach to the Indian situation. It is a dogmatic attitude and it objectively helps to keep up a cold war atmosphere. It is all the more inexplicable after the unilateral cease-fire, withdrawal of its armies, and handing over of Indian soldiers, and weapons etc. Even if the Indian Government refuses to open direct negotiations on the basis of Colombo Proposals until the proposals are accepted in toto, why cannot China socialist country take the initiative to break the dead-lock by accepting Colombo Proposals in full and opening direct negotiations.

The CPC at the beginning demonstrated great patience and correct behaviour in the dispute on ideological issues. But later it fell a victim to provocation from other parties and started taking extreme measures. Now it is even wrongly calling for a split in various parties as a method of fighting revisionism. This only helps those revisionists who also want to drive out genuine Marxists from various parties. There can be no general line on this question. It is for each party itself to decide how revisionism and dogmatism have to be fought. Interference and

encouragement from outside only harms the cause of different parties.

3. Our attitude: From a perusal of the latest developments in the world Communist movement, we have come to the conclusion that within the world Communist movement revisionism continues to be the main danger but Left sectarianism is emerging as a new danger and must be fought.

We are of the opinion that the ideological struggle within the world Communist movement, which is unfortunately being conducted openly must proceed along principled lines and must culminate as soon as possible.

We are opposed to unfair vulgarisation of the issues on both sides. We believe that there is no objective basis of this conflict and it must not be raised to the state level. This conflict is helping imperialism much more than it is helping the revolutionary forces of the people. This conflict, far from attracting the world peoples towards socialism and Communism, is having exactly the opposite effect.

We do not accept the CPC view that the CPSU is in league with US imperialism and can no longer be relied upon to defend the socialist countries including China and the revolutionary gains made by the peoples of the world. We cannot, therefore, accept the view that China should be supplied with nuclear weapons to defend herself and the world revolutionary movement.

On a study of the theory and practice of the Soviet Party and Government the conclusion follows that, in some respects, the CPSU has taken a revisionist stand. We cannot, however, conclude that the Soviets are out and out revisionists and the fight against them is in the nature of the fight against the Second International.

Similarly, we do not accept the charge against the Chinese Party that it is advocating and pursuing a Trotskyite policy or that it is out and out adventurist. What China says and does may in some respects, amount to revolutionary impatience or at times a Left sectarian attitude. We should disassociate ourselves from those who hurl all sorts of abuses on the CPC calling it 'advocates of cold war', 'war-mongers', 'enemy of Marxism-

Leninism' etc. Despite its lapses it is without doubt the centre of anti-imperialist forces in Asia and economic developments inside China will have profound influence on all Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

The CPI cannot remain an idle spectator in this great battle of ideas and policies. It is, therefore, essential that we take a serious view of the ideological struggle that is now going on inside the world Communist movement.

As a sovereign and independent Party, the CPI should play its own part in its own humble way, it should judge the issues independently, and help to restore the spirit of harmony and cordiality within the world family of Communists. We treat the dispute that has arisen as a dispute within a family, and we hope that it would be resolved in a family spirit.

We believe the cause of the unity of the world Communist movement will ultimately triumph.

A Brief Critical Note on the Programme Drafts

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

1. **My note on Party Programme** was ready in December. At the time I wrote it, I had before me only the Programme Drafts presented at the Vijayawada Congress.

Subsequently, however, the latest drafts—the one adopted in April at the Delhi Convention of the “Leftists” and the other adopted by the “Rightist” National Council in June and finalised by the Secretariat, have come out. There was also some discussion at the Tenali Convention on the contents of “Leftist” draft and my NOTE.

Added to this discussion at the Convention was the series of articles and comments which have appeared in the press giving the view points of the comrades belonging to the “rightist” and “leftist” political trends. It is therefore now possible to give a critique of the positions taken in the “right” and the “left” Programme Drafts.

2. It is necessary, in this connection to be clear about what the Programme should contain. For, there is, according to me, a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding on this.

Both the “right” and “left” appear to take the view that the task of the Programme is only to (a) describe the economic and political changes which have taken place in India since the attainment of Independence, and (b) lay down a series of basic slogans around which the Party is to unite all the revolutionary forces. They seem to be of the opinion that the development of capitalism on the world scale, the main features of the international situation, the ideological and political problems

arising out of it—these having nothing to do with the preparation of our Party Programme. They, therefore, separate the discussion of what are now called “international ideological questions” from the discussion of the content of our Party Programme.

Such a separation of the formulation of our Party Programme from the appreciation of the international position of capitalism is, according to me, wrong. After all, the Indian revolution is not taking place in the vacuum; it is taking place against the background of the General Crisis of Capitalism which, besides, has reached its third stage. The problems to be covered in our Party Programme can therefore be understood only if they are seen in the context of the international setting. What is specific to the Indian situation should be seen along with what India has in common with the world. It is my claim that my NOTE ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME tries to do this, while both the “right” and the “left” drafts fail to do this.

3. Another task which any draft Programme should do is to analyse the post-Independence developments in India not only in relation to its economy and politics but to its social organisation and culture as well. After all, Indian society of pre-British days had some special features which did not exist in other countries. What is generally known as “pre-capitalist” or “feudal” society did undoubtedly prevail in pre-British India. The Indian variant of this pre-capitalist or feudal society however differs sharply from its counterparts in other Asian countries, not to speak of European countries with their “classical” type of feudalism. How were the transformations made by the British during the nearly two centuries of their domination over India; how the transformations brought about by the British are being carried forward by the Congress rulers; the specific manner in which the transformations made during the British regime and in the post-Independence years those and other questions should be concretely analysed. Only then can the reality of present-day India be clearly understood. Here again, I may claim I have made a humble effort, while the other drafts have failed to do so.

4. The thrust of a real Party Programme is to lay down the general lines along which the instrument for carrying out the

revolution—a strong, united and revolutionary party of the working class—is to be forged. The concrete background against which the task of building the Communist Party of India is to be carried out, the ideological enemies to be fought and defeated, the forces to be organised etc., have to be laid down. This is all the more important in view of the fact that, even since the attainment of Independence, our Party has found itself in a permanent ideological and organisational deadlock, this deadlock having now reached the stage of complete division in the Party. Only if we are able to answer the question why all this has taken place will it be possible for us to lay down the line of overcoming the present division and build a united Party of the working class, the sure instrument for carrying out the revolution. In this again, both the “right” and “left” drafts have failed, though I cannot claim that my NOTE is better in this respect.

5. I am strongly of opinion that any Programme which does not cover the ground indicated above will fail in its declared purpose of showing the correct way to the mass of Party members and Sympathisers. Failure to undertake the jobs involved in the above means failure to concretely apply Marxism-Leninism to the problems of Indian revolution. This being so, any Programme which fails in these respects will fail to take the Party out of the rut into which it has fallen. The adoption of any Programme with these shortcomings will make the Party as “rudderless” as one with no Programme.

6. Just as on the question of what the Programme should contain, so on the crucial issue involved in the formulation of the Programme—the issue of the class forces ranged against each other—both the “right” as well as the “left” Programme Drafts have a common shortcoming. Even though drawing different conclusions, the two drafts make the identical initial assumption with which I am in sharp disagreement. That assumption is that the differentiation within the bourgeoisie is between the “Big” on the one hand and the “Medium” and the “Small” on the other. The former is, by its very nature, collaborationist, while the latter is National. This has become such a widely-held view that the term “National Bourgeoisie” is

always equated with the "non-Big" Bourgeoisie. I am of the view that this is a wrong assumption both in terms of the formulation contained in international documents as well as in the light of data relating to India's development.

7. The statement adopted at the 81 Parties' Conference, held in Moscow in 1960, does not make any such assumption. The distinction made in that document is not between the "Big" and the "non-Big" but between those "connected" and "unconnected" with imperialist circles. This is in full conformity with the materials of the old Communist International, including the Programme adopted at its Sixth Congress. The major authoritative pronouncements lending support to the distinction between the "Big" and the "non-Big" sections of the Bourgeoisie are, to the best of my knowledge, Comrade Stalin's speech to the University of the Toilers of the East and Comrade Mao's writings. Both of them came to the conclusion that the Big Bourgeoisie had in the main, become collaborationist.

8. Coming now to the data relating to economic developments in India, two facts should be noted : (a) Economic collaboration with foreign monopolies is not confined to the "Big Bourgeoisie". As a matter of fact, technical and even financial collaboration with foreign monopolies has become the indispensable condition for the starting of any new industry worthwhile importance ; the entire bourgeois class (big, medium and even small) is obliged to enter into collaboration with foreign monopolies. (b) On the other hand, even among the big bourgeoisie, there are individuals and groups who, while on the one hand collaborating with, are on the other hand facing serious cut-throat competition from, foreign monopolies. There are cases of industrialists who collaborate with foreign monopolies in relation to one industry, while they are up in arms against them in relation to another.

9. On both theoretical as well as practical grounds, therefore, I do not see any reason to equate the distinction between the collaborationist and National sections of the bourgeoisie with the distinction between the big and non-big. **I certainly agree that the element of collaboration is, in practice, much greater in the case the "big" than in the "non-big" sections of the**

bourgeoisie, while the element of conflict is greater in the non-big. **This, however, should not make us blind to the reality that both the elements of conflict and collaboration operate in the case of both sections.** Failing to see this reality would lead us into serious practical mistakes in policy. It would lead to sectarian under-estimation of the conflict between foreign monopolies and the Indian big bourgeoisie. It would also lead to tailism in relation to the non-big bourgeoisie even when its policy is collaborationist.

10. These mistakes in practical policy—sectarian under-estimation of the conflict and tailist under-estimation of the collaboration—are according to me, present in the "leftist" and "rightist" drafts. These mistakes are concentrated in the two slogans given in the two drafts—People's Democratic State directed as much against monopoly capitalists as against imperialism and feudalism (the leftist draft) ; and National Democracy so visualised as to make it indistinguishable from bourgeois democracy (rightist draft). I am unable to accept either of these two basic slogans, as understood and explained in these drafts.

11. What according to me is important is not the particular term to be used—National Democracy or People's Democracy ? More important is the content to be incorporated. I would, therefore, indicate below what, according to me, are the essentials of that state form which would complete the democratic revolution and lay the basis for the socialist revolution.

Firstly, the new state is the political expression of, the form of political power created by, the alliance of revolutionary classes.

Secondly, the state therefore, will arise out of the revolution in which these revolutionary classes participate.

Thirdly, these struggles will, according to circumstances, take peaceful or non-peaceful forms. In either case, they are directed against the classes which are now dominating the economy and state. The new state therefore, will be the opposite of the present state in its class content.

Fourthly, all the classes and strata which participate in these revolutionary struggles will therefore find a place in the new State; the new state will, in other words, be the dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes directed against the classes which are controlling the present state machinery.

Fifthly, though thus the political expression of the alliance of several classes, the leadership in alliance belongs to the working class in firm alliance with the peasantry. Such a class alliance alone is capable of dislodging the present ruling classes and of setting up a new state of people.

Sixthly, allied firmly with the entire working people, particularly with the peasantry, the working class is to unite all other patriotic and democratic classes, strata, groups and individuals, i. e., all those who are interested in eliminating all traces of foreign monopoly domination of the nation, rooting out feudalism in all its forms, in overcoming the economic, social and cultural backwardness of the people, in curbing and controlling all forces which perpetrate this backwardness, and so on.

Seventhly, no class or stratum as a class or *stratum* is kept out of the front. But all those who depend on foreign monopoly, feudal lords, social, economic and cultural backwardness etc. will naturally take their stand against democracy. They therefore, will, in fact, keep themselves out of, and even fight, the democratic forces. This however happens not because they belong to this or that class or stratum but because they oppose the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic measures. Naturally, therefore, even those whose economic ties are with foreign monopolists or with feudal lords, but who are patriotic and democratic enough to support the democratic programme will have a place in the front. Hence the "National" character of the front.

Eighthly, the front being of a multi-class character, state form will inevitably generate the process described as follows in the Moscow Statement: "as social contradictions grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin

to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development". The struggle between the two paths—the capitalist and the non-capitalist—therefore comes on the agenda. The leadership of the working class in alliance with the peasantry alone ensures the victory of the non-capitalist path.

Finally, to sum up, the two essentials of our revolutionary democracy are, (i) the alliance of the working class with the entire working people, particularly with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, exercised through a well-organised Communist Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. (ii) Unity of all classes, strata, groups and individuals interested in the successful struggle against imperialism, feudalism and economic, social and cultural backwardness.

12. As opposed to this revolutionary conception of the new state form is the conception contained in the rightists' Draft Programme. This conception is, according to me, out-and-out revisionist. Without going into too many details of separate formulations contained in the Draft, attention may be drawn to :

(a) **The rejection of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism that any democratic movement or struggle to be successful in giving real power to the people and in satisfying the peoples' aspirations should be under the leadership of the working class, firmly allied with the peasantry.** As opposed to this revolutionary idea is the rightist concept of the democratic state in which the working class not only allies itself, but shares leadership, with the bourgeoisie.

(b) **The virtual rejection also of the idea that the new state comes into existence out of furious political battles between the working people and their democratic allies on the one hand and the vested interests who are entrenched in the present state-apparatus on the other.** The real class character of the present state-apparatus (dictatorship of reactionary exploiting classes camouflaged by parliamentary democratic forms) is not exposed; there is, on the other hand, fulsome praise for the virtues of parliamentary democracy. There is not even a mention of the fact that, on the one occasion when the

working people made effective use of the parliamentary democratic institutions against the vested interests, i.e., when the Communist-led Ministry was formed in Kerala, the bourgeoisie came out in its true colours.

(c) **The deliberate effort to conceal the fact that the present state is the organ of the richest and most powerful sections of the ruling classes.** It may be noted that, while describing the consequences of the economic policies of the Government even the rightist Programme has to admit (i) that monopoly capitalists are developing in India on a big scale ; (ii) that they are developing not in collaboration with foreign monopolists ; (iii) that capitalism is developing not in uncompromising struggle against feudal lords but by transforming them into capitalist landlords and maintaining many forms of semi-feudal exploitation. But all this is forgotten when it comes to the characterisation of the state which is supposed to be "influenced", but not "led" by the big monopolists and landlords.

(d) **The certificate or good conduct given to the ruling Congress Party by blaming all anti-people and undemocratic policies and measures of the Government on the rightists in the ruling Party rather than on the Government and the ruling Party as a whole.**

The total effect of all these separate aspects of the strategic concept contained in the rightist Programme Draft is the negation of the Political line of revolutionary struggles, to be waged by the working class and its allies against the vested interests and their state machinery ; the adoption in its place of the reformist and revisionist line of the gradual going over of the bourgeois parliamentary democratic state into a new state jointly led by the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is therefore totally unacceptable to Marxism-Leninism.

13. Behind this revisionist strategic concept lies the failure to make a concrete analysis of the stage of development of capitalism in the world as a whole, and in India in particular.

A whole chapter of the rightist Draft Programme is devoted to the description of the "contradictions of the path of capitalist development". However, the "contradictions" described therein

are not the manifestations of the crisis in the world system of capitalism which has now reached the third stage of its general crisis. On the other hand, the Draft Programme speaks of "all inherent and inevitable contradictions and crises of the capitalist system and its basic laws".

Such "contradictions and crises", it may be noted, could be spoken of in relation to capitalism at any stage of its development and to any country. They were worked out, in generalised form, over a century ago by the founders of Scientific Socialism in the Communist Manifesto brought out in 1848. It does not require any deep analysis of present-day data for one to say that these laws of development of capitalism and its crises apply to Indian capitalism as well. What is required is to examine the specific features of capitalist development in India which were given in general form by me in my NOTE ON PARTY PROGRAMME.

"Indian capitalism has had the misfortune", I pointed out, "of having been born and developing in an epoch when world capitalism entered the last stage in its history—its General Crisis affecting all aspects of social life. It cannot, therefore, expand itself to other countries and turn them into suppliers of cheap raw materials and markets for its own products. Even in the internal market, it has to face serious competition from the powerfully-entrenched foreign monopolies. Added to these difficulties of production and marketing, is the difficulty in relation to raising capital internally : the adoption of those methods of 'primitive accumulation' which enabled the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries to raise capital internally is made much more difficult here since the masses subjected to those methods are in a much better position to offer resistance. These specific features of capitalist development in India have given rise to a large number of contradictions which cannot be resolved within the framework of the capitalist system" (Pp. 46-47).

There is no attempt to make such a concrete analysis of the conditions in which capitalism is developing in India. Hence the conclusion drawn by one of the co-authors of the rightist Draft Programme, Dr. Adhikari, that "the possibility of reaching

the stage of mature industrialisation and developed agriculture in the capitalist way cannot be excluded." Although not putting it in so many words, the Draft Programme too is based on this understanding. For, it fails to bring out the fact that the 13 years of capitalist planning in India has taken the national economy to a blind alley. The economic analysis contained in the Draft Programme shows only that the fruits of development are appropriated by the monopoly and other sections of vested interests. It conceals the fact that the entire economy is showing unmistakable signs of cracking up and that the "crisis of foreign exchange", the accentuation of the crisis of internal finance etc., are the manifestations of this overall crisis.

14. The Draft Programme prepared by the rightists completely fails also in the analysis of political developments in post-independence India.

As early as in 1952, our Party had pointed out the great significance of the defeat suffered by the ruling Congress Party which, in the words of the then Central Committee, "created a qualitatively new situation in Indian politics, a serious crisis for the ruling class", and so on. It was also pointed out that one of the main factors which helped to create this "qualitatively new situation" was the fact that "inside the camp of the democratic masses, the Communist Party has become the strongest single factor, the most powerful challenge to the Congress."

This situation developed further in 1957 when the "crisis of the ruling classes" got further deepened by the coming into existence of the Communist-led Government in Kerala.

How were these developments made possible? Have the trends indicated by these developments continued to grow; or, have they received a setback in the post-1957 period? If so, what are the reasons for the setback? These are the questions for which answers have to be found if the correct revolutionary strategy is to be evolved.

15. The rightist Draft does not even raise these questions, not to speak of answering them. The only explanations they give to the increasingly critical political situation in the country are:

(a) the conflicts between the top monopolists and the other sections of the bourgeoisie;

(b) the influence of foreign monopoly interests who support the monopolist groups and princely feudal circles; and

(c) the failure of the ruling party to solve the problems of building a democratic state.

In this description, they miss the most important key factor in the national political situation—the growing contradiction between the interests of **the overwhelming majority of people** on the one hand and the policies pursued by the **ruling party** on the other, a conflict which is deepened by the existence of the conscious socialist forces led by the Communist Party.

It is true that the factors mentioned in the rightist Draft operate in Indian politics. It is, however, not true that any of them singly or all of them together, operate in isolation, or that they created the "qualitatively new situation" in the post-independence years. The "new situation" was created because all these factors were operating against the background of **the mental conflict between the new ruling classes and the people in free India.**

16. Failure to note this as the most important key factor in the situation gives rise to the strategic concept of such a "National Democratic Front" in which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat share the leadership of the democratic masses. The two together constitute the rejection of the basic Marxist standpoint according to which the conflict between the ruling classes and the people is the main motive force of development in any capitalist country.

17. While thus rejecting the basic approach taken in the rightist Draft Programme, I find myself in disagreement with the position adopted in the leftist Draft Programme as well.

Like the rightist, the leftist Draft fails to make a concrete analysis of Indian capitalism as it develops against the background of the General Crisis of world capitalism which, as is known, has now reached in third stage. It is not seen that all the economic difficulties faced by the Indian planning authorities and the ruling party arise from the fact that India is developing

capitalistically in the particular world context in which (a) the sphere of operation for capitalism is continually shrinking ; (b) the capitalistic groups who compete among themselves for domination in this ever shrinking area of operation for capitalism are growing in number, with the result that their mutual competition and struggle become more and more fierce ; (c) the working people everywhere are becoming so class conscious that they would not allow those forms of primitive accumulation which was possible in the early days of capitalism. If these realities had been seen, the conflict between foreign monopolists and India's top monopolists would have been assessed in a more balanced way.

18. Let me make clear that the most important key factor in the situation, according to me, is the conflict between the ruling classes and the mass of the people. The recognition of this reality is the line of demarcation between the 'right' on the one hand and the 'left' and 'centre' on the other. I am, therefore, in full agreement with the idea that the new state which will arise out of the revolutionary democratic struggles will be based on the "coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class". But, having made the conflict between the ruling classes and the mass of the working people the most important and decisive force on which to depend for success in the revolutionary democratic struggles, we have to take full account of ; and skilfully utilise, other conflicts as well. This too is accepted by the authors of the leftist Draft. There is, therefore, agreement between them and me on this point as well. I am, however, in disagreement with them on the question of what these other conflicts are. According to me, they are (a) between the Indian ruling classes as a whole (which may include even the topmost monopolists and landlords) and foreign monopolies, (b) between the monopolists and the rest of the Indian bourgeoisie, (c) between the bourgeoisie as a whole and feudal and semi-feudal classes, and (d) between the urban monopolists and the rural people, the latter include even the feudal elements in the rural areas and so on.

The authors of the left Draft appear to dismiss (a) and (d) above. They appear to hold that, apart from certain individuals and certain extraordinary situations, the entire strata of the ruling classes—landlords and monopoly bourgeoisie, are irrevocably in the enemy camp. Therefore, according to them, there is no question of these strata having any place in the democratic front.

19. The real question is not whether, in actual reality, these two sections will or will not be in the democratic front. That depends on a variety of circumstances most of which cannot be foreseen now. The real question is what approach to take : should the party of the proletariat consider the landlords and monopolists to be enemies of the revolutionary democratic movement in the same way in which imperialism and feudalism are ; or would they be welcomed into the front provided they join the rest of the nation in the struggle for eliminating all remnants of feudalism and all traces of imperialist domination ?

The essentials of a correct strategic approach, according to me are,

- with the entire nation against foreign monopolists ;
- with the rest of the Indian bourgeoisie against the Indian monopolists ;
- with the bourgeoisie against feudal and semi-feudal classes ;
- with the rural people against the urban monopolists ;
- and above all, with the peasantry and other sections of the working people against the ruling classes as a whole.

20. The above being the strategic concept, I am convinced that the idea of National Democracy as a form of non-capitalist path, envisaged in the Moscow Statement, applies to India. The two essential factors of that concept are (a) the democratic forces which bring the new state into existence are essentially **National**, i.e., no class stratum is excluded ; only those individuals and groups who actually oppose the programming of national regeneration are excluded (b) though thus excluding no class or stratum the front has a definite class content ; it is based on worker-peasant alliance and is led by the working class.

The concept of People's Democracy contained in the leftist Draft rejects the above. I therefore, cannot accept it.

As for the concept of National Democracy as envisaged in the rightist Draft, it rejects the above from the opposite end. Its concept of class relations has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. I am further of opinion that the rightist Draft distorts the idea of National Democracy as envisaged in the Moscow Statement. For, the essentials of the slogan of National Democracy, according to Com. Khrushchov, "consists precisely in taking note of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples and in seeking forms **in uniting all the sound forces of the nation ensuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle for the final eradication of the roots of imperialism and remnants of feudalism, paving the way for the ultimate advance to socialism.**" ("The National Liberation Movement", page 31, emphasis added.)

21. I would therefore plead for rejection of both the Drafts and for the setting up of mechanism for the discussion of all questions connected with the further development of India's revolutionary democratic movement against the background of the growing crisis of the economy, politics and ideology of capitalism in India and the world.

22. Before I conclude, I should also refer to the question of inner-Party struggle which has now reached the stage of an open split. It is unfortunate that neither the rightist nor the leftist Draft makes any reference to its existence, not to speak of giving explanations for it. Their failure in this respect makes the two Drafts completely ineffective in fighting the twin dangers of Revisionism and Dogmatism. It is necessary, to me, for our Party Programme to draw attention to the following :

(A) The origin and development of inner-Party differences, which have led to split in the Party, should be traced not to the evil intentions or misdeeds of certain individual leaders, but to certain **objective factors** ;

(B) The most important of these objective factors is **the fact of capitalist development which is creating new strata of entrepreneurs and prosperous capitalist farmers ; however narrow** the circle of these strata, they hold key places in the

social and cultural life of the nation, and are therefore able to create among the broad mass of people **the illusion of all-round national prosperity.** This illusion is shared by section of the working people as well. Furthermore, the agitations and actions led by the trade unions have led to some improvement in the living and working conditions of at least a section of the class.

(C) **The above-mentioned objective factors are strengthened by the failure of our Party leadership to make a sufficiently concrete exposure of the class essence of capitalist development.** Our Party leadership did, in its analysis of capitalist planning in the country, shift itself from the initially negative assumption of no development to the subsequent failure to bring out the contradictions inherent in the capitalist planning as practised in India. The Party has developed a particular approach according to which the only shortcoming in India's capitalist planning is that the fruits of development are appropriated by the exploiting classes ; the contradictions of planning and its consequences for the nation as a whole are not seen and exposed.

(D) Added to the above is the fact that **within the Party and its leadership are emerging elements who, unless effectively checked by a sufficiently vigilant party, will become purveyors of bourgeois ideology into the working class,** e. g., those who have become, or can legitimately aspire to become, members of Parliament and state Legislatures, members and Presidents of co-operative societies and so on. The development of trade unions has also resulted in the emergence of a whole-time cadre who, if not checked by a vigilant party, will play the same role in India as the "labour aristocracy" does in the advanced capitalist countries.

(E) As opposed to the above-mentioned objective and subjective factors which lie behind the emergence and strengthening of revisionism within the Party is the objective reality that national development and consequent prosperity embrace only a narrow upper stratum of the Indian society. The living and working conditions of the mass of the people are in fact, deplorable ; their misery is ever-growing. This naturally

leads to the growth of acute mass discontent which breaks out in various forms. Given correct leadership this can build the unity of the people against the policies and practices of the ruling classes and their party. **In the absence of correct leadership, however, this discontent is likely to lead to chaotic and futile forms of agitation and struggle. Herein lies the soil for Dogmatism and Sectarianism.**

(F) It should therefore be the endeavour of the conscious vanguard of the working class to keep before itself the need for educating the whole working class and other sections of the toiling people on the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics. In doing this, it should **direct the main fire against revisionism (since the objective basis for it is stronger than for Dogmatism), while giving no quarter to Sectarianism and Dogmatism in any form.** Only such a party as carries on the simultaneous struggle against both will be able to organise and lead India's working people against imperialism, feudalism and its allies.

What Dange-Programme Reveals : A Real Face of Revisionism

M. Basavapunniah

P. Ramamurti

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

Note: We are publishing herewith the criticism of the Dange-Programme of the Dange-Council. Our criticism is based on the basis derived from the Draft Programme submitted by the 31 National Council members.

The Dange group has published its programme full three months after we published our Draft Programme. The Dangeites have been discreetly silent on our programme but only choose to denounce it as dogmatic, sectarian, and adventurist etc. It is pity that they did not dare to criticise or comment on any one key issue that has been dealt with in our Programme. We very much wanted to know from their criticism where our programme is erroneous and in what respect it is sectarian and dogmatic. We strive to make our criticism on some of the salient features of the Dangeite Programme and show how it is treacherously reformist and revisionist in all its essentials. The big pretensions of creative Marxism by them cannot hide the ugly truth that the line of unashamed class collaboration. It is true that they are afraid as to openly and unequivocally stating their positions on a number of crucial issues which are sharply raised in the inner-party discussions. Dubious arguments, deceptive formulations and evasive answers can't screen them from their ugly revisionist standpoint when properly unmasked. In a word, the Dangeite Programme openly comes out as an unashamed apologia for the bourgeois-landlord rule and the capitalist path of development foisted on the people by it.

Basis of Class Collaboration in Post-Independence Era

With the publication of the Draft Programme by the Dange group the crux of the differences between the Dange group and us stand sharply revealed. This draft confirms what we have been saying ever since the 32 members of the National Council issued their Appeal to all Party comrades in April 1964, viz., that the differences in the Party which have led to a virtual split are not due either to the India-China Border dispute, or the ideological controversy in the world communist movement. We had stated clearly that the differences have developed on the understanding of the Indian situation, particularly on the question of the assessment of the role of the Indian bourgeoisie before, during and after the transfer of power in 1947. From these two different understandings arise the difference on the stage of the Indian Revolution, its tasks, as well as the role of the different classes in that revolution.

This is not to say that there are no differences on the approach or understanding over the India-China Border dispute, nor over tasks that the Communist Party must fulfil in order that the dispute may be settled in the interest of our own people and country. But these differences again, have their roots precise in the basic difference in the understanding of the role of the bourgeoisie and the approach that working class should have towards its policies. They are thus vitally and intimately connected with the building of the mass democratic movement in the country.

The Draft Programme of the Dange group has brought these differences into sharp focus. It is a Programme of out and out class collaboration. It negates the very basis of Marxism-Leninism, viz., role of class struggle in historical development. It negates all the teachings of Marxism on question of State, and on the role of different classes in the democratic and socialist revolutions. While seemingly, it attacks the capitalist path of development, in reality it pays such encomiums to the attempts of capitalist development in India and the achievements in that attempt, than the leaders of the ruling Congress Party today dare not to shower.

The most glaring feature of the Draft is that the role of the working class and the masses in the historical development of our freedom struggle is sought to be totally negated. Naturally, therefore, the entire history of the Communist Party, is also sought to be formally negated as something totally wrong.

No wonder that some of the bourgeois newspapers have welcomed the Dange group's draft. THE TRIBUNE of Ambala editorially commenting on the Draft in its issue of July 13, 1964, stated:

"But what is possible is that the Socialists and Rightwing Communists may undertake to support the Congress in its fight against poverty, unemployment and ignorance, instead of making the end of Congress rule the sole motive of their activities."

The PATRIOT (Delhi) a paper whose connections with Dange are well-known and hence cannot be accused of misrepresenting his views, has stated in its editorial on the Dange Draft in its issue of July 13, 1964:

"The multi-class peaceful struggle for transition will be conducted not under the exclusive leadership of the working class, (there is, the Communist Party itself) but under a leadership in which the responsibility is shared by the national bourgeoisie and the working class."

In other words, the capitalist class will 'struggle' for building socialism, of course, in alliance with the working class.

The first chapter of the Dange Draft deals with the transfer of power. It states: "Voicing the Indian National upheaval against this background, the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with intention of returning to the attack again." It goes on to say: "the British imperialists divided the country into two States, India and Pakistan, conferring independence on both, but in reality insisting to keep both at loggerheads with each other and compel them to depend on their former masters for 'peace and aid'.

The role of imperialism has no doubt been correctly stated. But what about the role of our own bourgeoisie? With whom did

imperialism compromise? Was it with the masses of the Indian people who had risen in revolt in the post-war years, or was it with the Indian bourgeoisie, represented by the leadership of the Indian National Congress? And indeed what role did the Indian bourgeoisie play in that unprecedented revolt witnessed in the post-war years?

The leaders of the Congress, as we all know, who were leading the national movement, were the representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie. It was with this leadership of the bourgeoisie that the British imperialists effected the compromise, which took the form of the Mountbatten Settlement. Why did the Indian bourgeoisie accept this compromise?

These are obviously, inconvenient questions for the Dange group. They are sought to be evaded by avoiding any reference whatsoever to the bourgeoisie as a class. Hence it states:

"The Indian National Congress, which was leading the National movement, formed the first Government of Independent India." Not the bourgeoisie, as a class, but the multi-class National Congress comprising of millions of peasants, workers, middle class intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie, which formed the first Government of Independent India.

What the Dange Draft seeks to ignore here is that within the National Liberation movement, the bourgeoisie had always pursued its own selfish aims which often went against the interests of the masses. Unless this fact is realised, the compromising role of the bourgeoisie cannot be really understood. Concealing this compromising role of the bourgeoisie, the Dange Draft goes on to say that the Platform of the Congress for the future was one of "developing an independent national economy with a promise of land reforms for the peasantry and rights and well being for the working people and parliamentary democracy."

The Draft then says that "The British imperialists knew that consistent working out of such a Programme would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality". Here again the role of the bourgeoisie is, shall we say, deliberately omitted. Why has it not consistently worked out a Platform

drawn by itself? Are we to understand that it was British imperialism that foiled the attempts of the bourgeoisie to consistently work out this Platform? Or is it that the bourgeoisie has really foiled the attempts of the British imperialists and has consistently implemented its 'progressive' Platform? Naturally, we have no answer to these questions in the Dange Drafts!

The Draft then goes on to catalogue achievements of the Government: "Invasion of Kashmir was foiled. The Princely States were abolished and integrated with the Indian Union. The armed services were brought under Indian Command and the British Civil Services were pensioned off." This, as we shall see, is not merely a travesty of history, but a howling affront to the glorious struggle of our people.

That the bourgeoisie accepted Mountbatten's advice and took the Kashmir issue to the UNO, as a result of which imperialism has successfully managed to keep both India and Pakistan at loggerheads, is conveniently ignored. In the matter of the integration of the Indian States, the Draft ignores the fact that the Princes really had no alternative but to join up with the Indian Union, in the face of the unprecedented upsurge in the states 'People' movement in the period following world war Second. In Travancore, the notorious Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, who had proclaimed "independence" had to run for his skin in the face of the militant resistance put by the people led by the working class. In Telengana, Hyderabad, the peasants rose in armed revolt and smashed rule of the landlords and Razakars and introduced their own land reforms. The Nizam, as we all know, could do nothing to crush the peasants. This historic event, understandably had its repercussions in the rest of the Princely States. In many, the people on their own were taking over the administration.

In this situation, had the Congress leaders lent a helping hand to the mass initiative the entire Princely order would have collapsed. And along with it, the entire feudal land relations would also have been swept away.

But this is exactly what the bourgeois leadership did not want to happen. They secured first "limited accession". Only when

they realised that the mass movement would not content with this, did they seek "full integration". And in the bargain, the Princes were promised fabulous Privy Purses, but were guaranteed the vast fortunes that the Princes had amassed by literally looting the people. The crowning affront, however, was to make these discredited relics of the feudal autocracy respectable by offering many of them posts of Raj Pramukhs, Ministers and Ambassadors.

And what price did we pay for ensuring the removal of British personnel from the Civil Services and the Army? The Draft conceals that for securing this, the bourgeoisie leadership agreed to practically have the sterling balances wiped out, which had been accumulated in U.K. out of the sweat and toil of Indian people during the war days. Why did the bourgeoisie agree to practically write off this huge reserve which could have been utilised for buying capital good for our industrial development? Here, too, Dange keeps mum.

After cataloguing these achievements of the bourgeoisie, the Dange groups' draft turns to describe the emergence of the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society.

It then concludes the chapter thus:

"It was in this background that India took the path of independence development. One stage of India's revolution was over with the attainment of national independence from imperialism. It had now to carry forward that revolution to a new stage, to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks left over, to regenerate and build a prosperous national economy and better living standards for the people—and enlarge the field of democracy so that the road for socialism was opened for our people!"

The question is: when such tremendous and unprecedented opportunities have presented themselves to the Indian people, why was it that these anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of this stage of the revolution remained unfulfilled although these seventeen years? Who has stood in the way of their completion? Obviously not the working class, not the peasantry, nor the

middle class. The bourgeoisie, of course, utilised these tremendous opportunities for what it conceived to be its own narrow class interests. It utilised them not for completely eliminating imperialist interests in our economy, but for striking new deals with imperialism. Far from sweeping away feudalism, it suppressed the struggles of the peasantry, notwithstanding its attempts to modify feudal relations to some extent. The main reality is that it has obstructed the carrying out of the anti-feudal tasks.

The pity of it all is that this suppression of facts, this falsification of history resorted to by the revisionists is sought to be justified as the new "realism of the Dange group as opposed to the "dogmatist views" of the Left. Indeed, this kind of "realism" is exactly what the bourgeoisie and its apologists had been preaching! Should it cause any surprise if the Dange group should now choose to be "realists" themselves?

Let us now turn to the crux of the problem. Marxists seek to arrive at the stage of the revolution on the basis of an understanding of what the main fetters on the productive forces in a given country, at a given stage of development are. What are the fetters on the productive forces in India today?

We regard the growing influence of foreign monopoly capital and the perpetuation of feudal relation of production in Indian economy to be the main fetters and whose abolition is a precondition for India's economic regeneration. However, the Dange Draft says:

"So long as foreign monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched position in our economy in this manner and given even more concessions, India cannot develop fully her national economy."

The issue is not whether India can develop fully her national economy in this way. For, in no country, today, can capitalism develop the economy *fully*. The issue is, with such policies of protecting the positions of foreign monopolists, and going in "aid" and collaboration with them, is it possible to overcome our economic dependence? Obviously, Dange Draft considers it quite possible. It says so in so many words :

“But the growth of Indian monopoly and foreign collaboration deals in the recent years have not succeeded in halting the process of India’s Independent economic development. That development has continued, though the threat to such development has grown and it would be a grave mistake to ignore it.”

One would have thought that the farther a country advances along the path of Independent economic development, the lesser the chances for the imperialists to thwart the country’s development, and particularly so in the new epoch. But according to Dange, although India has continued to develop independently, the threat to such development has grown. The apparent contradiction in this statement is not explained.

The Draft only says:

“Without giving up her links with the capitalists economy, if even a partial simultaneous link with the world socialist economy could help her forward so much, one can imagine how fast would have been our progress if the policies were not compromising and not guided by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Compared to the need of the country, the economic growth of the country is insufficient, but the percentages are indicative of the direction and efforts.”

Indeed, what is direction and efforts? The next sentence leaves us in no doubt. “It shows not stagnation or growing but consolidation of political independence and a step forward towards economic regeneration.” How odd this is exactly what our bourgeoisie claims it is doing ! Obviously, the Dange group’s quarrel with the bourgeoisie is basically not on this direction. They only want that the pace should be quicker. Consequently, nowhere in the entire draft can one find any mention of the fact that the shattering of the semi-feudal fetters is a pre-condition for releasing the productive forces. All they say is, “without radical agrarian reforms, it is impossible to solve the food problem and accelerate the economic growth of the country”. They are only concerned here with the acceleration of the growth of our economy, or in other words with the pace of development.

On the question of development of capitalism also, the Dange group holds very “original” views. G. Adhikari, the theoretician of the Dange group, writing in the May 1964 issue of the *NEW AGE* (monthly) states:

“Is it possible for countries like India, Indonesia, etc. to reach economic independence, that is, the stage of matured industrialisation and developed agriculture in the capitalist way?”

“This possibility cannot be excluded in the context of the new world situation (new epoch and the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism) and also because it opens up the possibilities of the national bourgeoisie as a whole to pursue its class aim of developing economy in a capitalist way.”

Thus, according to them, precisely because world capitalism has entered the third acute stage in its general crisis, and also because we are in a new epoch where the world socialist system and the anti-imperialist forces determine the course of historical development of society, India can develop into mature capitalist society!

With such an understanding; is it any wonder that the second chapter of the Dange group’s draft is captioned “Towards Independent Development”. Is it any wonder again, that this chapter should read like the Election Manifesto of the Congress Party, parading its ‘achievements’ during the last 17 years? Read, for instance:

“Remembering how British colonial power had oppressed them and thwarted India’s growth, and attracted by the example of socialist planning.....the National Congress, since long before liberation had progressive schemes of ‘planning’ future economy of India.” It is only a short step to calling the bourgeoisie plans genuinely socialist.

The Draft goes on to describe how the second and third Plans took measures to establish heavy and machine-building industries along with other lines of production. “Iron and steel, machine-building, power, mining, oil and gas, chemicals and fertilisers, which were the monopoly of Private Sector so long—all have come into the Plan and also in the State Sector. The State Sector

developed not only in industry and finance but also to a certain extent in State Trading." After this polemic over the Plans, it goes on to list the achievements by quoting various figures of production and investments, and sums up the impact and result of the Plans thus:

"Thus a survey of the Five-Year Plans and the achievements under them would show that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy in a stagnant semi-colonial state has received a rebuff. Internal mobilisation of capital, labour and talent combined with measures of aid from the socialist countries in the most vital sectors of industry and trade have helped in this crucial change, breaking the bonds which the imperialists wanted to impose on our independent industrial growth."

Even the Congress leaders would feel greatly embarrassed to are to this kind of polemic over the plans and their achievements. We had become quite used to being told by Congress leaders about the increase in national income and in Industrial Production until about the time the mid-term appraisal of the third Plan showed a different picture. The appraisal showed that even the bourgeoisie and its Planners had become somewhat worried over the rate of economic growth. For, after all, there are at least a few others underdeveloped countries which claim a much higher rate of growth without boasting of socialism and planning. The mid-term appraisal also showed that even the meagre targets of the Plan, in practically every major field, except ironically enough, in the field of taxation, are a far away cry from the reality. Additionally the foreign exchange crisis, far from abating has become even more acute. With the steep rise in the price level the standard of living of the people is falling at an alarming rate.

The irony of it all is that the Dange has chosen draft to tom-tom a 43% increase in agriculture production, precisely at a time when the country is faced with the most acute food crisis. On this question, at least even Congressmen dare not defend the Government. Not only is self-sufficiency in food nowhere in sight but, according to the Food Minister, the PL 480 imports will have to continue at least till the end of the Fourth Plan.

The fact that the core of the Plan has invariably to rely on foreign 'aid', the bulk of which from the USA, that we have to rely on PL 480 imports even for our food and some agricultural raw materials like cotton, that this Western "aid" is generally "tied" with conditions that make it extremely onerous, the fact that in the Private Sector the bulk of development has taken place in collaboration with foreign monopolists, that India depends on Western aid even for maintenance imports, *i.e.* for keeping the existing industries going—all these glaring facts of our economy find no place in the Draft.

Is it any wonder then that statistics are quoted in such a way as would conceal the real state of affairs and give such fulsome credit to the bourgeois Government as the latter itself does not claim? Take the figures of investment in the Private and Public Sectors given in the Dange group's Draft. It says that the investments in the Private Sector rose from 900 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 2500 crores in 1962 whereas those in the Public Sector rose from Rs. 604 crores in 1948-51 to 5,902 crores in 1962. This means, in the period of the two Five-Year plans, Private Sector investments amounted to Rs. 1,600 crores whereas those in the Public Sector were over Rs. 5,298 crores. What a tremendous growth of the Public Sector as compared to the Private Sector ! But what really are the facts?

The fact is that these figures of Public Sector investments relate not only to industrial undertaking, but all manner of non-industrial undertakings, such as irrigation projects and transports etc. whereas the Private Sector investment relate only to industrial undertakings. Actually the investments in industrial undertakings in the State Sector up to 1962 amounted to only Rs. 953 crores, the largest single investment being Rs. 606 crores in the Hindustan Steel. The Public Sector is not growing as fast as was even promised in the Second and Third Plans, whereas in the Second Plan the Private Sector grew faster than the planned estimate. It cannot be that the Dange group does not know these facts. But this deliberate misleading presentation of facts is necessary to justify the political line of class collaboration.

Growing Contradictions of Capitalist Development

If the bourgeoisie is advancing towards independent economic development, what then is wrong, according to Dange group? The Draft says—"the outstanding and dangerous characteristic of the situation is that all this (i.e. independent development) is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of semi-feudal relations in agriculture. Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress Party is capitalism". This can only mean that Dange group finds fault with Congress Party mainly for developing capitalism and not socialism.

But what is the danger of such capitalism?

The Dange Draft admits that capitalism suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions and evils of its inherent laws. It talks of how capitalism develops by imposing burdens on the people, and the consequences of growth of contradictions between the growing surplus accumulations and the impoverishment of the people. It talks of the incapacity of capitalism to fully utilise the productive capacity. The growth of monopoly is also noted as an inevitable consequences of capitalist competition.

Indian bourgeoisie is seeking to develop capitalism on the basis of technology developed over 200 years in the advanced capitalist countries. Moreover, it seeks to do so without breaking its ties with the world capitalism, without eliminating foreign monopolist positions in our economy and without shattering semi-feudal relations in our agriculture. Have all these features any influence on the chosen course of independent economic development? What effects, do they have on the country and the people?

The Draft is absolutely silent on these crucial questions. How the Indian people can fight against the capitalist path of development with such a programme?

As for foreign capital all that Draft has to say is: "The national bourgeoisie, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists. On the other hand, it tries to expand by inviting foreign monopoly capital in partnership with itself."

But why does the bourgeoisie, which is certainly interested in independent development, go against its own interests and forego the source of capital in the foreign monopolists' concerns and invite them.

Though the Draft admits that foreign Private investments have in recent years increased phenomenally, it is sought to be minimised by saying that they are due mainly due to re-investment of earned profits inflation of book values. That the main industrial development in the Private Sector has taken place on the basis of collaboration agreements, that the Government has adopted an open door policy with reference to this private foreign capital, that industrial licences are given only on the basis if collaboration agreements are concluded—all these find no mention in the Draft. And why should they be mentioned? For after all, according to the Dange group all this does not halt the process of India's independent development. What however is absent in the Draft is the assessment of the dual role of the bourgeoisie which was fighting as well as compromising with imperialism.

Despite its struggle against imperialism on the eve of independence, Indian bourgeoisie compromised with imperialism to save its leadership of the mass movement which was going out of its hands. After independence, with the State power in its hands, it pursues this dual role in a different way. Hence, it is not enough to note the growing contradictions between bourgeoisie and imperialism. It is absolutely essential to understand that the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the people also have grown. In this complex play of contradictions, the bourgeoisie because of the State power in its hands seeks to strengthen its position both against imperialism and the people. This it does by utilising its new opportunities to strike bargains and compromise with imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and by attacking the people on the other. Unless this is grasped, one cannot understand correctly the political and economic policies pursued by the Government.

What is the main background of our economic development since independence?

Firstly, the general crisis of world capitalism has entered its third stage, precisely because of the emergence of the world socialist system and the liberation of more countries, the sphere of exploitation of imperialism has tremendously shrunk. But capitalism does not automatically become extinct. It, therefore, seeks to preserve its positions by intensified exploitation of its former colonies, and by unequal trade relations to the detriment of underdeveloped countries.

Secondly, our bourgeoisie seeks to develop capitalism without the needed technical base and at a time when because of the advance of technique and the enormous rise in the case of capitalist goods, it requires huge capital accumulations. But for this, unlike the imperialist bourgeoisie, they lack colonies whose loot gave the imperialists vast capital accumulations must come from Indian people as well as from foreign collaboration.

Under these conditions, the bourgeois State plays the foremost role in enabling this, a role which was never played by any capitalist country. In the past, quite apart from its fiscal and financial policies as well as inflationary economic policies by means of which it enables the bourgeoisie to rob the people of the fruits of their labour, the capitalist State directly assists them through financial institutions. In fact, amounts made available from financial institutions constitute an increasing proportion of the capital base of our private industries.

It has resorted to Planning precisely for the purpose of accelerating the tempo of capitalist development. While noting this aspect of the Plans, one need not go into a polemic over it as the Dange group's draft does. Similarly, while noting the role of the State Sector in laying a reliable base of heavy industry for industrial development, one need not exaggerate its role, but on the other hand, point out how this again is an instrument of capitalist development in conditions of underdevelopment.

Moreover, under the Plans, since imports are restricted, the State ensures our industries a protected market, while the people are not protected from intensified exploitation by the monopolists. However, one should not rush to the conclusion that the Government has done everything by way of mobilisation of the

available resources of the country, as the Dange group does in its Draft. As we have seen, the bourgeoisie refuses to shatter the semi-feudal relations in our agriculture in an attempt to mobilise capital resources.

Moreover, the continued protection of foreign monopolists positions in our economy means not only refusal to mobilise their profits for our development but in the conditions of a protected market, giving them the opportunity of intensified exploitation of the people. A few months back, the U. S. Department of Commerce published figures to show that the return on American Capital investments was one of the highest in the world, reaching up to 22 per cent in 1962. Export of this capital in various illegal and clandestine ways means in its turn a further drain on our meagre exchange resources.

With such vast resources frittered away, mobilising additional resources for capitalist development is possible only by intensifying exploitation of all sections of the people.

In this way, when capitalism has developed with limited foreign exchange resources, Government has to regulate investments, imports and exports. A system of permits, quotas and licences is inevitable under these circumstances, the acquiring them becomes a valuable asset. Moreover, when imports and exports have got to be made only under licences, and in conditions when foreign trade is left entirely to a favoured few individuals and firms, they again become instruments of secretly accumulating foreign exchange—leading to smuggling on a colossal scale and foreign exchange rackets.

Precisely because of scarcity conditions, resources are diverted to hoarding and speculation which is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism. But the colossal speculation prevalent in India is due precisely to these conditions of our development. Tax evasions and black money are also creating favourable atmosphere at additional speculation. There is no wonder that corruption has been playing havoc in the country, destroying the entire national fabric of the society.

One has to understand all these features of the capitalist development which are responsible for depressing the living

conditions of the masses. It is different from the classical type of capitalist development, and hence, even in the initial period of development, contradictions between the people and the bourgeoisie naturally get immensely intensified. With all the mobilisation of internal financial resources through the intensification of exploitation, the bourgeoisie finds it difficult to obtain foreign exchange needed for even this slow and halting development.

The bourgeoisie has to solve this crisis by providing for a large amount of foreign 'aid'. But even then, the crisis does not get resolved, as the foreign exchange crisis is a built-in crisis in the whole scheme of capitalist development. The answer to this is the senile attendance of our ministers on the exchequer of the Western imperialists with their begging bowl.

But when even this does not solve the crisis, the bourgeoisie throws open our gates for further import of foreign capital in the Private Sector. The theory is made out that this solves for them to an extent the problems of foreign exchange, capital and technical know-how. It even partially opens up the State Sector to foreign monopolists' investments. That in the very period when, with the aid of socialist countries, India laid the foundations of heavy and machine-building industries, she should have gone in for this massive imperialist aid and gone in for collaborationist agreements in a big way is not fortuitous.

The Congress leaders conducted the biggest Swadeshi movement and the Swadeshi Certifying Board formed by the late Motilal Nehru refused to certify Binny's cloths as Swadeshi in 1930 because the capital was foreign. In 1945, Gandhiji resoundingly denounced the collaboration agreements entered into by our Tatas and Birlas with certain imperialist monopolists of Britain and America as anti-national. That the Government run by Gandhiji's and Motilal's followers should today go in for this massive collaboration is also not fortuitous.

Thus the Plan is dependent for its fulfilment on Western aid; the Private Sector targets are dependent upon securing collaboration of Western monopolists; in the matter of food and

cotton the country is dependent upon P.L. 480 assistance from the U.S.A. And even for maintenance of imports, we are dependent upon Western 'aid'. The position is such that no less a person than Shri H.V.R. Iyengar, a former Governor of the Reserve Bank, declared:

"The situation would become so grave that if ever the foreign countries decided to stop aid to us, the entire Indian economy would run around in another two months and the wheels of commerce, industry and transport would refuse to move" (INDIAN EXPRESS, 9-4-1963).

All this aid and collaboration cannot end the agony, for thereby, opportunities are given to the imperialists to ruthlessly exploit our country more by unequal trade relation and increase the loot of the country by sharing the benefits of a protected market. Therefore, the path adopted by the Indian bourgeoisie will not lead to independent economic development of the country. Despite the assistance from the socialist countries, the penetration of foreign private capital is increasing at a faster rate.

As has been shown, the Dange Draft conceals these features of Indian capitalist development. That analysis and Marxism-Leninism are poles apart.

Class Character of the Present Government

The revisionists today frankly admit that their "Party came to re-evaluation of the class character of the present Government and of its role in building independent economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peace and in maintaining a certain measure of Democracy" (from para 84 of the draft). According to them, this re-evaluation is undertaken on the basis of last ten years' experience and also after taking into account the possibilities in the new epoch as defined by the Moscow Statement of 1960.

What does this so-called re-evaluation of the character of the present Government boils down to? First and foremost, they have openly stated that "the State in India is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole". Elucidating the point they add that "in

the formation and exercise of the Governmental power the big bourgeoisie often wields considerable influence". Further, they state: "The national bourgeoisie compromised with landlords admitting them in the Governmental composition, especially at the State level and giving them concessions at the cost of the peasantry."

It is well-known that one of the crucial issues, being debated inside our Party for a long time, is regarding the class character of the present Indian State. This question is repeatedly discussed at several Party Congresses, Central Committee and National Council meetings and on several other occasions. Without going into the whole debate on this issue, let us confine ourselves to the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress in 1956.

Explaining the amendments to 1951 Party Programme the late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh stated, "the amended programme and the C. C. resolution state that this is a bourgeois-landlord Government **headed by the big bourgeoisie** having links with British Imperialism".

A section of the Party leadership headed by P. C. Joshi raised objection to this concept which emanated from totally erroneous and non-class concept that the Indian Government was headed by non-big national bourgeoisie, its foremost representative being Pandit Nehru.

Though the majority of delegates at the Congress rejected this view the then leadership of the Party agreed to keep the concept of the **bourgeois leadership in general** and delete the clarification regarding the role of the big bourgeoisie. Obviously, this was a compromise to accommodate the sharply differing reformist trend and achieve Party unity at the Congress. The reformist section which was only a one-third of the delegation at the Palghat Congress did not reconcile to the basic positions of the resolutions. They have been consistently endeavouring since then to revise them in the direction of right reformism which we now find crystallised in the Draft Programme of the Dange group.

Why are our revisionist friends extremely shy in admitting that it is the big bourgeoisie and its representatives who are

leading the Government? Is it not a fact that during the last 17 years of Congress rule and its three Five-Year Plans, the big bourgeoisie in India has amassed huge fortunes and grown over even into monopolies? Are we to understand that it is the non-big bourgeoisie which is the leading force in the Government and yet the lion's share of exploitation is appropriated by the big bourgeoisie at the expense of both the non-monopoly section and the people?

In fact, the big bourgeoisie which was heading the Congress and liberation movement, even before 1947, came to head the State and the Government after the transfer of power. It is again these collaborationist and compromising trends with imperialism that are to be traced primarily to the leadership of the big bourgeoisie in India. Similarly, the alliance with the feudal and semi-feudal landlordism in India against the people in general also arises from the same source. The determined pursuit of capitalist path in the post-Independent India is undertaken by Indian bourgeoisie under the direct leadership of the big bourgeoisie. But these revisionists deliberately conceal it from the Party ranks and the people with the result that they objectively act as the apologists of the big bourgeoisie. One can only see their subjective desire to see in the present Government the class of non-monopoly bourgeoisie as the pre-dominant force and then join hands with it under the pretext of completing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of the present stage of the Indian revolution. In the place of a determined fight against the big bourgeois-dominated Congress Party and its anti-people policies—they shamelessly advocate a policy of so-called unity and struggle with them—unity in reality and struggle as a camouflage to this unity! It is precisely from the class collaborationist outlook that one of the basic differences inside our Party have arisen today. While we characterise the present Government as dominated by the big bourgeoisie our revisionist opponents adopt many subtle refuges to conceal this truth.

Moreover, the Communist Party has all along been characterising the present Indian Government as the Government of the bourgeois landlord alliance. The landlords are not mere

hangers on to the bourgeoisie but a powerful political force in the country who are actually sharing power with the bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. To fail to grasp this is to miss the very essence of the class character of the present Government. It is precisely against such attempts, that late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh had to say: "The big bourgeoisie is dependent to a great extent on imperialism—economically and militarily—and it makes concessions to imperialism because of that very dependence. But the big bourgeoisie does not have to depend on feudalism. It wants the landlords as their ally against the people. Certainly, it curbs feudalism, modifies it to a certain extent, tries to bring the landlords to capitalist landlordism, etc. But this very curbing also means protecting the landlords and **strengthening of the alliance with them. The alliance is a very close alliance. We can see quite clearly the position of the landlords in different State Governments, in the administrative, military and diplomatic services. And we have numerous examples of how State power is used against the peasants whenever they go into action against the landlords in any way whatsoever.** Not to realise all this means to minimise gravely the significance of the present movement, of the agrarian revolution as the axis of our revolution at the present stage" (emphasis added).

However, allusive and deceptive formulations of the revisionists follow thus....."the national bourgeoisie **compromises with the landlords admitting them in Governmental composition, especially at the State level and giving them concessions at the cost of peasantry**" (emphasis added).

Here the Dange group wants to create an impression that the landlord class in India is not actual partner and ally of bourgeoisie sharing State power! The Indian bourgeoisie only compromises with it just as it compromises with foreign finance capital!

The revisionists shamelessly talk of bourgeoisie merely giving "**concessions to the landlords at the cost of the peasantry**". The reality, what the bourgeoisie has been practising all these

17 years, is to protect landlordism in all its essentials. Whatever concessions were given to the peasantry during these years, were only the result of the struggles launched by the peasantry.

It is indeed curious to observe that their programme on agrarian questions completely contradicts the political generalisation made out of it. It is stated: "The enactment of these anti-feudal measures has gone hand in hand with conscious efforts to develop and foster a class of rich peasants and capitalist landlords who could become the backbone of the new capitalist agrarian set-up."

Analysing further the Draft Programme observes: "The ceiling laws have similarly defeated their own purpose. There were so many loopholes in these laws for the landlords to escape that the entire ceiling legislation has turned out to be almost a farce. Big landlords sold out parts of their holdings before the imposition of ceilings, the remaining land they successfully divided up among their own family members and relations, while some land was saved by falsely declaring it as orchard land. The net result was that in no State did the landless peasantry get any land on account of ceiling legislation. The ineffectiveness of this legislation is seen from the fact that, despite it, a high degree of land concentration in the hands of the upper strata of rural society still persists. It is noteworthy that in the country as a whole 2.43 per cent of total rural households, each owning more than 30 acres hold between them 29.5 per cent of the total land, whereas at the other hand 82.5 per cent own between them only 27.43 per cent of the total land."

Do our revisionists think that all these policies are only the result of mere concessions to the landlords by the bourgeoisie or as an outcome of the class policy of the bourgeois-landlord alliance against the people? The failure of the Congress Government on the agrarian front arises precisely from its class character. It only brings to the forefront another manoeuvre of the Dange group to shield the real class character of the present Government with a view to conveniently trail behind it.

Revisionist Understanding of Foreign Policy

The utter shallowness of the outlook of Dange group is glaringly revealed in the revisionist assessment of the foreign policy of Government of India. Just as they depict the Government consisting of the progressive bourgeoisie in the main, they also depict the foreign policy as "a policy of peace and non-alignment and anti-colonialism in the main". They unequivocally claim that it conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie and meets the needs of India's economic development. Some months ago, Dange group characterised the foreign policy as having gone through "perillous shift", but now it is going back on its own assessment and justifying the present phase, as apologist of the Government.

Marxists-Leninists always assess the foreign policy of any Government in relation to economic policies and the basic class interests behind it. Our revisionists, as pointed out earlier, have been totally erroneous in assessing the class character of the present Indian Government. As a result of this, they fail to see the close link between the internal economic developments and its reflection in the foreign policy. That is why they underestimate the shift in the foreign policy of the Government of India to the right by naming them as "weakness," and "lapses."

The Dange group further sets about doing this by saying that "in the earlier years, India's foreign policy suffered from imprint of British pressures an inheritance from previous dependence."

It is well-known that in the early period, the Indian Government allowed recruitment of Gurkha troops by the British to suppress the Malayan liberation movement, granted facilities to the French imperialists to carry on their colonial war against the Vietnamese people, and sent medical mission to aid the U.S. troops in Korea. It refused to accept the help for industrialisation offered by the Soviet representative at the ECFE Conference in Coty in 1949, although the U.S. representative bluntly answered its request for help by saying that India should concentrate on agriculture and not aspire to become an industrial power. It even supported in the UN the U. S. war of aggression in Korea and joined the imperialists in branding North Korea as

the aggressor. Are all these just a few lapses and compromises which occurred 'sometimes'? And were all these just an "imprint of British pressures, an inheritance from past dependence"? Did they have nothing to do with Indian bourgeoisie's continued reliance on the Anglo-American imperialist to advance its class interests?

In the next para, however, the Dange group's draft lists many factors to say that they "brought about a *new turn* to India's foreign policy."

If, in the earlier, period the foreign policy was in the main on correct lines, which had suffered only a few lapses and compromises, then how does the question of a new turn in that policy arise? This is how the Dange group lands itself into a mess of contradictions, where it attempts to suppress facts and give a misleading picture.

This new turn, according to Dange group, has been brought about by "disillusionment with Anglo-American policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the growing contradiction between the consolidation of independence and independent development of national economies of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of Indian State structure, the rising tempo of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and the retreat of imperialism, and the mounting strength of the socialist world." Thus, it is made to appear that the profound anti-colonialism of the Indian Government and the confidence born out of its consolidation of the State were the primary causes of the turn. In this whole analysis, nothing is said about the people of India. The peace movement which grew despite Nehru's opposition, the unprecedented solidarity expressed by the people with the Asian peoples fighting for independence, their mass radicalisation as revealed in the First General Elections—have no role to play according to Dange group. After all, the Communist Party in Parliament and outside exposed and fought the Government's policy of recruitment of Gurkhas on our soil, and its facilities to

the French for their dirty war in Vietnam. These facts are deliberately omitted to express its servile adulation of the bourgeoisie.

The foreign policy of the Congress Government reflects the dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie which seeks to utilise the inter-imperialist contradictions as well as the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist camp.

But Dange group conveniently forgets that even at Vijayawada Congress in 1961, the unanimously adopted General Secretary's Report mentioned certain new developments that had taken place in the foreign policy since 1958. It noted the Government's role in the Congo, its refusal to recognise the Algerian Provincial Government, its refusal to take a forthright stand on several anti-colonial issues, its role as Chairman of the International Commission on Laos and Vietnam, its stand at the Cairo Preparatory Meeting and at the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned powers in 1961, which put India in opposition to most of Afro-Asian countries. The report further stated:

"It is noteworthy that several countries of Asia and Africa which shook off their colonial yoke only recently have taken forthright and consistent stand on these and similar issues. At a time when the world situation was more favourable than ever due to the growing might of the socialist camp and the attainment of the freedom by several countries, one would have expected the Government of Independent India to carry forward the policy of non-alignment, the peace and anti-colonialism in a more determined manner, just the contrary has happened."

These internal developments alone can explain the setback to the foreign policy in this period, when external developments were extremely favourable for a still more consistent anti-colonial stand.

As we have seen, the Dange group does not admit that the increased foreign aid and collaboration agreements has any effect on India's independent development. There it has to find out some way to avoid an explanation of the setback to the foreign policy by keeping one's eyes shut to these developments.

And what happened after the border war of October-November 1962? According to the Dange group's draft, all that happened was that "the Chinese aggression had so strengthened the political onslaught of right reaction that for sometime they were able to weaken this policy of non-alignment." It was just a cause of weakening and nothing more and that too for some time.

In order to show that it was weakening sometime and nothing more, instances are chosen—"VOA deal episode, Government's hesitation to effectively and emphatically protest against the expression of the operations of the U.S. Seventh Fleet to the Indian ocean, on rather the evasion of the issue, the Joint Air Exercises etc." It is interesting to see how the Draft has carefully mentioned the Government of India's "hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically." As if after hesitation non-emphatic and non-effective protest has been made. But the most glaring instance is that of India's seeking military aid from USA and Britain is carefully avoided. Why? Because mention of it would show not merely a weakening of the policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism but also its jeopardisation and emasculation a fact noted by several bourgeois newspapers, columnists and even the imperialists.

When the draft says that right reaction was able for some time to weaken the foreign policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism, it means that after the lapse of a short time it had regained its vitality and strength.

The Government of India raised no protest when the U. S. imperialists have threatened to extend their war of intervention in South Vietnam to North Vietnam. Mr. TTK's performance in London at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference was condemned even by some Congressmen. He refused to categorically support the African nations, suggested partition of Laos and wooed U. S. and British imperialisms for military aid. Do these developments indicate that the foreign policy has recovered its former strength or do they show that the process of weakening still continues?

The foreign policy and its shifts to the right is no more a topic confined to narrow circle of critics. It is being very

widely discussed in the bourgeois press from which one thing becomes obvious that the Government's foreign policy in the recent past has undergone a big shift to the right. It is precisely because of this, our foreign policy which was an object of sharp criticism and attack by the imperialists and other right reactionary forces in the country, began to receive praises from diehard imperialist Dean Rusk, to the Swatantra Party leader Munshi. As a matter of fact, some patriotic sections in the country have expressed their concern over this shift. But the Dange-Programme is quite oblivious to all this and goes on singing the same praises for the foreign policy of the Government.

Hoax of Non-Capitalist Path

The stage and the strategy of Indian revolution is being widely discussed inside the Party since independence. After bitter controversies, our Party at the Palghat Congress decided that with the attainment of political independence Indian revolution has entered the second stage known as democratic or agrarian stage. All the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes namely, the working class, peasantry, the middle classes and the national bourgeoisie have, therefore, a place in the revolutionary front. It was further stated that the working class and the Communist Party has to play a leading role in bringing about this front.

However, after giving a distorted picture about the development since independence, Dange group proceeds to lay down the tasks of the Indian revolution. It has advanced the concept of National Democracy and the main tasks it puts forward are the complete elimination of the grip of foreign monopoly capital over the economy, complete eliminantion of the power of landlord and feudal remnants by radical agrarian reforms, removal of the grip of usurious, trading and banking capital on our agriculture and effective curbing of the growth of Indian monopoly groups and breaking of their economic power.

The Dange Draft calls this as the non-capitalist path of development. It admits that the class composition as well as the programme that were put forward as for people's democracy in

our 1951 document, are about the same as put forward for national democracy here. The only difference is that, in a People's Democracy, the alliance of patriotic classes is under exclusive leadership of the working class while in the case of National Democracy, the leadership of the alliance of the patriotic classes is shared between the national bourgeoisie and the working class.

If the difference between the two programmes is on the question of the leadership of the alliance only, then why the tasks to be carried out under the new programme, are being called by a new name of non-capitalist path of development? However, what was not considered a non-capitalist path of development in 1951 is being considered now in 1964.

But if we compare the Dangeite programme with the 1951 programme the utter falsity of their contention gets revealed. Even the tasks and the class alliance given in 1951 programme are not the same as formulated by Dange programme. In 1951 programme the target of attack was British imperialism and feudalism. It does not speak of the elimination of foreign imperialist capital in general or about U.S. monopoly capital. It is not accidental that it is done so. The entire understanding behind the programme was that the independence was formal, the British imperialists were exercising indirect control over the Government and its internal and external policies. From this evaluation emerged the slogan of confiscation and nationalisation of industrial and business concerns of the British. But the tasks formed by Dangeites goes far beyond this and advocates the elimination of the entire foreign monopoly capital. Is this departure from 1951 programme a small and insignificant one?

Take another example. The 1951 programme does not direct its attack against the Indian monopoly capital. It deliberately did not raise the slogan of nationalisation of all or any one of the key industries in India as it might antagonise the Indian bourgeoisie and jeopardise the formation of the anti-imperialist united democratic front. Does the Dangeite programme stands on the same footing? Evidently not. It speaks of curbing the big bourgeoisie and of even nationalising some of their concerns. It speaks of breaking the economic power of the big bourgeoisie.

This orientation against the big bourgeoisie in India in the Dangeite programme, though very inadequate according to us is a distinct departure from the 1958 programme.

Finally coming to the class alliance for the achievement of the people's democratic revolution the 1951 programme visualised a democratic front of the workers, peasants, the middle classes as well as the bourgeoisie, big Indian bourgeoisie being no exception. Does the class strategy in Dangeite programme observes the phenomenon of "the growth of Indian monopoly and foreign collaboration deals in recent years," of a considerable concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of the big monopolist "and the reactionary and counter revolutionary character to big business in India". The strategic alliance they conceive excludes the monopoly bourgeoisie from the democratic front though it is not consistently formed in this programme. At one place they exclude even the non-monopolist bourgeoisie when they say national democratic front includes, "the working class, the entire peasantry including the rich peasants, agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the **bulk of non-monopolist bourgeoisie** (emphasis added).

Thus the Dangeite programme is full of contradictions. One does not know how can they explain that the class alliance and the tasks in this programme are almost the same as given in 1951 programme. This confusion does not end here. Regarding the national bourgeoisie and the front in their programme at one place they exclude the big bourgeoisie from the so-called national democratic front. At another place they state that "Finally, the national bourgeoisie including its **topmost** sections" have a place in the front suggesting to include some monopolist also who are not topmost. Again at a third place they talk of not even the whole non-monopoly bourgeoisie as a part of the front, but only a bulk of them. And by saying that the class alliance in their programme is the same as that of 1951 programme, perhaps they are keen to include the whole bourgeoisie in the front. Can anybody beat them in this art ?

It is clear that for the Dangeites these contradictions and distortions do not matter. They are concerned with the imposition

of their revisionist concept of Indian path of development in order to pursue the line of class collaboration.

But how is the question of Indian path to be decided? Obviously on the basis of an analysis of the concrete conditions in a given country. Just because the Moscow Statement pointed out that "in the present historical conditions favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent National Democracy" one cannot immediately say that in India also we must have a State of National Democracy.

The Moscow Declaration did not say that national bourgeoisie of all countries would behave in the same way. It states :

"In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and therefore retains the capacity of fighting against imperialism and feudalism."

Thus, in every country national bourgeoisie cannot be interested in the accomplishment of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. The qualification for the purpose is that it must be unconnected with imperialist circles, which is of course very important.

And even after that qualification is fulfilled, one cannot jump to the conclusion that it will participate in the struggle fully. The statement points out "the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in relationship of class forces, on sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie".

Any concrete study of conditions in India, after independence, and the behaviour of the bourgeoisie cannot but convince any one that the possibilities of the favourable situations in which the national bourgeoisie can share power with the working class do not exist.

In fact the programme of National Democracy as formulated in 81 Parties' Moscow Statement itself would make it clear that

the Statement spoke of many countries in which such favourable conditions arise, India was certainly not one of them. The tasks to be fulfilled on the basis of which the National Democratic Front is formed, according to Moscow Statement are :

“..... the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national improvement of the living standard, the democratisation of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy and the development of economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist and other friendly countries.”

In this whole series of tasks, we do not find the breaking up of native monopoly as one of the tasks to be accomplished while Dange group also agrees this to be one of the tasks of the Indian Revolution. Even the Conference noted the growth of monopoly and its ties with imperialist circles. National Democracy was thought possible only in those countries where native capitalism had developed to very limited extent, and hence could not yet have given rise to the emergence of monopolies.

This will be clear from the other tasks positively stated in the Declaration viz. “the creation and development of a national industry”. That is this national democracy has thought possible in those countries where no national industry worth the name exists, it has yet to be created. Obviously India had developed a national industry even before independence and more after independence along capitalist lines.

And how, according to the Dange group will this state of national democracy arise? The Draft says:

“As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it is able to isolate and defeat the forces of right reaction, paralyse the right wing inside the ruling Congress Party, and to enforce decisive leftward shifts in Government policies. There arises a shift in the balance of forces

in favour of the democratic front. The victorious National Democratic Front is in a position to form its own Government and use its own state, the state of national democracy, representing the fighting alliance of all the patriotic and democratic elements in the country pledged to carry out its programme.”

That means, the forces of right reaction will be isolated and defeated, and the right wing of the Congress paralysed, a decisive leftward shift in the policies of the Government takes place. Mind you, only a shift takes place. A change in the basic policy of opposition to and compromise with imperialism need not take place. Even a shift, of course, a decisive leftward shift, while remaining within the broad framework of the bourgeoisie's basic policies, would signify the change in the correlation of forces signalling the victory of the Democratic Front. At that time, the Dange group believes, the national bourgeoisie in the Government would expel its monopolist brethren and invite the working class and peasants to share with it and also share the leadership of the front with the working class. As for the landlords, they can perhaps continue to adorn Government, for after all they do not even today share any power but have only been ‘admitted into Government composition’.

With such ‘analysis’ of the role of bourgeoisie, with such a conception of the National Democratic State it is no wonder that the Dange group concentrates its fight on the monopolist right reaction and relegate to the background the struggle against the Government. Although, at one place, the Draft mentions the struggle to change these policies, and struggle for agrarian reforms, it loses all meaning in the context of the negation of the anti-people role of the bourgeoisie. In fact, when this role is thus negated, the masses will be politically disarmed. In the result, they will not be able to conduct any real political struggle against the policies of the Government itself. The soil for the growth of monopolies and right reaction will continue. This way, all talk of fighting right reaction itself is just moonshine.

Dange while presenting his Draft Programme to the National Council also submitted an explanatory note entitled “People's Democracy and National Democracy—A Note on the Draft

Programme with reference to certain paras viz. 85, 86, 87 (i.e. dealing with National Democracy)". It is a revealing document and stands for all that has been stated about Dange group's conception of National Democracy quite clear. It removes all ambiguity in the Draft Programme.

He poses the question quite correctly: "In the prevailing conditions what are the correlation of class forces and in what direction have they to be changed to complete the revolution and on completion what form will they take in State power?"

And then he himself gives the following answer:

"India is now more capitalistically developed than China was at the end of the first or second world war. The national bourgeoisie therefore took the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement at the end of the Nineteenth Century itself and conditions of military dictatorship of the British imperialism and the complete sealing of India from the current thought and revolutions in Europe, the Indian working class and the Communist Party could not forge for itself a strong place, let alone a hegemony in the national united front against imperialism and for liberation."

"This weakness of the situation forces the working class and its Party to build the new National Democratic Front for the completion of the Democratic Revolution and the going over to the Socialist Revolution in the context of the correlation of forces, in which today the national bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia is the leading force and will remain so for quite some time."

Thus, in this analysis of the correlation of class forces, while stating that the national bourgeoisie was the leadership before independence and continues to be so today after 17 years of independence and will remain so quite some time, there is no mention of its relationship with imperialism and the landlords.

As to why the working class could not come to hegemony or even forge for itself a strong place in the united front for liberation is besides the point, and hence we need not join issues with Draft on that point now.

But today, when the reasons he puts forward for that weakness are no longer there, one would think that the task of the working class and the Communist Party is to remove that weakness quickly, dislodge the bourgeoisie from its leading position and to win hegemony. But Dange asks the working class not to have any such aspirations but to resign itself to the leadership "for quite some time".

And after that what will happen? According to him:

"Hence when India completes her anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal revolution as we visualise, we will have to share power with the national bourgeoisie **or in fact the national bourgeoisie will have to share that power with the working class and the toiling peasantry in order to fight even its own contradictions with imperialism and the reactionary monopolists.**" (Emphasis added.)

On what basis does Dange visualise the Democratic Revolution? He does not think it necessary to vouchsafe those National Council members to whom he gave this profound explanation. It was not for them to ask. As the supreme leader he has only to visualise and their job was only to applaud.

Supposing the national bourgeoisie decides to fight the contradiction not to the finish, but compromise, with imperialism and the monopolists at the cost of the working class and the toiling peasants; what then? Dange probably would reply. "Don't worry, the time would come, may be delayed, but it would nevertheless come when the national bourgeoisie will share power with the working class and toiling peasants." If you ask why he would probably say, "the new epoch is here. In the new epoch, the bourgeoisie will shed its class character."

It is important to note Dange's concept about the bourgeoisie's sharing power with the working class and toiling peasants. As to the question of sharing of the **leadership**, not a word is found. Evidently, therefore, the bourgeoisie will continue to be the leader and under its leadership, a national Democratic State will arise providing for the sharing of power by the working class and toiling peasants. This is not just a joke. We have later on to see how this profound analysis of Dange works out in practice.

And what should working class and the Party do by way of struggle, to bring this Democratic State? Dange says:

“With the Constitution and Parliamentary Democracy that India has already built, with the well developed and well demarcated nationalities and the States (within the federation) several languages, castes and nationalities, all trying to hammer out united national consciousness despite class differences and nationalities, our struggle for a long time will be tied up with the use of Parliamentary democracy and the Constitution, enlivened and strengthened by class struggles on the extra Parliamentary plans to make even the present bourgeois democracy translate the principles and the rights given in the Constitution into practice and thereby strengthen the development of the democratic front for securing and exercising State Power.”

“This context gives us the possibility, as at present visualised, of a transitional form of State power, that of National Democracy.”

So, it is not the correlation of forces, but the fact that there is a Parliamentary system that raises this possibility. All that we have to do is to concentrate on Parliamentary struggle. For what? For translating the principles and rights given in the Constitution. In other words, fight for bourgeoisie democracy which the bourgeoisie is distorting: Dange does not forget extra-Parliamentary activities. But these are for “intervening and strengthening the Parliamentary struggle”.

Then Dange goes on to say: “**The most important pre-condition** of this development is that we can prevent the reactionary and feudal forces from inviting the foreign imperialist forces into the political and economic affairs of the country and give them an internal base against the national democratic revolution and prevent the anti-monopolistic national bourgeoisie from falling a prey to them, lured as it is by personal and group aggrandisement.”

As if only the Indian monopolists are inviting the foreign monopolists! But in reality the Government representing the national bourgeoisie as a whole is inviting foreign capital. The other day it was reported that during the discussions with the

mission of U.S. Industrialists the Government of India has agreed to an annual investment by the U.S. monopolists of Rs. 146 crores per annum in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, i.e. Rs. 730 crores in 5 years in the Private Sector! Has the non-monopolistic bourgeoisie nothing to do with this invitation by the Government? And how are we to prevent the non-monopolistic national bourgeoisie from falling a prey to them, prevent it being lured by personal and group aggrandisement? By singing poems of praise of their anti-imperialism, anti-feudalism, their virtues and selfless sacrificing qualities!

This is just prattle.

Moreover, how does the new national Government got formed? On this question this is what Dange says:

“In this process the composition of these Governments led by the national bourgeoisie also undergoes a change.”

The Dange group’s draft stated that the state in India is the exclusive state of the national bourgeoisie lead in the Government! Confusion worse confounded! And then the note says:

“Whether that change takes place in the form of a coalition of Parties, reflecting the different classes and sections in the NDF or re-adjustment in the already established one Party Government depends upon the correlation of class forces and political antecedents of the country.”

Thus a change in the composition of the existing Congress Government is all that is visualised. There need not be even a coalition Government. There may be some adjustment in Congress Government. Some “representatives” of the working class like Dange may be taken in the existing Congress Government. That will be the National Democratic Government!

Finally, what is new that emerges from the national democracy and non-capitalist path of development which these people advocate? A searching penetration of all what they have written in their programme reveals one and only one new innovation. It is nothing but capitulatory advocacy of working class sharing the leadership of the democratic front with the national bourgeoisie.

If this is all that our revisionists understand from the path of national democracy and non-capitalist path advanced in the

Moscow Statement of 1960, can there be a more contemptuous way of treating and interpreting it? It is ridiculous to say that the Moscow Statement enjoins upon Dange group the right to abjure the struggle for proletarian hegemony in the democratic front and to advocate shamelessly the so-called hegemony of the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Class Character of the Congress Party

We have seen in the foregoing how the national democracy and the non-capitalist path advocated in their programme is essentially a class collaborationist concept. However, the class alliance they advocate for the achievement of national democracy, comprises of the working class, the entire peasantry, the middle classes and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. One cannot have any quarrel with it. Similarly, the main targets of attack of the national democratic revolution are foreign finance capital, Indian monopolists and the landlords. On this, too, there can be no quarrel. But the crux of the issue is how to fight to realise these aims and objectives? What position and place do these reactionary and counter revolutionary forces occupy in the political life of the country today? The question cannot be discussed and decided without taking into consideration the class character of the Congress Party and its Governments at the centre as well as states.

We have clearly stated in our programme that the Congress Party is the class organisation of the bourgeoisie and landlords led by the big bourgeoisie. The Government and the state they represent reflect the same class content. We also believe that "A large part of the forces of the Right are inside the Congress", as the political resolution of the Sixth Congress of our Party has stated. The revisionists totally disagree with this position and they argue overtly and covertly that the bulk of the Right reaction is outside the Congress Party. They see the main forces of reaction in the political parties, such as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, R.S.S. and other such parties. It is under this pretext that they advocate a united front with the Congress Party and its government for the realisation of the democratic tasks. However,

Marxist-Leninists never base their class characterisation of a political party on the basis of its mass base. The class character of a political party is decided, primarily, on the basis of the philosophy, programme, policy and practice that the party adopts and implements. The policies and practices of the Congress Party and its Government during the last 17 years have demonstrated beyond any doubt that it essentially serves the interests of the exploiting classes—the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The growth of big monopoly groups in India, the protection of landlordism with heavy concentration of land in the hands of few, the defence of foreign finance capital and its unhindered import into our country, has continued and intensified exploitation of the toiling masses—all these are convincing proof of the real class face of the Congress Government.

Unfortunately, however, our revisionists see only the mass base of the Congress Party and from this they try to deduce the class character of the Congress Party, its Government and its policies. The Sixth Congress thesis of our Party made a special mention of this fact so that in our struggle for the realisation of the democratic front the Party shall have a correct approach, to evolve a suitable tactical line. The Sixth Congress thesis stated: "A large part of the forces of the right are inside the Congress. At the same time, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress." Our revisionists have given the gobye to the crucial part of the above which speaks of the pronouncedly reactionary character of the Congress Party. They would have a whole thesis of class collaboration worked out, basing on that part of the question which rightly underscores the mass base of the Congress. For example, they write in their programme that "There is no question of building a **general united front** with the Congress as a whole because the **Congress also includes reactionary elements**". (Emphasis added.)

So, the revisionists are only against building a "general united front" with the Congress; they are all too willing to build a united front with the Congress.

Again they are against building a general united front because of all the reasons, **“the Congress also includes reactionary elements”**. In plain words, therefore, minus the “reactionary elements”, the Congress Party, by and large, is progressive. It is amusing that they describe them as “reactionary elements”—not even as “reactionary forces”.

We have shown the revisionists have been at pains to modify the class character of the Government by simply removing the landlords from bourgeois-landlord alliance and deliberately emitting the character of the big bourgeois leadership in the bourgeois-landlord combine. The same Right-Reformist line is expressed in their understanding and description of the class character of the Congress Party. Obviously the aim behind all these is to make the working class and its party into accepting a line of class collaboration and united front with the bourgeois-landlord party and its Government dominated by the big bourgeoisie.

The usual revisionist argument in defence of their collaborationist line is to point out and even exaggerate the wide mass base of the Congress Party and its Government. There is, however, no dispute over this question. We realise that the bourgeois-landlord Congress Party has considerable mass following and that they comprise not only of the main bulk of the bourgeois-landlord classes but vast sections of the middle classes, peasantry and even sections of the working class.

The revisionists repeat the formula of unity and struggle arising out of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie, in order to justify the Right-Reformist thesis of unity with Congress and its Government. Since the Dangeites have succeeded in creating some confusion on this issue let us examine the subject briefly.

The Moscow Statement observes that **“In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolution, and therefore, retains the capacity**

of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, **it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism**. Owing to its **dual nature** the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country”. (Emphasis added.)

For the broad and general guidance of the working class parties the passage certainly is illuminating. First of all, it does not speak of the national bourgeoisie as a homogeneous unit while describing its class character. Secondly, it speaks of the national bourgeoisie which is “unconnected with imperialist circles”, implying thereby that sections of the national bourgeoisie do have connections with imperialist circles. Basing ourselves on our own experience in India, even the monopoly bourgeoisie which has not only connections but close collaboration with imperialism have conflicts and contradictions with imperialism. It should also be noted that it is not only the big bourgeoisie but also non-big bourgeoisie has collaboration agreements with them. All this makes the problem of the national bourgeoisie, its class character and its role vis-a-vis the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, a highly complex one. The unity and struggle concept, in its real and revolutionary sense, can be applied only to the non-big bourgeois sections who, by virtue of their economic positions, are bound to come into conflict, sooner or later, with foreign finance capital and their native big collaborators. But our revisionists dogmatically and blindly seek to apply this struggle—unity-struggle formula indiscriminately to the big capitalist sections, to the non-big capitalist sections, to the bourgeois-landlord Congress Party and the big bourgeois dominated Government.

No doubt, there will be issues on which the working class may have to support and even unite with the big bourgeoisie of our country against foreign imperialists. Similarly, there are and will be issues on which the working class and its party will have to support the Congress Government. But this type of supporting or uniting on specific questions, for specific objectives, should

under no circumstance be confused and equated with the strategic concept of unity with the non-monopolist sections of the national bourgeoisie. In the case of this non-monopolist bourgeoisie, it is a question of working class uniting and aligning with it to forge a united democratic front in order to complete the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution. This is exactly what the Dangeites have missed by using, rather abusing the concept of unity and struggle.

Conclusion

What are the main conclusions of this critique of the Dange Draft that can be drawn from the foregoing analysis?

On the question of national independence the Draft overestimates the role played by the bourgeoisie and underestimates the role of people during the freedom struggle. It totally neglects the compromising role of the bourgeoisie with imperialism before and during the transfer of power. Even after the advent of state power the Indian bourgeoisie continued to play that role, but the Dange Draft gives stress only on one aspect which only creates illusions among the masses about the bourgeoisie. That path of capitalist development adopted by the bourgeoisie is not basically challenged by the Dange Draft. It only tries to point out some mistakes here and there. It underestimates the seriousness of the penetration of the foreign monopoly capital and characterises the path of collaboration as the path of independent economic development. Thus, Dange group creates a basis for its ulterior objective of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Dange Draft totally negates the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the State power. Though the big bourgeoisie is dominating the present Government, which is now even admitted by the bourgeois economists in the country, it says that it is the Government of the bourgeoisie. The Dange Draft, moreover, does not take into consideration the landlord class which is sharing power with the bourgeoisie today. This only underestimates the anti-monopoly and anti-feudal tasks of the democratic revolution. By over-emphasising the anti-imperialist role of the bourgeoisie

the Dange Draft also underestimates the anti-imperialist tasks in practice. It, further, attempts to create an impression that the reactionaries are mainly outside the Government, which only suits the subjective desire of the Dange group to collaborate with the bourgeoisie.

On the question of foreign policy the Dange Draft supports the policy of the bourgeoisie in the main and fails to take into consideration the negative aspects of the foreign policy of the Government. Whenever, the Government takes pro-imperialist stand the draft characterises it as only a "weakness". It does not see that the class interests of the bourgeoisie which wants to play a dual role. The Dange Draft wants the Communist Party to be a tail of the Indian bourgeoisie in foreign policy matters.

The Draft distorts the understanding of the Moscow Statement and advocates the path of non-capitalist development which is not suited to Indian conditions. Despite rise of monopoly capital in the country it champions the concept of National Democracy and agrees to share power with the bourgeoisie under joint leadership. It has rejected Leninist concept of the hegemony of the proletariat and even showed readiness to complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks under the leadership of the bourgeoisie for sometime at least.

While characterising the Congress Party the Draft sings songs of praises for the bourgeoisie and refuses to admit the domination of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords in the ruling party. This is necessary for Dange group to advocate united front with the Congress Party. This has led the Draft to conclude that bulk of the reactionaries are outside the Congress Party though as a ruling party Congress was responsible for all the anti-people policies of the Government. Only if certain "reactionaries" are removed from the Congress there would be no difficulty for the Dange group to consider the Congress as a "progressive" party.

Thus, the Draft advocates class collaboration from beginning to end while the so-called opposition to the bourgeoisie is only a cloak to cover the aims of class collaboration. Never in the past class collaboration was advocated in such a naked form in the name of the Communist Party.

The Communists in India will no doubt reject the discarded path of abject surrender to the bourgeoisie and adopt a clear cut path of peoples' democracy that will fulfil the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of the democratic revolution by uniting the working class, peasantry and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class.

Appendix (i)

Dange Unmasked : Repudiate the Revisionists

**With a Foreword by M. Basavapunniah
dated April 25, 1964.**

Foreword

We are printing here Dange's Letters written in 1924 to the then British Government offering his services as an agent and other connected material from the files preserved in the National Archives (now with the Home Ministry) as also all our statements in this connection including the appeal by 32 members of the National Council to the Party members to reject the leadership of Dange and his group and defend the unity, honour and integrity of the Communist Party. We have also included in this collection three notes—one by Comrade Muzaffar Ahmad, who was also co-accused in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, and the others by two Communist members of Parliament, Comrades Umanath and K. Anandan Nambiar. All the three, along with a number of others had examined the files and given their impression in their notes. Also included is a letter which Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad wrote to the Secretariat of the National Council of the C.P.I. on the same subject.

The principal object of our publishing this material is to make it available to Party members and the general mass of people so that they can carefully go through them and arrive at their own independent conclusions. Dange and his group which control the majority in the National Council have persistently refused to discuss this question, come to some decision on it and then place that decision before the entire Party and the people. The reasons for this are not very difficult to see. Dange, in desperation, has deliberately pushed into the forefront the long-standing and acute ideological, political and organisational problems facing the Party in order to cloud the issue which has today put him in the dock. As for Dange's political followers in the National Council, their outlook has become totally partisan and faction-ridden and they are afraid of even defending their political-organisational line without Dange at their head. Hence their clumsy attempt to burke the issue and raise the bogey of split and disruption of the Party for which Dange and his group

bear the prime responsibility, particularly during the last two years when they have been systematically preparing for it.

However, we do not here propose to take all the ideological-political-organisational issues and differences and the consequent inner-Party crisis that has arisen. We will deal with them separately.

The Dange group which commands a majority in the National Council unashamedly argues that there is no *prima facie* case against Dange. The existence in the National Archives of the four letters which Dange has written is a fact. That a volume of correspondence, reports of the then Bombay, U.P. and Central Governments during the years 1922-27 dealing with the political and personal assessment of Dange and his four letters, etc., exist in several files in the National Archives is another fact. All this material including the letters has been part of the Government records with proper index files printed in the Government Press, Simla, for the period 1922-27. Nobody who has seen these files so far, even including those who have raised the question of "discrepancies", etc., have been bold enough to assert that these letters and the connected records have been planted in the Archives in the recent past. What else can a *prima facie* case be than that the Dange Letters exist in the records? A *prima facie* case is nothing but a case "at first sight" or "based on the first impression". It is for Dange and his defenders to prove that the Letters are not genuine but forged. But to deny the existence of a *prima facie* case is either to evince ignorance of what a *prima facie* case is or a deliberate and dishonest attempt to evade facts. It is important to note in this connection that unlike the Secretariat-Statement of March 13, 1964, the resolution of the Dange group dares not categorically assert that the letters are forged. Many of those who have been supporting Dange, even on this issue, admit in private that the letters are genuine but they were written forty years ago. Some among them also try to find excuses for his writing them then.

Dange and his defenders have been busy trotting out all sorts of flimsy excuses to deceive the gullible and to make out that the letters are not genuine and that they were forged and planted by the British. For this, they rely heavily on the so-called "discrepancies" among which they have chosen as the central and key one the discrepancy in the spelling of Dange's first name—in the first two letters it is signed with "d" as 'Shripad' and in the other two with "t" as 'Shripat'. According to them this is a vital difference since 'Shripad' is a brahmin name and 'Shripat' a non-brahmin name. We have been told by various authorities that there is no substance in this contention. Apart from that, it is not very difficult for any impartial and unbiased observer to get at the truth of the matter. From the files it can be found out that the prosecution in filing the plaint had written "King Emperor vs Shripat Amrit Dange". Similarly in the case of Nalini Das Gupta his real and original name was Nalini Kumar Das Gupta. But the prosecution in filing the plaint had written "King Emperor vs Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta". These are facts on record. It is for Dange to explain why he did not challenge the prosecution for this inaccuracy in his name—such a glaring mistake which straightaway downgrades Dange from a brahmin to a non-brahmin. Similarly in the case of Nalini Das Gupta it is not for us to explain why he was reconciled to the change in his name from "Kumar" to "Bhushan" and why he signed the records in connection with the case with the name of Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta. Evidently Dange was trying to conform to the prosecution version of "Shripat" in two of his letters written to the British Viceroy while in the earlier two he had signed as "Shripad". It is again not for us to give an explanation as to whether the prosecution was led to believe that "t" and "d" could be substituted for each other, or whether they were ignorant of the fact that "d" alone was correct and "t" transformed the name into a non-brahmin's or whether Dange himself was reconciled to the use of either "d"

or "t" without reading the grave meaning that he is now reading into it.

Dange as late as in 1962 clandestinely purchased shares for Rs. 30,000 in the company owning "Patriot" and got his name hidden under the pseudonym of "S. Amrat". Note, it is not even "Amrit" as usual, but "Amrat". When caught red-handed he offers silly explanations. Is it surprising that he is capable of resorting to any trick that suits his purpose?

In any case, it is futile to rely on this so-called discrepancy of "d" and "t" to straightaway refute these letters and claim that they had been forged and planted. Four full letters written and signed in his own hand amply demonstrate their genuineness. Are we to naively believe that a forger who is expected to be doubly careful in forging any document committed this error of signing the name with "t" instead of "d"? Any clumsy attempt whether by Dange or his followers to escape from this sordid episode of the letters offering his service to British imperialism, cannot succeed in the face of the voluminous records of the Government during the period 1922-27 dealing with the assessment of Dange and also with his letters.

The very learned apologists of Dange, Smt. Renu Chakravarti and Sri Homi Daji, who are at great pains to whitewash the whole episode and to call the letters forgeries, argue that the general tenor of the handwriting of the other letters (other than that of May 24, 1924) appears to be *prima facie* different from Dange's handwriting. This is totally untrue and completely untenable. While these two tacitly admit that the May 24th letter is in Dange's handwriting, Dange and the Secretariat deny all the letters. Dange does not admit that he wrote even the May 24 letter for transfer to Bombay Jails. And the Secretariat has rubberstamped this assertion of Dange's in its statement of March 13, 1964. Are we not to conclude from this that Dange and the Secretariat are morally afraid of admitting the genuineness of the first letter because that will be ample evidence of the

genuineness of the other three letters? Is it not strange that when all the convicted in the conspiracy case wrote letters demanding transfer to jails of their respective states and all of them are preserved in the records in their originals, only Dange pleads that he has not written any such letter and the one in the files regarding his transfer is a forged one? Let Dange and his defenders approach the Home Department to get photostat copies of all the four letters and place them before all Party members and the public and let them judge. As far as we are concerned, we have taken scrupulous care to compare the handwriting of Dange in those letters and are fully convinced that the formation of the letters of the alphabet and all other peculiarities and nuances of the hand conform cent per cent to Dange's handwriting.

Another "big discrepancy" Dange & Co. is making out is as regards the estimation of Dange by the then British Government. They seize upon some stray remarks. They, for instance, quote a remark of T. Sloan, "The desire for release on the part of these two prisoners does not appear to be activated by any motive of genuine repentance" and another remark of his that ".....in view of his past activities, it is extremely doubtful if it would serve any useful purpose...". A third remark that is quoted is of D. Petrie that M. N. Roy had been disconcerted by the results of the Cawnpore case and the Government would be merely playing into his hands if it condoned the conduct of men who lent themselves to Roy. From these stray remarks, the apologists of Dange are trying to build the case that Dange was considered by the then British Government as a "big conspirator", a "selfless patriot" and a "great revolutionary". It is rather a poor attempt.

All the records of 1922-27 containing a number of reports from the Bombay Government, the Central Intelligence, the Central Home Department and the Chief of Central Intelligence go to amply explode this myth. To cite only a few examples, the Bombay Government's Home Department writes its opinion to Mr. Crerar, Home Secretary, that no action is necessary, that Dange's writings contain very little of anti-British and if

carefully followed he will be a very good source of information. Mr. Kaye, then Director of Central Intelligence, observes that Dange in his letters to Roy while promising assistance to further his revolutionary activities "shies at the illegal part" of the activities, that he covers his shying at illegal activities by fine phrases which is only a confession of his personal cowardice, that of late Dange is getting nervous, that from all reports he (Kaye) concludes that Dange is only a "worm" and he is "not worth the powder and shot" and that no action need be taken against him, it is enough if he is called by someone and given a "severe official talking", that will frighten him and that "Dange is not the stuff of which revolutionaries are made". These and similar remarks are not made on any casual observation by some officers. On the contrary, this assessment of Dange was based on a series of reports from different sources of the Government and it was on the basis of these reports that Kaye as Director of Central Intelligence and other Home Department officials evaluated Dange. To conclude, the overwhelming evidence on record goes to debunk the story of Dange and his apologists that Dange was considered a "staunch revolutionary". These are nothing but the desperate attempts of a drowning man to clutch at any straw to save himself.

Strangely enough, Smt. Renu Chakravarti, in an article in NEW AGE Weekly, goes to the length of citing a book written by Mr. Kaye in 1926 and another compiled by the Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department in 1933. Is it not elementary knowledge that the officers who wrote these books would not reveal their spy, but on the contrary, would try to present a glowing picture of him? Is it Smt. Chakravarti's contention that these officers, quite contrary to their earlier assessment and voluminous records, suddenly made a *volte face* and saw a "fiery revolutionary" in Dange? The answer should be obvious to any unbiased person. So much for the so-called "discrepancies".

Dange and his friends have been asserting that these documents were forged by the British Government in 1924. It always is the case that forgeries are made to be used. May we ask Dange and his friends : how is it that the British Government continued to

rule India for full twenty-three years after that and yet did not once use the letters to discredit Dange and thus disrupt the C.P.I.? May we also ask why the Government of independent India which has these files in their possession for seventeen years by now did not once use them against the C.P.I. or to discredit Dange? It is not difficult to find the reasons. These were not forgeries, nor were they meant to be used as such. These were genuine letters offering services to British imperialism and the powers-that-be have been systematically using them in the manner most suited for their purpose. Funnily, the Secretariat statement of March 13, 1964, cites the instance of the forged "Zinoviev Letter" and tries to draw a comparison between that and the Dange Letters. But how does the Secretariat explain the fact that the "Zinoviev Letter" was forged with a specific purpose and used for that specific purpose of overthrowing the Labour Government of Britain and defeating the Labour Party in the General Elections that ensued, while the Dange Letters were "forged", forgotten and left behind in the files for the Government of India to keep them in the Archives?

May we also ask Dange and his group who are not tired of repeating the story of forgery why this forgery was directed only against Dange among all the accused in spite of the fact that according to the official assessment a comrade like Muzaffar Ahmad, accused in the Conspiracy Case, was considered recalcitrant and a stubborn revolutionary.

Another excuse that is being trotted out by some is that Dange was after all young when he wrote these letters and that later he has had a big record. Those were the days, when inspired by the Great October Revolution, Communist Parties were taking shape in many countries, when dedicated young men and women were coming forward to build proletarian parties in their own countries. They were fully aware of the great hardships they would have to face, they were all ready to make the supreme sacrifice for their cause. They marched forward baring their chests to imperialist bullets and embracing the gallows with cheerful faces. For a young man at that stage to show cowardice was to prove that he is not made of the stuff of

which revolutionaries are made. It is impossible for such a person to grow into a staunch revolutionary. One can sympathetically understand if at any time after this sordid surrender, Dange had confided to the Party and requested for pardon. Not only did he not do any such thing but even now he shamelessly asserts they are forgeries.

Dange's later record proves he did not grow into a revolutionary. This will be clear if his life in the forty years since then is examined. We will examine this record of forty years in full in our subsequent writings. For the present let us take only some important aspects. Those who try to make out that these have been years of only "suffering" and "sacrifice" in the cause of the working class movement are falsifiers of history. All the talk about the seventeen years he spent in jail after 1924 cannot prove anything. The ruling classes have never been known to be foolish enough to unmask their own agents by leaving them out when other leaders of the Communist Party are arrested. There have been even cases in the history of the international movement where the ruling classes have ordered the torture of their own agents along with others to avoid suspicion. Also, these agents are placed amongst other leaders in jail so as to collect information and sow disruption wherever possible.

Dange at the time of the Meerut Conspiracy Case played just this role of disruption and was expelled from the Party then by the comrades who were implicated in the Case. From 1928 to 1936 he was not even a primary member of the C.P.I. That he was among the last to be released in 1943 is cited to show that he was a patriot and nationalist and that he was opposed to the People's War line of the Party. This also is a travesty of truth. Apart from the fact that several detenus from Punjab like Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet and others were released in 1944, much later than Dange, those who were in the Deoli Detention Camp still remember that Dange was among the most vocal in pledging and canvassing support to the war efforts of the British. It is futile, hence, for Dange and the Secretariat to tell us or anybody else about the number of years he has spent in

jail or about his patriotism and nationalism. We shall return on another occasion to what role he played during the 1950 crisis in the Party and since then, particularly in building the AITUC as virtually a personal estate of his.

Finally, Dange and the Secretariat are trying to confuse issues by saying that those who have raised charges against him are violating forms and discipline and breaking the unity of the Party. Many of us who have raised these charges against Dange have been in the Party for more than two decades, some for even three and four decades. Not in all these years has anyone of us been guilty of the charge of indiscipline and violation of forms. What about Dange himself? Not once but many times he has violated all discipline and forms, not once but many times have leading bodies castigated him for this. He was once expelled from the Party for such crimes but even after his readmission into the Party he has continued to be the same. To cite only a few instances, after the National Council had decided that the state units of the Party should not fight each other on the question of border disputes, Dange openly came out against the Gujarat unit of the Party and even led a satyagraha against Karnatak on the question of Belgaum. At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee in Calcutta during September 1959, he was censured for violating Party decisions. His reply to that was to organise a public meeting in Bombay to declare that the Party was always making mistakes while he alone had always been correct. He was sharply pulled up and publicly censured for this at the later National Council meeting in Meerut but he has persisted even after that in his theme song of disruption.

It is not we but Dange and several others around him who have a record of violation of discipline and forms, by issuing press statements against the Party policy, organising leakages of inner-Party discussion in the Secretariat and Central Executive Committee, etc. Even today we would not have come out openly if it had been only a question of the political line of the Party. We have had to come out because the integrity of the Party was in question, because the Chairman of the Party was seen to be a

person who had offered his services to imperialism, because a leading body like the Secretariat tried to shield him and harbour him in the leadership, and because no concern was being shown for convening meetings of the Central Executive and the National Council. In such a situation no honest Communist can remain passive in the name of discipline and forms. Discipline and forms are meant for building the Party as a revolutionary party, not for destroying it. We believe we have done the right thing and we are confident we will have the support in this of all honest Communists.

Dange and his like are busy bragging and prattling that they alone are observing Party norms and forms while their opponents are discarding all discipline. Obviously enough they raise the question as to why Comrade P. Ramamurti and I did not raise this Dange letters issue in the Central Executive Committee of January 1964, when we were in possession of the copies of these letters, and why we had come out in the open without raising it inside the Party Committee. They go further to slander us as having organised the publication of these letters through the notorious anti-Communist weekly *CURRENT*. Let us say a few words about it.

May we ask these gentlemen: what sort of Party norm and form is it, according to you, to have organised a countrywide campaign through the press and Party organisation still under their control that the Dange letters are nothing but a forgery by the British imperialists? Why has the rump of the National Council, after our protest and walk-out, passed a resolution appointing a commission of enquiry? Why did it not dare to pronounce its verdict of forgery on these letters? Does the resolution of the so-called National Council on the Dange letters entitle any Party member to propagate that these letters are forged, etc., when the Commission, packed mostly with Dangeites, has not begun its enquiry? Are we not to understand that this enquiry commission is devised as an eyewash to hoodwink the Party members and the public? In that case it is outright cheating and dishonesty. If the contents of the resolution and the appointment of the commission are genuinely motivated, it

would be gross indiscipline to propagate the lie that the Dange letters are a forgery—a verdict the National Council has not pronounced.

Then coming to the issue why we did not raise the issue of the Dange letters in the Central Executive Committee meeting of January 1964, we have nothing to add to what is clearly stated by us in the National Council meeting on April 10, 1964. It is our firm opinion that it would have been highly irresponsible to raise the issue of these letters without verifying their existence or otherwise in the files of the National Archives and without ascertaining the authenticity of these documents. Merely coming into possession of any papers implying serious charges involving Party members and leaders does not entitle any comrade to formally raise it in the Central Executive Committee. That would tantamount to slandering colleagues if the letters happen to be somebody's invention. We were completely correct in not raising it at the January Central Executive Committee meeting and patiently trying to get at the truth before we raised it.

It is a dirty slander to say that we have tried to utilise *CURRENT* to get these letters published. It is natural for people like Dange and his accomplices to indulge in this type of wild accusations, because it has been their age-old practice to use anti-Party weeklies and dailies such as *LINK*, *MAINSTREAM*, *PATRIOT* and the like to maliciously malign their inner-Party opponents and organise leakages of inner-Party discussions, often distorting the positions taken by many of us. We have no need to resort to this heinous method of getting it published through *CURRENT* as a number of weeklies in different languages published by comrades sharing our political opinions, with a total circulation of more than seventy-five thousand have been at our disposal to get the letters printed and published. In fact the publication of the letters by *CURRENT* did not allow us adequate time and effort to get them verified in the National Archives. It was full ten days after the publication of these letters in *CURRENT* that we had to hurriedly get at the records of the National Archives on March 16, 17 and 19, 1964. This

crude attempt to make capital out of the hostility of our Party members to the notoriously anti-Communist CURRENT does neither save Dange nor convince any honest Party member about our alleged complicity with it.

It is ridiculous for Dange and the Secretariat to ask us why we had gone to the public through the press, without first raising it in the Central Executive Committee or the National Council. It is for them to answer : why did the Secretariat rush into public with a statement even without caring to know about the existence and nature of these letters in the Archives? Why was it so audacious as to not only call them forgery without the least attempt at verification but also slanderously implicate their political opponents in the Party? Why did not Dange or the Secretariat exhibit the elementary Party sense of calling an emergent meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council to tackle this for full 20 days after the publication of the letters in CURRENT? They have no answer to these. The real grouse of Dange & Co. is that our public statement foiled their attempts through their 'influential' friends to hush up the records if possible. Let nobody be deceived by these tricks of Dange and his group. Perhaps they would have succeeded in their game if we had not gone to the open press on March 26, and made it a hundred times more difficult if not impossible to hush them up.

The question may well be asked as to why after knowing so much about him, we agreed to have him as the Chairman of the Party in April 1962. We do not know whether it is known widely, but it is on record that for full three days, some thirty of us in the National Council resisted the proposal and only when it became clear that the alternatives were either accepting Dange as Chairman or breaking the Party that we accepted the proposal with great reluctance. We would certainly self-critically examine whether this was correct in the light of later developments, but that is not the point here.

Within seven months of being elected as Chairman, Dange brought the Party to the brink of a split not because of the

political line alone but because of the unheard of practice of issuing a statement, on his own, contrary to the decisions of the Secretariat and behind the back of the General Secretary who was in Delhi and available for discussions. Since then he has behaved as the leader of a faction which has the Party machine in its hands and if today the Party is facing a serious crisis it is he and his yes-men who are solely responsible for it. It is they who are splitting the Party and all the mud they throw on us cannot stick.

Finally, the question of the Dange Letters is not something which concerns only the Communist Party. It concerns morality in the whole political life of the country. It is necessary that in such a situation the Home Department allows photostat copies of these letters to be taken and the issue be judged by Party members and the people.

Before concluding these introductory observations of ours, we have to say a few words on the so-called "Commission of Enquiry" that Dange and his hangers-on in the National Council have set up. This can be called neither an impartial and agreed body for enquiring into the matter nor a body representing the National Council. It is a Commission filled mostly with Dange's political-organisational accomplices with maybe one or two exceptions. It is futile to expect any justice from such a body, the members of which by and large, have already taken up the position that there is no *prima facie* case, that the letters are more or less not genuine and who were party to the summary suspension of about half the Central Executive Committee and one-third of the National Council. We hope that all honest members of the Communist Party will see through the game of Dange and his group and put these disruptors and splitters in their proper place and boldly march forward to extricate the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement from the clumsy conspiracies of Dange and his associates.

4, Windsor Place,
New Delhi,
April 25, 1964.

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH

THE LETTERS

I

Cawnpore Distr. Jail
24th May, 1924

To
The District Magistrate,
Cawnpore,
Submitted
for orders.
Sir,

I, Shripad Amrit Dange, hereby, beg to put before you the following petition for favourable consideration. I have been sentenced by the Session Judge Cawnpore to four years' rigorous imprisonment. I do not belong to United Provinces and have been brought here, under warrant, from Bombay. I wish to be returned to the Bombay Presidency for following reasons.

The climate of this province is not suited to my health. This province is too hot for me now and will be too cold later on—such is not the case in Bombay or Poona City, where I have passed the greater part of my life.

I do not know the language of this province and it causes me much inconvenience in my conduct towards officials, high and low. It is difficult for me to make myself understood, for example, to the warders or convict overseers appointed to be with me. And moreover, it is some consolation to hear ones own language spoken about to hear "suffolk people talking Suffolk."

My family relations and my friends are in Bombay. The Jail rules allow interview at fixed period. But, if I am kept in this province, myself will not get the advantage or my family relations will be able to take advantage of this rule, as this place is too far away and my relations, being not rich, cannot afford to spend much money on the journey every time.

They are also trying to file an appeal on my behalf and want to make arrangement under my instructions, from Bombay. If you would kindly transfer me from here to the Poona Central

Jail (Yarrowada Jail) or Bombay they can facilitate arrangements of Appeal by interviewing me, with the permission of the authorities very easily without loss of much time and money, to which they will be put by my being far away from their place. Taking these things into consideration, will you be pleased to concede to my request and oblige.

Your Obedient Servant,
Shripad Amrit Dange

Sentence under
Section 121 A. I. P. C.
No. 1333, Dated 26.5.24

Forwarded to the District Magistrate Cawnpore for favour of disposal.

XVIII
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7917
26.5.24.

W. S. Willimore
Lieut. Col. I.M.S.
Superintendent Jail
Cawnpore
26.5.1924

II

File No. 421-Poll (Home Deptt.)—1924

To
The District Magistrate,
Cawnpore.

Sir,

We, the undersigned, beg to inform you that we are willing to give an undertaking to Government not to commit any more offences, for which we are at present convicted and we shall be thankful to Government if they will deign to consider our request favourably and release us as soon as possible, as we are undergoing suffering which we cannot sustain. We shall be

personally thankful to you if you will arrange with Government for our petition being granted.

We are,
Your Obedt. Servants,
Shripad Amrit Dange
Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta

District Jail,
Cawnpore
7th July, 1924.
No. 1707, dated 8.7.24.

Forwarded to the District Magistrate Cawnpore for favour of disposal. Prisoners were transferred to Sitapore and Gorakhpore on 7.7.24.

W. S. Willimore
Lieut. Col. I.M.S.
Superintendent Jail
Cawnpore.

Forwarded this in original with a covering docket to Commr.
Keeping copy for file.

J. Crerar
8.7.24

III

From
J. R. W. Bennett, Esqr. I.C.S., M.L.C.,
Secretary to Government, United Provinces

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department (Political)

Subject : Dated Allahabad the 19th September, 1924.
Petition from two prisoners in the Bolshevik
Conspiracy Case praying for their release.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of
the Government of India, Home Department

Judl.
(Criminal
Department)

(Political), letter No. D. 2556-Poll., dated the
9/11th August, 1924 communicating the orders
passed on the petition mentioned above.

2. I am now to forward for the information of the Government of India a separate petition from one of the two prisoners viz. Shripad Amrit Dange, dated the 28th July, 1924, that from the other prisoner Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta having already been submitted with this Government letter No. 4013 dated the 7th August, 1924.

File No. 421-Poll (Home Deptt.)—1924.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most Obedient Servant,
Sd./-
for Deputy Secretary.
C/o The Superintendent
District Jail.
Sitapur (U.P. of A.O.)

From

Shripad Amrit Dange,
Prisoner,
(4 years R. I. under Sec. 121 A.I.P.C.
In the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case of Cawnpore)

To

His Excellency the Governor General in Council.
Your Excellency,

I am one of the four in the Bolshevik Conspiracy case of Cawnpore. I beg to put forward for your Excellency's consideration a prayer for the remission of my sentence for following reasons.

In submitting my prayer I have to refer to certain fact, which your Excellency may not be cognisant of; but Your Excellency can verify their truth by referring to Col. C. Kaye, Director Central Intelligence Bureau or to the persons mentioned hereinafter.

When the above referred case was proceeding in the Lower Court Mr. Ross Alstron, the learned Counsel for prosecution happened to have a side talk with me, during the course of which he remarked, Government is not very particular about the punishment of the individual accused. The case is instituted only to prove to a doubting public the truth of Government's statements, made from time to time as to the existence of Bolshevik Conspiracy in India. I think the learned Counsel is not likely to have misrepresented Your Excellency's Government's policy, as he was in too close a touch with Government's officials to have mistaken Government's intentions. As the position of Your Excellency has been vindicated by the verdict of the Court, Your Excellency may not mind remitting my sentence and granting my prayer.

I might also refer to another incident. Exactly one year back, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, of Bombay Mr. Stewart was having a conversation with me, in his office, regarding my relations with M. N. Roy and an anticipated visit to me of certain persons from abroad. During the course of the conversation the Honourable officer let drop a hint in the following words, the full import of which I failed to catch at that moment. Mr. Stewart said, "you hold an exceptionally influential position in certain circles here and abroad. Government would be glad if this position would be of some use to them." I think I still hold that position. Rather it has been enhanced by the prosecution. If your Excellency is pleased to think that I should use that position for the good of Your Excellency's Government and the country, I should be glad to do so, if I am given the opportunity by Your Excellency granting my prayer for release.

I am given the punishment of four years' rigorous imprisonment in order that those years may bring a salutary change in my attitude towards the King Emperor's sovereignty in India. I beg to inform Your Excellency that those years are unnecessary, as I have never been positively disloyal towards His Majesty in my writings or speeches nor do I intend to be so in future.

Hoping this respectful undertaking will satisfy and move Your Excellency to grant my prayer and awaiting anxiously a reply.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Servant,
Shripat Amrit Dange.

Endorsement No. 1048, dated 31.7.1924.

Forwarded in original to I. G. Prisons U.P. for disposal.

Sd./- W. P. Cook
Col. I.M.S.
Superintendent Jail.

Seal of I. G. Prisons 13070
Dated 1.8.1924.

From Home Deptt. Political

**File No. 278/25 of 1925 Page 2
(Corres).**

INSPR. GEN.
PRISONS, U.P.
Received
20 Nov. 1924
Regr. No. 19573

SEAL

From

Shripat Amrit Dange, Esqr.
Distr. Jail,
Sitapur (U.P.)

To

His Excellency,
The Governor-General-in-Council.

Your Excellency,

Pending my appeal before the Hon.
High Court, Your Excellency's

No. 2157 of Sitapur
Jail the 19-11-24

Submitted in
original to the
Inspector General of

Prisons, U.P.,
Lucknow in
continuation of this
office endorsement
No. 1048 D/31-7-24

H. P. Cook
Major, I. M. S.,
Superintendent
Jail, Sitapur.

Government were not prepared to take into consideration my petition, dated 26th July, 1924, re. remission of my sentence, in what is known as the Bolshevik Conspiracy Case of Cawnpore. The decision of the Government was conveyed to me in their communication No. 5718/VI—1376D/Nainital 11-10-24 forwarded with the endorsement No. 22594/E 37 of 24 D/21-10-24, of the Inspector General of Police, U.P.

My appeal having now been dismissed, I beg to bring the same petition to Your Excellency's notice for consideration and await favour.

I beg to remain,
Your Obedt. Servant,
Shripat Amrit Dange

16th November 1924

**From Home Department Secret File No. 261 of 1924
page 11 (Notes in the Intelligence Bureau of Home
Department)**

The I.P.I. letter referred to is put up in original, return requested. They were both written before the receipt of the information given in Secretary of State's telegram, which apparently means that Jotin Mitter's departure for India is indefinitely postponed—probably abandoned. The letter suggesting "counter-action" has not yet been received; but I should suppose that it suggests the use of Regulation IV against Roy's agents in India : a mere refusal of passports could not be characterised as "counter-action". If Roy is, as the Secretary of State's telegram says, relying on correspondence to secure the attendance of the "Indian Communist Party's" representative at Berlin, it is unlikely

that he will get them, for a number of letters from him, inviting representatives, has lately been intercepted and has not reached the address. It is, I think, pretty evident that Roy's communications with India are not working smoothly and some, at least, of the agents whom he believes to be in India are not there in fact; his information is, in some respects, out of date and inaccurate owing, I think, to the insecurity of his post to India. Dange seems to be losing heart, as a conspirator—his paper, the "Socialist" has been more moderate lately and I have seen correspondence showing that the communists in Lahore and Calcutta are complaining that he has failed them. Roy does not know him personally; only by reputation, chiefly of Dange's own making—my own information is that Dange is not the stuff of which revolutionaries are made. I do not think he will go to Berlin, even if an invitation reaches him; and Singaravelu (of Madras) has already once definitely refused to go. I think the odds are pretty strongly against Roy getting an Indian contingent for the "Special World Congress" from India, sent adhoc, and that his invitation will share the fate of those to the Moscow Conference, when Roy himself was the sole Indian representative.....

C. Kaye
7/12/23.

**Certain Confidential Records relating to the period
before Government framed the Cawnpore Conspiracy**

1) Note by C. Kaye, 27.7.1923

I think that the views of the Government of Bombay should be accepted. I have collected all the data bearing on the question of the prosecution, under the ordinary law, of the three internees, and hope to submit a detailed note, on this, in a few days. In all three cases, I think there is a strong 'moral' case, but a weak legal one : and this also applies to Dange (and to Singaravelu). The alternative is action by 'Regulation' which is of course equally distasteful to the Government of India as to the Government of Bombay. Personally, I do not think that Dange's position as "in a way public man" would make any difference to the reception by the Indian public of his internment, but all information about him

reaches the same conclusion—that he is, personally, a mere worm; and this does support the belief that he is not worth powder and shot. Even the most insignificant insects, however, are often dangerous foci of infection and I think that a perusal of Dange's latest letter to Roy, which is reproduced in my current weekly report (now being printed) will show that he is decidedly infectious. The letter unmistakably acknowledges assistance, either in kind of money, from Roy, and exposes the intention of the writer to continue to work in furtherance of Roy's programme though Dange shies at the "illegal" part—a defection which he covers in fine phrases, but which is, in fact, a confession of personal cowardice. I think that a senior official talking to, by someone in authority—not a police authority— would probably frighten Dange effectively : he is quite obviously very nervous already. It should, I think, be pointed out to him that other members of Roy's Party have been interned under Regulation, and that he was only not been similarly dealt with because he is such a miserable specimen that he is not worth it, but that, if he continues to play with fire in the way that he is doing now, the only possible result will be that he will burn his own fingers badly, and will force Government summarily to shut down his activities if he can't summon up enough commonsense to shut them down himself.

2) 4. 8. 1923

Mr. Kaye writes a note in which he says, "the warning proposed to be administered to Dange" should be done only after the case against the two people at Madras is completed.

3) Bombay Government Home Department writes to Mr. Crerar, its opinion as to whether any action should be taken against Dange, in which it says :

- No action necessary.
- His writings contain 'very little of anti-British'.
- If carefully followed, he will be a good source of information.

From Printed File

D. O. Letter from A. Montgomery, Esq., CIE, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to the Hon'ble, Mr. J. Crerar, CSI, CIE, Secretary to the Government, Home Department.

No. S. D. 113 dated Bombay the 25th Jany. 1924.

Your Demi Official No. 3412-D (Political) of the 15th inst.

The Government of Bombay have no objection to the inclusion of Dange among the accused provided there is a water tight case against him. They do not think that it would be advisable to prosecute him merely to show up the conspiracy. They still think as indicated in my D. O. letter No. S. D. 1243, dated the 16th July 1923, that he is more useful to us than dangerous. I am particularly hopeful that if he is left alone, something further may come up in the negotiations referred to in the letter from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay No. D. 1125, dated 3rd Nov. last, a copy of which was endorsed direct to the Director Intelligence Bureau. I enclose a copy for ready reference. Would you let me know your views again before you definitely decide to take action against him?

From Printed File

D. I. B.

I do not think that there is any legal case against Velayudhan—the best one that we could make, would be very slender. I think there is a strong case against Dange; and, in any event, it would be impossible to leave his name out; it would necessarily figure conspicuously in the trial and the fact that he himself was not included would certainly lead to the presumption that this was done deliberately, with an ulterior purpose. The report forwarded by the Govt. of Bombay, was summarised in para 4 of my Weekly Report dated 14th November 1923.

C. Kaye—31.1.24

From File 278

Home Deptt. Political

F. 278/1925 Poll

Letter from U. P. Govt. No. 69 d/6.1.1925

S. A. Dange, one of the four men convicted in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case prays that now his appeal has been dismissed his petition for remission of sentence may be considered. In July 1924, while the appeal was still pending,

Dange and N. B. Das submitted a joint petition praying for release as they would not commit any more offences. This was regarded as an assurance of no value and it was considered, as the appeal was then pending, that the petitions should be rejected but H. E. considered that a reply should be sent simply saying that the Govt. of India was not prepared, in view of the fact that an appeal was pending, to take the petition into consideration. The petitioners were informed accordingly. Through the local Govt. Dange submitted a separate appeal in Sept. 1924, praying for the remission of his sentence and hinting at a willingness on his part to act as an agent for Govt. if it is thought he could be usefully so employed. It was decided, however to adhere to the previous decision not to consider the matter, until the disposal of the appeal. On the 10th Nov. 1924 the Allahabad High Court passed judgement on appeal, upholding all convictions and sentences. Dange has now returned to the charge for his prayer for release to be ascertained. If this is to be examined it raises the general question of clemency to the convicted Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspirators as there are no prima facie grounds for treating Dange specially. Actually only two out of the four have appealed for mercy, i.e. Dange & N. B. Das. We may, in the first instance, invite the views of the D. I. B. It may be noted that it may possibly be considered politic to consider the appeal.

May we have D. I. B.'s views on the matter.

Sd/- (H. D. Hodge)
(Additional Deputy Secretary Govt. of India)

SEAL
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU
Rd. 20.1.1925
Dy. No. 879
HOME DEPARTMENT

From Home (Political) File

No. 278/25 of 1925

Mr. Petrie who succeeded Mr. Kaye as Director of Central Intelligence recommends to the Government of India to reject the mercy petition for six reasons, the important of which are mentioned as :

—If released the revolutionaries will be encouraged thinking if they are arrested they will be released tomorrow.

—Secondly, the conviction in the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case has convinced liberal opinion of the existence of a Bolshevik conspiracy in India. In this context, if we release Dange, those sections will feel that the Government itself considers that all this is not serious as it was made out to be.

—So the D. I. B. says 'clemency should not be granted now' and adds that, 'if after Dange undergoes half the sentence, and if the circumstances are favourable then and if his conduct in jail also was good, I will not be the person to oppose clemency, if Dange makes a petition for clemency then'.

This note of Petrie to the Home Secretary is dated 28.1.1925.

—On 13.2.1925 Mr. Crerar expresses his agreement with the D.I.B. Accordingly the mercy petition is again rejected.

Note

—*Muzaffar Ahmad*

I have been knowing Shripat (both Shripat and Shripad are correct) Amrit Dange's handwriting for the last 42 years, that is since 1922. From that year I have been in corresponding terms with him. I was prosecuted both in the "Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, 1924" and the "Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, 1929-1933" and was convicted and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment in both the cases. In both the cases S. A. Dange along with others was my co-accused. We lived together in the Kanpur District Jail for nearly five months and were then transferred to different jails. In connection with the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, Dange and I lived together in the Meerut District Jail, Dehra Dun District Jail and Allahabad

Central Jail for about four years and eight months. On account of this living together for such a long time I had the fullest opportunity of seeing him write. In this connection I want to make it clear that though during pendency of the Meerut trial after a certain period S. A. Dange was expelled from Party (C. P. I.) for his anti-Party disruptive activities carried on outside through his wife and friends, yet he lived with us in the jails. So none can challenge my claim of being very well acquainted with S. A. Dange's handwriting.

After the research scholars discovered his letters written from jails in 1924 in the National Archives of India in which he prayed for mercy of the British Government of India and offered his services to that Government, the Central Secretariat of The C.P.I. issued a statement saying that the letters are forged ones. This made several of our comrades visit the archives. They came away convinced about the genuineness of the letters. I too went to the Home Ministry (where the files by then had been taken) with Comrades P. Sundarayya, M.L.A. (Andhra), A. K. Gopalan, M. P., N. Prasada Rao, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, L. K. Oak and Shiv Kumar Mishra. All inspected the letters and found them in Dange's handwriting. From my 42 years' acquaintance with Shripat Dange's handwriting I am declaring with full responsibility that the letters written by him from Sitapur District Jail are in his own handwriting. The letter signed jointly by Dange and Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta on the 7th July, 1924, from the Cawnpore District Jail praying for mercy and promising to give undertaking is also in Dange's handwriting. Nalini's real name was Nalini Kumar Das Gupta (in brief Nalini Gupta). But out of ignorance the prosecution made it Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta. So when signing the joint petition with Dange he hesitated, out of habit perhaps, wrote "K" after the word Nalini. This it seems he corrected by turning "K" into "Bh". This is the reason of the thickness of "Bh". It is also to be remembered that while in Berlin, Nalini was referred to as Kumar and he actually signed his name as Kumar.

I found some of my letters in the file. Most of them were written from Rae-Bareilly District Jail. They are either on the

subject of better treatment or on the subject of my transfer to the Alipore Central Jail, Calcutta. These letters are surely in my handwriting and not forged or planted by anybody.

When Lt. Col. Willimore, the Superintendent of the Kanpur District Jail, refused to forward our application to the Government for better treatment, all of us went on hunger strike in protest. On the 7th July, 1924, when we were transferred to four different jails we were on hunger-strike. But Dange and Nalini broke it immediately. Before leaving Kanpur Jail, on 7th July, Dange and Nalini wrote their joint petition and managed with the help of jail officials to keep it a close secret from two of us. Lt. Col. Willimore, of course, willingly forwarded this application.

The four accused convicted and sentenced to four years' R. I. each were Shripat Amrit Dange, Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta, Shaikat Usmani alias Maola Bukhsh and Muzaffar Ahmad.

One may enquire what happened to Dange's expulsion from the Party during the pendency of Meerut trial? Well, I was released from imprisonment on June 24, 1936. On my coming out I found Dange was already in the Party. He was released from the Hyderabad (Sind) Jail in 1935. I was told that he surrendered to the Party and was readmitted.

Here I have stated some facts for the understanding of our Party members and friends. I shall write in detail on the Dange affair after going back to Calcutta.

New Delhi,
15th April, 1964.

Notes to Secretariat and CEC

—R. Umanath, M.P.
4 Ashoka Road,
New Delhi-1.
20.3.1964

To

The Secretariat, National Council
of the Communist Party of India, New Delhi.

Dear Comrades,

I am enclosing herewith a letter to the Central Executive of

our party. Question of the individual apart, since it involves the security of the entire Party and revolutionary mass movement of our country, I request you to place this letter before an urgent meeting of the Central Executive. In the meantime, I request you to circulate the same to all CEC members for their perusal.

Yours fraternally,
R. Umanath

To

The Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of India,
New Delhi,

Dear Comrades,

I am one of those who dismissed the story of "Dange Letters" that appeared in the CURRENT as some American-inspired stuff. On the morning of the 9th of this month, I left Tiruchirapalli by State Transport express bus for Madras to catch the deluxe for New Delhi. When the bus halted at Villupuram for half an hour, I found the CURRENT poster and the CURRENT itself displayed in a shop containing these allegations. Instantly, I dismissed it as some cock and bull story and some cooked-up slander about Com. Dange, by the CURRENT which is an anti-Communist paper. I did not care to read it and so I did not even purchase a copy.

But on coming to New Delhi I chanced to read the said issue of the CURRENT (the relevant article) in full. The reference numbers, the officers' names and the assertion that they are in the National Archives, for the first time, shook my earlier conviction. When I read the Secretariat statement which appeared in the PATRIOT, three or four points emerged which made matters worse.

It was obvious from the Secretariat statement that when they issued the statement, they had not even looked into the said file to verify as to what actually was there in the file. Anyway my conscience was urging me to see the files with my own eyes before coming to any conclusions. For a long time I had a mind to register myself at the Archives for the purpose of research in

the national movement and of our Party's role in the same. I decided to enrol and register myself at the National Archives.

In the course of my research, I saw the files in question and the connected records in the National Archives with my own eyes in the original. What I saw was most shocking and a shock which I did not experience in my political or personal life before.

(1) The three letters published in the CURRENT are word for word found in the file. I saw a fourth letter also by Com. Dange appealing for mercy after rejection of the High Court appeal.

(2) All the four letters are in Com. Dange's own handwriting.

(3) I saw also Com. Muzaffar Ahmad's letters to the Government for transfer, on the injustice done by the Government in the matter of fixing lawyers, and the reasons which impelled him to go on hunger-strike. My hair stood on end as I read Com. Muzaffar's letters, inspired and deeply moved by the sacred revolutionary spirit displayed by him in the thick and thin of tortuous jail life.

(4) All the detailed references given by CURRENT about various endorsements at various official levels, are found to be true. I found them jotted down on the original petition itself with connected seals, initials and signatures.

(5) I found cross references to this mercy petition of Com. Dange in various other correspondence and different files.

(6) There is enough and conclusive material to show that the Government assessed Com. Dange :

(a) As not of much significance.

(b) That the release would prejudice the political purpose for which the prosecution was conducted.

(c) Release, when the appeal was pending, would prejudice the case.

(7) The official note to Viceroy in Council on the first joint undertaking by Com. Dange and Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta remarked that since the appeal in the High Court has been filed by them, the repentance could not be taken to be genuine. And the remarks go on to state that the other two prisoners Muzaffar Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani are recalcitrant, and are even now on hunger-strike, etc.

In this letter I have given only certain pointed references. From all the mass of materials, documents, cross references and quite a number of other reports that I saw in the files in the National Archives, I am deeply convinced that :

- (1) The said letters under no stretch of imagination could be said to be forged or planted.
- (2) They are genuine and original and in Com. Dange's own handwriting.
- (3) Its genuineness is impossible of contradiction or challenge.

Yours fraternally,
R. Umanath

Note to National Council

K. ANANDAN NAMBIAR, M.P.
17, Windsor Place,
New Delhi,
8th April, 1964.

To the Members of the National Council

Dear Comrades,

Yesterday evening I visited the Home Ministry's office and inspected the concerned files containing Dange's alleged letters along with Com. Dinen Bhattacharyya and two other MPs.

From my careful scrutiny of all four letters of Dange and the cross references that are in the files, I am convinced that all the four letters are in his own handwriting and are genuine. I compared the handwriting of Dange and his signatures with recent ones and found it correct. I have absolutely no doubt then about the genuineness of the letters.

The so-called discrepancy that in two letters he signed as "Shripat" instead of "Shripad" is not of vital character as he generally does not write his full name except on very rare occasions and therefore the use of "t" or "d" could normally occur. On this so-called discrepancy, it will be most unfair to dismiss the whole files and the connected references as false. High Government officials right from the Viceroy down to the

Jail Superintendent, have referred to "Dange's mercy petition" in all their letters, notes, discussions ever since his mercy petition of 26th July, 1924. To say the whole thing as concocted for the reason that "t" was used instead of "d" in the signature is fantastic.

Another so-called discrepancy that exists is the reference of Dange's letter of 26th July, 1924 by the Government as of "28th July". On scrutiny, I found that the "26 July" was so written as if it could read as "28th" from a little distance because of a thin loop around "6". This is how the typist placed the date as "28th". This is only a trivial matter which cannot contribute at all even remotely to a dispute about the authenticity of the letter.

As additional proof, I am enclosing herewith a copy of the office note which I copied from File 278 for your information which further adds to the veracity of the letter (Home Department Political No. F. 278/1925 Poli-dated 8.1.1925-typed, corrected and signed by H. D. Hodge, I.C.S., Additional Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, bearing the seal of Intelligence Bureau). Several such references are available in Files 278 and 421.

However, in order to settle this matter finally and to derive correct conclusion about the conduct of Dange, my submission is that this matter warrants a thorough enquiry by a batch of honest gentlemen of any party, or no party, who will not be influenced by either side, so that our Party Members and people may know the truth behind it.

Yours Comradely,
K. Anandan Nambiar

Statement

*Secretariat of the National Council,
March 13, 1964*

The English weekly CURRENT of Bombay in its issue of 7th March, 1964, has published a story that it has got hold of a

bunch of letters alleged to have been written by Comrades S. A. Dange and Nalini Gupta, after their conviction to four years' imprisonment in the year 1924 in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. The CURRENT says that the alleged letters were found by some research scholars who went to the National Archives of the Government of India.

On enquiry, the Secretariat has found that type copies of these letters are being surreptitiously circulated by some people, obviously with a view to attack the character of the Chairman of the Communist Party of India, spread vile slanders against him in order to disrupt the Communist Party and the mass movement led by it.

These vile fabrications have been produced with all the paraphernalia of so-called genuineness. They were very conveniently "discovered" in the National Archives, where the Home Department files were made available for "research" in the history of the Communist Party. It is even said that the Home Department obligingly allowed copies of the document to be made and taken out in the interest of "historical truth".

The real truth is that no such letters were ever written.

The contents of these fabrications, apart from an innocuous one relating to a request for transfer from one jail to another, purport to show Comrade Dange as offering his services to the then British Government in exchange for his release from prison. In short, the slanderous suggestion is being circulated that the Chairman of the Communist Party was given his release on the undertaking to become a British agent.

There have been instances of astounding forgeries in history done by the ruling classes to destroy their enemies. The Communist and labour movements of the whole world have been victims of such vile attacks of slander and character assassination of leading personalities. This one against one of the most popular veterans of the labour and Communist movement in our country is of the same kind.

We cannot say when these alleged letters were forged, and if they have been planted in the Archives, when and by whom. It is a fact that just in this very period, when the Kanpur case was

launched against the Indian Communists, the British Tory Government was using all its vile apparatus to malign the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and all the progressive forces who supported them. The case itself was launched at the instance of the Tory reactionaries in order to prevent the recognition of the Soviet Government for which the British people were pressing. The case was intended to show that the Soviet Government and the Communist International were trying to overthrow the British Government through its "agents" and hence it was wrong to have any relations with it.

When the Labour Government was installed in England in 1924, the Foreign Office manned by Lord Curzon's stooges forged the well-known "Zinoviev Letter" which led to the overthrow of the Labour Ministry and its defeat in the elections. Even the other day, George Brown, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, complained that the Tory lie factory of "forgeries beginning with the Zinoviev letter of 1924 and the Gestapo smear of 1945" is continuing to work even today.

The timing of the publication of these forgeries shows that a very deep game is being played by various forces against the Party and the masses.

Vile slander of this kind was first spread by the Chinese leadership through the Peking Radio that the Indian party is a Dange clique and has become the agent of the Government in getting people arrested.

Certain disruptors who support and circulate this Chinese lie against our Party have joined hands with certain reactionaries in India in alliance with Anglo-American intelligence agents to explode this slanderous time-bomb against the Party as a whole and Comrade Dange personally. It is meant to weaken and destroy those forces who are defending the people's interests and organising the greatest movement of the masses today under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Dange as Chairman. It is a clever move to kill several birds with one stone.

These forgeries thus serve the game of all reactionary and disruptive forces, each one with its own special interest to serve,

and all of whom together are trying to destroy the Party and the mass movement led by it.

The slander-mongers of the CURRENT and those who help it have tried to suggest that Comrade Dange secured his release before the expiry of the term of imprisonment. This is another lie. The facts on record are as follows : four accused were sentenced in the Kanpur Case in 1924 May—Comrades Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad, Usmani and Nalini Gupta. Out of them, both Nalini and Muzaffar Ahmad alone were released prematurely, that is in 1925, on grounds of illness. Comrade Dange and Comrade Usmani served their sentences in full, deducting the usual remission that is earned under jail rules and were released in 1927.

The subsequent history of Comrade Dange and his various imprisonments in the cause of the Party and the working class completely belie all the insinuations made by these forgeries of the reactionary forces. After Kanpur, Comrade Dange served seven years in the Meerut Case. There also, he along with Muzaffar Ahmad and Usmani got specially larger sentences than the others as these three were declared to be "habitual conspirators" from the Kanpur Case. Muzaffar Ahmad was given larger sentence because he had not served full term in the Kanpur Case. Comrade Dange was arrested on the outbreak of the war in 1939, convicted for publishing anti-war pamphlets and then detained in the Deoli Camp, altogether for four years. Though the Party had been legalised in 1941 and other Communist detenus had been freed, Comrade Dange continued to be detained and was released only in 1943. He has so far spent about 17 years in prison since 1924, of them nearly 14 years under the British Government and the rest under the Congress Government.

Whatever the slander-mongers may do, the toiling masses of India will not forget this record of sacrifices, years of imprisonments suffered in the struggle against the British imperialists and now the rule of the monopolists in free India. Those who are trying to use these forgeries, whosoever made them or planted them, are only serving the interests of the imperialists and the reactionaries. And those who are trying to

use them in the ideological or political organizational controversies inside the Party are only becoming the handmaids of reaction with a view to disrupt and split the Party and smash the mass movement. The slanderous attack on Comrade Dange as Chairman of the Party and one of the most popular, respected old leaders of the Party and the working class, serves the far-reaching aims of reaction on a national and international scale.

All decent-minded people, the whole Party, must combat and repulse this sinister and vile manoeuvre.

Statement

*Secretariat of the National Council,
April 1, 1964*

The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India is deeply concerned at the serious threat to disrupt and split the Party which has been openly and publicly made in a concerted and pre-planned manner by certain members of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council.

Several of the State Committees of the Party have adopted resolutions calling for immediate action to save the unity of the Party and to discipline the splitters.

The Central Secretariat has decided to convene an emergent meeting of the National Council on April 10 to deal with this grave inner-Party situation. Party members and supporters can be confident that the highest organ of our Party will take all necessary steps to foil the attempts at disruption and split and to vindicate the honour and integrity of the Party.

The entire Party is fully aware of the splitting activities being carried out today on an international plane at the behests of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, who have given the call for split in open and radio broadcasts. In some Parties, the Chinese leadership have already succeeded in their objective and have split them.

The Communist Party of India has been a special target of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. As long ago as

March 1963, the Chinese leadership came out with its attack on the Party in the article titled "Mirror For Revisionists". The Party was denounced as an agent of Nehru and of imperialism. This attack was followed by the foul and pernicious slanders against our Party made by the Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party in October 1963. And again in its latest call for disruption issued on February 4, 1964, the Chinese leadership has once more launched a special assault on our Party.

Each of these attacks, particularly that of February 4, is an open call for the establishment of a rival "Communist Party" of India.

The present phase of the inner-Party situation cannot be divorced from this context. For several months now, certain leading members of our Party have been actively campaigning against the Party's policies and slandering the Party's leadership. Party members are fully aware of these activities.

With the new line of open split of every Communist Party decided upon by the Chinese leadership and given expression to in their February 4 article, the supporters inside our own Party of the ideological positions of the Chinese leadership have evidently now decided to split the Indian Party also.

To that end they are now carrying on public agitation against the accepted line of the Party, organising press conferences for vilifying and denouncing the Party leadership, holding open meetings and conferences of Party members of their point of view on an all-India scale to chalk out the political and organizational tasks and future line of action of their "rival group". They have resorted to the totally unprecedented step of setting up a rival candidate to the official Party candidate in the Rajya Sabha election in Andhra Pradesh. Indeed, as some of them have admitted in press statements, they have been functioning as a separate party for some time past.

The campaign of slander launched recently against Comrade S. A. Dange is only the highpoint of these splitting and disruptive activities—the excuse which is being made for the line of split and disruption.

The Central Secretariat of the Party has already made its position clear in regard to the letters alleged to have been written by Comrade Dange to the British authorities forty years ago. The entire public record of Comrade Dange for the last forty years, the positions of trust he has held all along inside our Party, his seventeen years in prison, including thirteen years in British jails, and the great working class movement he has built, are testimony enough of his political integrity and his devotion to the cause of our Party. The vast masses of the Indian working people, who know Comrade Dange's record, naturally treat these slanders against him with the contempt and revulsion they deserve.

No circumstances whatsoever can justify the public and open slander campaign launched by certain members of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council during the last few days against the Party and its Chairman. If there were the slightest genuine ground for their apprehensions regarding the authenticity of the alleged "letters" it was open to these members to discuss the question with the Secretariat and call for an immediate meeting of the National Council, where they could put forward any appropriate proposals. The very fact that they did not do this, but instead rushed to the press in an organised manner through a series of statement, is proof of their determination to split and disrupt the Party.

This is a moment when the entire Party is engaged in the biggest national mass campaigns in the entire history of our Party, when millions are taking part in these campaigns under the banner of our Party. Disruptive and splitting activities slanders against our Party's Chairman at this time amount to nothing less than stabbing the mass movement in the back and betraying the struggles of the working people.

The Central Secretariat will place before the coming meeting of the National Council a detailed report on the splitting activities of certain leading Party members and will recommend drastic steps against them.

The Party can and must answer the challenge of the splitters. The unity and integrity of the Party is in peril. All Party

members and units should rise to the occasion to take strong steps to save the Party from split and disintegration.

Statement

*Secretariat of the National Council,
April 3, 1964*

A Conference of certain members of the National Council and State Councils of the Communist Party of India coming from various parts of the country is being held in Delhi from yesterday.

A separate Programme has been published by the sponsors of the conference. Political and organizational reports are being placed before the conference. The ideological issues are being discussed. The sponsors, in their press statements, have admitted functioning for a long while as virtually a separate party.

This conference comes after the entire apparatus of a separate, rival party has been set up by the splitters—with a chain of newspapers, committees at all levels from a so-called Central Committee downwards, and the setting up of a rival candidate in the Rajya Sabha elections.

In view of this, we have no alternative but to characterise this conference as a conference of seceders from the Party, a conference to set up a new rival Communist Party. What was so long functioning as a faction, virtually a party within the Party, has now proclaimed itself as an open conference of seceders and splitters. Every participant in this conference is by the very act of his participation proclaiming his secession from the Communist Party of India.

The central leadership of the Communist Party has again and again appealed to the leaders of the splitters to give up the road of disruption and split, wind up their rival centres and newspapers, and agree to abide by the discipline of the Party.

In the interests of unity, the Party leadership has given every opportunity to the splitters to retrace their steps and has taken no severe disciplinary measures against them. It has urged them to

shut down their rival "party" which till now they have been functioning within the Communist Party of India.

Far from responding to the Party's appeals, the splitters are now holding this open foundation conference of their party of split and disruption.

Even at this late stage, we appeal to those who seriously desire the unity of the Party to see that the conference of the splitters is disbanded here and now.

Letter to National Council Members

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH

Dear Comrades,

I am herewith sending you all available material concerning Dange's letters, the Central Secretariat's statement and the relevant press comments for your information. As far as Dange's letters and connected correspondence between different officials of that period are concerned a copy of it reached us as early as three months ago. But I thought it would not be correct and prudent on my part to talk about them without ascertaining the authenticity of this material. Yet, I had shown them to several members of our C.E.C. and promised to find out the truth or otherwise of it. Since then I have been seriously attempting to verify the truth of the existence of these letters in the National Archives from sources which cannot be questioned. In the meantime, the notorious anti-Communist weekly CURRENT got hold of the material probably from the same source which also posted it to us—and published them in its issue dated March 7, 1964. The Central Secretariat, under Dange's guidance, came out with a statement on March 13, 1964, denouncing the whole thing as forgery. I was away from Delhi from February 24 and was again there only for a day on March 10 on my way to Calcutta. I returned from Calcutta in the night of March 15. The CURRENT publication, the Secretariat statement denouncing it and the adverse reactions in political circles upset me very much, as the whole affair involved the entire Communist Party and its future. Under these circumstances, there was no course

left for me except to go to the National Archives and find out the truth. On March 16, I together with Comrade P. Ramamurti and another non-party M.P. went to the National Archives, obtained permission for research into the history of the Communist movement during the period from 1921 to 1933, as the records are available only up to that year. We spent more than three hours and examined the concerned files. After a thorough study and scrutiny of the files, we found to our dismay and surprise that every word and letter published in the weekly CURRENT regarding Dange's letters is absolutely true. It is evident that it is not Dange's letter that are forged and planted in the National Archives. On the contrary, the statement of Dange to which the Central Secretariat has affixed its stamp stands out as deliberate bluff. On March 17, Comrade Ramamurti once again went through the files for further details. On March 19, I together with Comrade Umanath, M.P., went to the National Archives and studied the records for more than four hours to probe the matter still more deeply. We found that all the four letters of Dange mentioned in the information document—three in file No. 421 of the year 1924 and one in file No. 278 of the year 1925—and all other connected observations by the Director of Central Intelligence, Home Secretary, etc., are cent per cent authentic. Comrade Umanath, on his own, has written a letter to the Secretariat on March 20, stating what he had seen in the Archives and demanding an emergent meeting of the Central Executive Committee to thrash out the issue. We are enclosing herewith a copy of his letter, too, in this information document.

We wish to pursue our research and find out whether the then British Government had utilised these letters in any manner in the subsequent period, if so in what manner, etc. But to our surprise, we learn that the Home Ministry is evincing special interest in these files and trying to put all obstacles and make them inaccessible even to Members of Parliament, many of whom have applied for permission to go through these records. In fact these are records thrown open to research long ago and by now several people have had the opportunity to go through them. Yet it is strange that the Government at this stage, instead

of defending the integrity of the National Archives and admitting the truth of the existence of these letters against the charge of Dange that they are forged and planted, is trying to play politics over this matter. May be they wish to further disrupt our Party by shutting these files from the people interested in seeing them, and thus keeping the Party in doubts regarding the existence of these letters in the Archives.

The situation is quite serious. Dange and the Central Secretariat through their press statement have totally denied the letters and denounced them as forged and planted in the Archives. The existence of Dange's letters is a fact which scores of people by now can affirm. The Home Ministry is trying to deny access to these files and keep the public guessing*. The statement of the Secretariat has convinced nobody and the revolutionary prestige and integrity of our Party is in jeopardy. The CURRENT published these letters on March 7 and by now full twenty days are over. The Secretariat issued the statement on March 13 and now fourteen days have passed by. Till now no meeting of either the C.E.C. or the National Council has been called by the Secretariat and any sense of urgency is totally lacking. In view of this, we are compelled to come out with a statement to save the prestige and honour of the Party. Hope you will appreciate the extraordinary step we have taken and do all you can do to set matters right.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,
M. Basavapunniah

New Delhi,
25th March, 1964.

Statement

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH, P. RAMAMURTI
At Press Conference, March 26, 1964

It is by now widely known that the English weekly CURRENT of Bombay, in its issue of March 7, 1964, has published some

* Later, towards the end of the first week of April, the Home Ministry took charge of the files and allowed their inspection by members of parliament and others.

letters alleged to have been written by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, to the then Government of India giving an undertaking and also offering his services. The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has issued a press statement on March 13, 1964, denouncing these as forged and planted in the National Archives by imperialists, Indian reactionaries and all sorts of anti-Communists. Though no prominent English daily of our country has published either the alleged letters of Dange or the statement of the Central Secretariat denouncing it, HINDUSTAN TIMES of Delhi has made scathing editorial comments on the Central Secretariat statement in its issue of March 17, 1964. The STATESMAN in its Delhi Edition on March 21 also published a write-up on its front page on this affair. The whole issue has assumed serious significance and has become a subject of public discussion in the different political circles of the country. Members of the Communist Party and its well-wishers are very much perturbed, and confused. In fact the problem is no more confined to the Party Chairman S. A. Dange but in a way involves the entire Party.

We are fully aware that the enemies of the Communist Party do not hesitate to indulge in any foul conspiracy including forgery to discredit, disrupt and destroy the Communist movement. The notorious "Zinoviev Letter", the scandalous Reichstag Trial and the like are there before us. Equally well-known to us are the nefarious methods of reactionary Governments who indulge in planting spies and purchasing some weaklings in the Communist Parties to sabotage and disrupt them. The Communist movement could survive and forge ahead victoriously despite these vile conspiracies of the reactionaries because basing on the solid ground of Marxism-Leninism it could systematically disprove and expose these as outrageous fabrications. Similarly it could from time to time, through its revolutionary vigilance, successfully unearth the enemy agents and purge the Communist Parties of all such despicable elements.

But the perfunctory and laboured statement of the Central Secretariat on the grave and categorical allegations made in the issue of CURRENT on S. A. Dange is neither convincing nor can

it dispel apprehensions created in the minds of the public, particularly in the face of such details about the letters and their reported existence in the National Archives of India. The leadership of the Communist Party of India, built and nurtured by fearless heroes and best patriots of the anti-imperialist struggle, must feel genuinely concerned about the threat to its revolutionary organisation. One would expect that S. A. Dange himself would have asked the Central Executive Committee and National Council of our Party to go into the whole matter and offered to clear himself after thorough investigation. It is highly regrettable that he has not chosen to do this.

Still more it was the responsibility of the Central Secretariat to have placed the matter in the hands of the Central Executive Committee or the National Council. Instead, the Secretariat with no attempt whatsoever to investigate the whole matter simply came out with a long-winded explanation and a cheap denunciation which convinced nobody. The Secretariat through its hurried and hasty statement has done distinct disservice to the Party by committing the whole Party to this.

We deem it our bounden duty in the genuine interest of the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement of the working class in India that this question cannot be left in the manner the Secretariat statement sought to do. To say that these letters are 'forged' and 'planted' in the National Archives of India is nothing but an open accusation against the National Archives charging it as a "den of forgery and conspiracy", a challenge to the authorities in charge of the Archives, to the Government that is controlling it, and the scores of research scholars who might have gone through these documents in the National Archives, some of whom might even possess copies of this material. It would be a calamity to the entire Party, in case the concerned authorities or other competent people accept this challenge to prove the genuineness of the alleged letters and their existence in the Archives. This course may be chosen by them at any time, as they think it opportune. Naturally, under these circumstances, we have no option left except to probe into the matter deeply.

After full enquiry, thorough investigation and a careful check-up of all available material on this issue, we are firmly convinced that the matter is of a very serious and grave character and it is highly impermissible for any honest political party to demagogically dismiss the letters as forged and planted in the National Archives by some enemies of Communism. We are further convinced that the three letters said to be written from jail in 1924—one asking for transfer to a jail in Bombay or Poona, the second jointly with Nalini Bhushan Das Gupta giving an undertaking that they would not commit the offence for which they had been convicted and asking for release and the third offering his services to the then British Government if released, are all in S. A. Dange's own handwriting, beyond any shadow of doubt. It did not end with this. There was also a fourth letter which was sent to the Governor-General in Dange's own handwriting, requesting Government to reconsider his earlier letter pleading for his release and offering his services, after the High Court had dismissed the appeal.

In face of these facts not only has S. A. Dange, the Chairman of the Party, grossly abused the trust placed in him by the Party but he has also deliberately implicated the whole Secretariat which in turn, through its statement, compromised the entire Party before the public. In the Central Secretariat statement there is an insinuation that "those who are trying to use them in the ideological or political, organisational controversies inside the Party are only becoming the handmaids of the reactionaries with a view to disrupt and split the Party and smash the mass movement". Instead of feeling genuinely concerned about the integrity of the Party organisation, the Central Secretariat acts in a most partisan and factional manner, and we understand that in furtherance of its narrow aims, it intends to maliciously accuse a section of the Party with forging such letters, and even planting them in the National Archives. This attempt on its part is all the more preposterous.

That the damaging allegations against S. A. Dange should never be mixed up with the political-ideological controversies inside the Party is an elementary obligation for one and all

concerned. This is a grave matter concerning the security, integrity and prestige of the revolutionary organisation of our Party, and one should react to it genuinely.

We appeal to the people and all Communists and their well-wishers not to treat the Secretariat statement as the last word on the question and thus judge the whole Party. We also appeal to all Communists not to falter and relax in their determination to lead the day-to-day struggles of the peoples in defence of their interests, due to likely confusion and frustration caused by this sad episode. We pledge to place all the facts and a full report before the Central Executive Committee and the National Council to thoroughly investigate the question and punish the guilty. We are confident that all genuine and honest members of the Communist Party of India will stand up to defend the interests and integrity of the Communist Party of India, against all threats whether they emanate from reactionary forces outside or their hirelings hidden inside the Party.

M. Basavapunniah, M.P.
Member, Central Executive Committee.
 P. Ramamurti, M.P.
Member, Central Executive Committee.

4, Ashoka Road, New Delhi,
 March 26, 1964.

Letter to the Secretariat

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD
 Trivandrum,
 29th March, 1964.

The Central Secretariat,
 Communist Party of India,
 New Delhi.

Dear Comrades,

I understand that a special urgent meeting of the Secretariat is being held, presumably to discuss the situation that has arisen

following the 'Current' report on the alleged letters by Com. Dange to the Viceroy, your statement characterising two of these letters as forgeries, the Basavapunniah-Ramamurti statement that they are satisfied about the genuineness of all the letters, Com. Sundarayya's press conference in Hyderabad etc.

I do not know whether the Secretariat meeting will be followed by special meetings of the CEC and the National Council. Nor do I know whether you will go to these meetings with the idea of trying to salvage what remains of the Party, or to further intensify the inner-Party conflict.

An "Express News Service" message with the dateline, New Delhi, March 27, says "prominent leaders of the Rightist faction of the Communist Party met here today at the Party headquarters for five hours to discuss the situation arising out of Mr. M. Basavapunniah's public attack on the Party Chairman, Mr. S. A. Dange. It is expected that Mr. Basavapunniah will be expelled from the party for committing breach of discipline". I do not know whether this is correct reporting, but from the trend of discussions here (in the State Executive and the State Council), I am apprehensive that this may be the line taken by some among you. But the brief talk which I had with Com. Yogi during my recent visit to Delhi, followed by an equally brief talk with Comrade Bhupesh, gives me the hope that things may not be taken to such a pass.

In the light of those talks, I have today sent a telegram to Comrade Bhupesh recalling my talk to both of them and expressing my willingness to fly to Delhi immediately if my presence there at the present moment will help. While confirming that telegram, I would request you to seriously ponder over the immediate cause of the present crisis.

As I had told Com. Yogi and Com. Bhupesh I think it was totally incorrect on the part of the Secretariat to have issued the March 13th statement. After all, as the statement itself admits the existence of a file in the National Archives is not in doubt. Nor is it disputed that the file contains three letters, allegedly written by Com. Dange. One of these three, it is explicitly

admitted in the statement, had actually been written by him. (A careful reading of the Secretariat statement shows it does not admit the genuineness of even this letter—*Editor*). How then could you rush to the conclusion that the others are forgeries? Did you get them examined and satisfied yourselves about the explanation offered by Com. Dange that the British forged two letters and put them along with a genuine letter? Obviously not.

The minimum that you should have done under the circumstances was to convene a meeting of the CEC, place all the facts before it and to suggest that a CEC Commission should go to the National Archives, examine the documents and report on them to the CEC. You, however, thought it necessary to dispense with this normal elementary precaution and blindly accepted Comrade Dange's explanation.

The present position is extremely difficult : here are two members of the CEC who claim to have examined the documents and satisfied themselves that they are not forged but genuine. Here, on the other hand, is the Secretariat which, even without examining the documents, has given a verdict in favour of the theory of forgery. The Party as a whole has to satisfy itself as to which of these is correct.

Involved in this question is the equally serious question as to who—yourselves, or Comrades Basavapunniah and Ramamurti—have done incalculable damage to the Party. The charge against both is extremely serious. If the letters are genuine and not forged as is claimed by Com. Basavapunniah and Com. Ramamurti, then the Secretariat (the top-most executive organ of the Party) is guilty of shielding a person who reached the highest post in the Party by posing himself to be a revolutionary while, as early as 40 years ago, he had offered his services to the British Government. If, on the other hand, the letters are not genuine but forged, then Comrades Basavapunniah and Ramamurti are guilty of having made a careless, prejudiced and subjective examination of the documents and drawn hasty conclusions in order to slander the Chairman of the Party. In either case, the comrades who are found guilty deserve to be given the most merciless, exemplary punishment.

I, therefore, earnestly plead with you to be above all consideration of Com. Dange's prestige, or the prestige of the other members of the Secretariat, or of Comrades Basavapunniah and Ramamurti. The question now is the prestige and safety of the Party as a whole. The minimum that you should be prepared now is to offer to the CEC and the National Council when they meet that, before any other question is considered, a Special Commission representing all the political trends in these leading organs should go to the National Archives, examine the documents and come back with a report as to who is telling the truth. Only after a decision on this is taken can other questions be discussed. For, it is obvious, if the letters are genuine and not forged, then the whole Secretariat will have to go; the Party will have to decide what punishment to be inflicted on them for blindly supporting a person who should have no place in a revolutionary Party.

I do not want to add anything more, since I still have some hope that, at least at this late hour, you will rise above subjective and factional considerations. If, however, you fail to do that (I should plainly tell you that my experience of the last year and a half makes me rather pessimistic), I shall consider myself free to come out in public against your behaviour.

With greetings,

Yours comradely,
E.M.S. Namboodiripad

Statement

*NINE MEMBERS OF THE CEC,
April 6, 1964*

Comrades A. K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, P. Ramamurti, M. Basavapunniah, P. Sundarayya, Promode Das Gupta, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, Harekrishna Konar, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, members of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India have issued the following statement:

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has been coming out with a spate of insulting, irresponsible and provocative statements against those members in the Party, who do not agree with the Secretariat on political and organisational questions. Hence it is not possible for us to keep silent.

Faced with the publication in the CURRENT of 7-3-1964 of the letters that the Chairman of the Party, S. A. Dange, is reported to have written to the British Viceroy, the Secretariat shirked its elementary duty of investigating into those letters. Instead, it came out with the story of forgery and planting of the letters. It went further and linked, without any foundation whatever, those in the Party who are opposed to the Secretariat's political line, with publication and circulation of the letters and called them names.

After this, some members of the Central Executive examined the relevant files. Many members of Parliament have also gone through these records in this period. Some leading newspapers have commented that the Secretariat's story does not carry conviction. It should be known to the Secretariat that its assertion of forgery is widely disbelieved.

In these circumstances, one would expect that the Secretariat, if it was interested in safeguarding the revolutionary honour and prestige of the Party, would take some tangible steps to investigate into the files of the National Archives situated within a couple of miles from the office of the Communist Party of India. But for reasons best known to itself, this is exactly what the Secretariat shuns like the plague.

After all this, the Secretariat had no alternative to calling emergent meetings of the National Council and its Executive. However, without waiting for their deliberations, the Secretariat again rushes to the press in the name of the Party, hurls abuses and charges against the so-called Left, calls them splitters and alleges that they are acting in furtherance of the call of the Communist Party of China to split the Party.

All these are crude attempts to burke the very serious and inconvenient issues concerning the Chairman, S. A. Dange. The letters that he is reported to have written to the Viceroy or the

acquiring by him, under an assumed name, of shares of the value of Rs. 30,000/- in the company publishing PATRIOT have nothing to do with inner-Party controversy on the political line. It is not known what funds were used for this investment. As is known the PATRIOT is used against the so-called Left. Equally worthy of note is the fact that the Central Executive Committee of the Party, some years back, had directed that no member of the Party should have anything to do with the LINK, a sister paper run by the same people who publish the PATRIOT.

As for attempts at splitting the Party, it is precisely most of the members of the present Secretariat and foremost among them S. A. Dange, who have been, over years, throwing to winds all norms of the Communist Party, rushing to the press in denunciation of Party's policies and meeting in groups to sabotage the Party's policies. Instead of directing their attack against the so-called Left, let them explain how the entire proceedings of even the meetings of the Secretariat were finding their way into the press. It is they that sought to split the Party by the illegal organisational measures they resorted to in West Bengal, Punjab and other States, taking advantage of Government's repression against the militant section of the Party.

The informal meeting of some comrades now taking place has been necessitated precisely because of these activities of the Secretariat, which have led to an unprecedented crisis in the Party. We are seriously considering how to get the Party out of this critical situation.

Evidently, the Secretariat and the Chairman S. A. Dange realise that they do not represent the majority of the Party members, who by their own experience have come to realise that the present Secretariat is dragging the Party with its glorious traditions of struggle to the path of class collaboration. Hence, they seem to be bent upon splitting the Party.

They forget that they are only the Secretariat and cannot arrogate to themselves the powers of pronouncing judgment—because that is the exclusive prerogative of the National Council. It is noteworthy that some members of the Secretariat have

refused to attend its meetings and associate themselves with these statements.

We are confident that Party members would see through these attempts at shirking the real issues and no one would be fooled by them.

Letter to National Council

*TWELVE CEC MEMBERS,
April 10, 1964*

Dear Comrades,

We, the members who walked out of the CEC meeting yesterday afternoon consider it our duty to explain to the National Council the circumstances which forced us to take this step.

It is universally acknowledged that the present meeting of the National Council has to tackle an extremely serious situation, unprecedented in the history of our Party.

That the Chairman of the Party is one who according to the disclosures of the National Archives is alleged to have written to the Viceroy, offering his services to the British Government is no ordinary thing. It will be easily understood that such serious disclosure, unless immediately disproved, would create a crisis in any Party in any situation at any time. For if this is proved true, then the highest post in the Party is occupied by one, who should have no place in the revolutionary movement, but who has succeeded in coming to the top of the Party by keeping the Party in the dark about his relations with the British rulers.

Many of those who had seen the letters and the connected papers are convinced that they are genuine and are not forged.

Is it not clear that the most important task before the National Council is to deal with this question of the alleged letters, set up an agreed enquiry committee to go into the genuineness or otherwise of the letters?

Instead of that, the Secretariat which did not care to look into the letters came out with a statement and called them forgeries. In the subsequent statement instead of correcting its ways, it

arrogated to itself all the powers of the CEC and the National Council. It persisted in treating this to be a secondary matter and placed before the CEC the agenda with the following points in order of priority.

- (1) Resolution on the disruptive and anti-Party activities of certain leading Party members;
- (2) Consideration of the alleged "Dange Letters";
- (3) Tasks of the mass movement.

A question has been raised that in judging the conduct of those who went to the press on these letters it is material and important to decide whether they were really spreading a slander against the Party Chairman or exposing a serious unknown fact affecting the honour and prestige of the entire Party.

But, most of the Secretariat members had evidently made up their minds that the only factor which prevents the unity of the Party is what they call the disruptive and anti-Party activities of a section in the CEC and the National Council. They pretend as if they themselves have been behaving in the most correct manner. We for our part cannot accept this position. We are of opinion that the responsibility for bringing about the present deplorable state of affairs in the Party rests on the shoulders of the Secretariat.

Some of us have repeatedly put our case before the National Council, the case that, ever since the November (1962) meeting of the National Council, the Secretariat and those who support them in the National Council and in the provinces have been functioning not on behalf of the Party as a whole but of a particular faction. (Com. Bhupesh Gupta, however, has a different view on these.) It is obvious that both points of view should be thoroughly discussed within the National Council. This the Secretariat was not prepared to do. According to the Secretariat the very fact that it makes the assertion that those who oppose their points of view are disruptors and splitters is enough proof. Anyhow, the question of split and unity of the Party is too great an issue for the Party and the people to be discussed in this perfunctory and casual manner.

This refusal to listen to the voice of reason went to the extent of turning down the proposal made by Com. Bhupesh Gupta that the whole inner-Party situation, including items (1) and (2) of the Secretariat's draft agenda be taken as a whole and thoroughly discussed. They further turned down the proposal made by Bhupesh Gupta and Jyoti Basu that an effort be made to explore the possibilities of agreement on the agenda and procedure. They insisted on using the slender majority they have in the CEC and the National Council to impose on us a procedure according to which serious inner-Party questions which will decide the future of the Party are to be decided at a time when certain serious suspicions aroused against the Chairman have not been cleared and under his chairmanship.

What is more, the Chairman refused to relinquish the chair even when his conduct was to be discussed. On the other hand, he made an extremely provocative speech even going to the extent of shouting, "I will not vacate, you get out".

Under these circumstances there is no alternative for us but to refrain from participating in the meeting.

Sd/- E.M.S. Namboodiripad
 A. K. Gopalan
 P. Ramamurti
 M. R. Venkataraman
 P. Sundarayya
 M. Basavapunniah
 Jyoti Basu
 Harekrishna Konar
 Promode Das Gupta
 Harkishan Singh Surjeet
 Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri
 Bhupesh Gupta

Statement

*Thirty two members of the National Council
April 11, 1964*

After the National Council adjourned yesterday, Coms. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta met the Secretariat members this morning to explore every avenue of taking the Party out of the present crisis.

They pointed out that in order to create a proper atmosphere for a frank, full and dispassionate discussion of the present crisis, the minimum requirement would be (a) that the Chairman should step down when the letters in the Archives are discussed; and (b) the letters in the Archives and the press statements of some of the CEC members should be taken up for discussion together.

They further pointed out that a question of "splitting activities" can and should be taken up for a full and thorough discussion in a special meeting of the Council after full preparation and collection of relevant facts. It was pointed out that some of us, particularly Com. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, had repeatedly raised the question of the disruptive and splitting activities of the Secretariat and their supporters for the last one-and-a-half years. These questions had been brushed aside and not even cursorily discussed. All these have to be discussed in their entirety in order to find a proper solution to the whole problem.

But the Secretariat would not budge from their stand and the Chairman insisted that he should be in the chair even when his question was being discussed, and the so-called splitting activities of some of the CEC members should take precedence over everything else.

It is obvious that the Secretariat which came out with a statement denying the authenticity of Dange letters in the Archives even without looking at them, was bent upon further continuing their disruptive and splitting activities which they embarked upon since November 1962. They do not realise or they shut their eyes to the very serious damage that has been

done to the prestige of the revolutionary Party by the disclosure of the letters in the Archives. For if the letters are genuine it means that the highest post in the Party is being occupied by one who had offered his services to the British Government. Hence they do not seem to be interested in taking effective steps to have the entire thing investigated and take the appropriate measures on the findings of the investigation in order to safeguard the prestige and honour of the Party. This made it impossible for us to participate in the meeting.

The present Secretariat and their supporters alone are responsible for the present situation. We know that they are unrepresentative of the real feelings of the vast majority of the Party members.

We are sure that the mass of Party members and units will repudiate Dange and his followers. We are confident that the vast majority of the Party members and public will support our principled stand and rally to uphold the honour and prestige and the revolutionary traditions of the Communist movement in India.

Andhra

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. P. Sundarayya | 2. M. Basavapunniah |
| 3. T. Nagi Reddy | 4. M. Hanumantha Rao |
| 5. D. Venkateswara Rao | 6. N. Prasada Rao |
| 7. G. Bapanayya | |

Kerala

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 8. E.M.S. Namboodiripad | 9. A. K. Gopalan |
| 10. A. V. Kunhambu | 11. C. H. Kanaran |
| 12. E. K. Nayanar | 13. V. S. Achuthanandan |
| 14. E. K. Imbichibawa | |

West Bengal

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 15. Promode Das Gupta | 16. Muzaffar Ahmad |
| 17. Jyoti Basu | 18. Abdul Halim |
| 18. Hare Krishna Konar | 20. Saroj Mukherjee |

Tamilnad

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 21. P. Ramamurti | 22. M. R. Venkataraman |
| 23. N. Sankariah | 24. K. Ramani |

Punjab

25. Harkishan Singh Surjeet 26. Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri
27. Dalip Singh Tapiala 28. Dr. Bhag Singh

Uttar Pradesh

29. Sheo Kumar Misra 30. R. N. Upadhyaya

Rajasthan

31. Mohan Punamiya

J & K

32. R. P. Saraf

(It should be noted that apart from these 32, out of the six NC, members who are still in prison, five are widely known for their opposition to Dange's revisionist political line and disruptive organisational methods. Similarly, comrades Vajubhai Shukla from Gujarat and U. Ramam from Andhra who have been associating with these 32 could not be present at the NC meeting due to their illness. Another ten or so have practically remained confused and neutralised by these developments—*Editor.*)

Statement

*Thirty two members of the National Council
April 12, 1964.*

We heard from Comrade Bhupesh Gupta that after our coming out of the meeting of the National Council yesterday, the remaining members discussed the question of the agenda of the meeting and adopted a resolution this morning and adjourned the meeting at Comrade Bhupesh Gupta's suggestion.

We have since learned its contents. The main points of the resolution are:

- (1) Since the National Council has not yet heard from S. A. Dange and the Secretariat on the one hand and from those who hold that the letters are genuine on the other, the question of a *prima facie* case does not arise and hence he need not vacate the chair on that account. But he should stand down for other reasons;
- (2) The Chairman has declined to preside; and

- (3) The question of the letters and that of the "splitting activities" of some National Council members should be taken up together. In the latter question are also added the statements of the Secretariat as well as the walk-out by us from the National Council meeting yesterday and our subsequent statements.

The fact that after our walk-out Dange had to vacate the chair, the very thing that he and the Secretariat doggedly refused to do for three days—both in the CEC and the National Council—shows the utter bankruptcy of the Secretariat to deal with the present serious situation.

We certainly appreciate the efforts that are made by some members of the Council, who are anxious to find a way out of the present situation.

But, we are of the opinion that the present resolution does not reveal a sufficient realisation of the real issues and their gravity. Although the bankruptcy of the Secretariat is patent for all to see, it still wishes to cling to its position.

First, the Dange letters are the most serious issues before the entire Party. Many of us who have seen these letters and the connected papers are convinced that they are genuine and not forged. The resolution seeks to commit us to the position that no *prima facie* case exists.

Secondly, while the letters can be considered and discussed along with the statements issued by the Secretariat as well as other members of the National Council together, it is wrong to club with them, the question of what the Secretariat terms "splitting activities" of some members of the National Council.

This only shows that the seriousness of the Dange letters is sought to be minimised, and drowned in a general discussion of charges and counter-charges.

We are convinced that if the Party is to be unified and brought out of the present crisis, the cloud hanging around Dange must first be cleared through a probe by an agreed committee. Having done that, the entire inner-Party organisational question should be discussed in a calm atmosphere. The aim of such a discussion should be to find ways of ensuring fuller and

freer inner-Party discussion on all issues of political and ideological controversy.

This is exactly what the resolution seeks to avoid. The very fact that our walk-out and subsequent statement—which arose as a result of the adamant attitude of the Chairman—have been added to the agenda shows the intention of those who insisted on the addition.

This resolution does not, therefore, provide any basis for reconsidering our stand.

New Delhi,

12-4-1964.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. P. Sundarayya | 2. M. Basavapunniah |
| 3. T. Nagi Reddy | 4. M. Hanumantha Rao |
| 5. D. Venkateswara Rao | 6. N Prasada Rao |
| 7. G. Bapanayya | 8. E. M. S. Namboodiripad |
| 9. A. K. Gopalan | 10. A. V. Kunhambu |
| 11. C. H. Kanaran | 12. E. K. Nayanar |
| 13. V. S. Achuthanandan | 14. E. K. Imbichibava |
| 15. Promode Das Gupta | 16. Muzaffar Ahmad |
| 17. Jyoti Basu | 18. Abdul Halim |
| 19. H. K. Konar | 20. Saroj Mukherjee |
| 21. P. Ramamurti | 22. M. R. Venkataraman |
| 23. N. Sankariah | 24. K. Ramani |
| 25. H. S. Surjeet | 26. Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri |
| 27. D. S. Tapiala | 28. Dr. Bhag Singh |
| 29. Sheo Kumar Misra | 30. R. N. Upadhyaya |
| 31. Mohan Punamiya | 32. R. N. Saraf. |

Appeal to Repudiate Dange and his Group

*Thirty two members of the National Council
April 14, 1964*

We, the members of the National Council who walked out of the meeting on 11. 4. 1964, have been exchanging our views on

how to carry forward the struggle against the anti-Party factional activities being carried on by the Secretariat headed by S. A. Dange.

This exchange of views revealed the fact that we are united not only against the factionalism and anti-Party organisational methods resorted to by them, but also against their political line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie through general united front with the Congress.

It may be mentioned in this connection that three years ago, at the Sixth Congress held at Vijaywada, the line of Congress-Communist unity as the general political tactical line of the Party was advanced. This, however, was stoutly opposed by the delegates and rejected by the Congress in the resolution which was finally adopted. The comrades who had championed that nakedly reformist political line had to accept defeat at the Congress. They, however, tried to push that line in their practical activities even after the Party Congress.

The crisis which arose in the country in October-November 1962, the declaration of Emergency and the arrests of a large number of comrades became a god-sent for the champions of this line of class-collaboration who, under the new circumstances, got a majority in the National Council. They used this opportunity to launch a political and organisational offensive against those who resisted the reformist line of Congress-Communist unity.

This, naturally, roused the indignation of ordinary Party members. Larger and larger numbers of them began to express their protest against it. But, far from seeing the gap that was forming between the mass of Party members and themselves, the leaders of the National Council and their supporters at lower levels began to use the weapon of disciplinary measures against those who protested against their activities. Furthermore, they adopted the most reprehensible tactics of denouncing those who opposed the reformist line of general united front with the Congress as followers of the Peking line, thus joining the chorus of rabid anti-Communism. It was as a part of this tactics that they raised the bogey of "anti-Party groups" functioning at various levels and disrupting the unity of the Party.

We have been trying to put a stop to this. We, of course, had our own differences concerning the estimation of the economic and political situation in the country as well as in our approach to the problem of how to offer resistance to the reformist politics and factional organisational methods of the Secretariat headed by Dange. Despite these differences, however, we were united in our understanding that the inner-Party problem posed under the circumstances can be solved only through an appeal to the Party membership as a whole, culminating in the convening of a Party Congress.

We, therefore, made several proposals for organising inner-Party discussion, for the creation of the necessary conditions in which a Party Congress can be convened and for the postponement of all other inner-Party organisational questions till the Congress is convened and takes appropriate decisions. The Secretariat and the majority of the National Council however refused to help this process. They, on the other hand, insisted on so using their majority in the National Council and in various State Councils to prevent the expression of the *genuine* will of the majority of the Party members.

They refused to have an agreed Commission to prepare the draft documents which should form the basis of pre-Congress inner-Party discussion.

They refused to have an agreed method of scrutinising the membership with the result the large numbers of members have been denied their right of participation in pre-Congress discussions and in the conferences which would culminate in the Party Congress.

Above all, they started the process of taking disciplinary actions against some of the most effective opponents of their line with a view to prevent them from participating in the pre-Congress discussions and from getting elected as delegates to the Congress.

The proposed expulsion of seven members of the Central Executive Committee which they broadcast to the press even before the National Council had met was only the culmination of

these efforts and at preventing the convening of a genuine Party Congress. This had been preceded by disbanding the elected West Bengal Council and imposing an illegal Provincial Organising Committee; by holding an illegal conference in Punjab and replacing the properly elected leadership; by expulsions and other forms of disciplinary action against several Party members, including members of the National Council and Central Executive Committee in Tamilnad and Punjab and threats of similar action in several other provinces. As a matter of fact, the period that intervened between the public censure administered to Comrade A. K. Gopalan in October last and the proposed expulsion of seven CEC members at the recent meeting of the National Council, witnessed a spate of disciplinary actions all over the country. It is also no secret that the entire machinery at the disposal of Dange's followers has been kept ready for large-scale expulsions after the National Council meeting.

It was against this background that the existence of the incriminating letters, alleged to have been written by Dange in 1924 was publicly revealed in the columns of the "Current". This, too, was used by the Secretariat in order to carry on a campaign against those in the Party who oppose their political-organisational line. The members of the Secretariat, even without visiting the Archives, declared the letters as 'forged' and even joined the "Current" in its assertion that it was the "Left" in the Communist Party that had helped in the revelation of the story. When this attack on them was answered by some leaders of the CPI by a public statement that according to them the letters are genuine, the Secretariat went to the extent of calling them "neo-Trotskyites" and "splitters". The responsibility for initiating the public controversy around the Dange letters, therefore, rests squarely on the Secretariat.

A review of this whole controversy would show to any impartial observer that the Secretariat and its supporters have become so factional that they are prepared to renounce every norm enjoined upon the Communist Party. For, the existence of the letters in the National Archives is not in dispute. The only

basis on which it had been declared "forged" is the assertion of Dange.

Under these circumstances, the normal practice in the Communist Party would demand of its leadership that Dange is removed from all responsible posts pending the enquiry. However, considering the present inner-Party situation we suggested that he should first be asked to vacate the chair when the two leading bodies of the Party—the CEC and the National Council—consider the question.

Even this was stoutly resisted by Dange and his followers. It is obvious that they are prepared to renounce all principles if their observance weakens their faction. It was against this that we protested when we walked out.

Having reviewed the situation for two days, we have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle against this factional approach of the followers of Dange is an integral part of our struggle against their anti-Party factional method of preparing for and convening the Party Congress as well as against their reformist political line. Our call to the majority of the Party members and units to repudiate Dange and his group is, therefore, a call to repudiate the reformist political line of general united front with the Congress, to repudiate the line of factional preparation for a fake Party Congress, to repudiate their efforts at whitewashing the suspicious conduct of Dange in relation to his alleged letters whose existence in the National Archives is not in dispute.

We do have our differences among ourselves.

Even among the comrades of the "Left", who met here from the 2nd to 9th of April, there are differences on ideological questions. They, however, are united on the draft programme which they have provisionally accepted.

Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, who did not participate in these meetings, and who had written his own document covering the ideological and political questions, differs on certain questions of the draft programme.

Despite these differences, however, we are all agreed on the necessity to resist the reformist political line, the anti-Party

factional methods and the shameless effort to whitewash Dange's alleged conduct in having offered his services to the British.

We are conscious that unity on this alone would not be a sufficient basis for real unity of will and action. We, therefore, propose to have further exchange of views on the ideological and political questions that divide us. We propose to associate the entire Party membership in these discussions. With this idea in view, we have decided to circulate among Party members and sympathisers the following documents : (1) the Draft Programme which was provisionally accepted by the meeting of the "Left" comrades; (2) Comrade EMS's Draft on the Party Programme; (3) the Draft on ideological questions prepared by Comrades M. Basavapunniah and others; (4) another Draft on the above prepared by Comrade Jyoti Basu and others. We may subsequently circulate EMS's critique on the first as well as the critique of Comrade EMS's draft by the other comrades.

We are confident that these discussions and the active political and mass work we propose to carry on jointly will enable us to rally the large mass of Party members and sympathisers not only in offering effective resistance to the policies and practices of Dange and his followers, but also to make the necessary political and organisational preparations for convening the Seventh Congress of the Party. We, however, want to add that, if even at this stage the Dange group renounces its anti-Party organisational methods and creates, in consultation with us, the machinery that ensures full and unfettered inner-Party discussions and representation to all genuine members, we would be prepared to give our support and co-operation for its success. It is obvious that if they are honest about the unity of the Party about which they talk so loud when resorting to disciplinary actions, they would have to recognise that, divided as the Party is from top to bottom, the success of a Party Congress depends on agreement between the various sections in the National Council on at least the machinery which will conduct inner-Party discussions and prepare for the Party Congress. It was their resistance to this reasonable stand of ours that led to this crisis. We, therefore, appeal to all those comrades

in the National Council and outside, who are pained at the developments which took place at the recent meeting of the National Council, to put their full weight in favour of the following proposals which we are making:

1. The enquiry regarding the Dange letters should be conducted through a machinery created by agreement between them and us. We would like to take this opportunity to repudiate the charge made by Dange that any of us is opposed to examination by experts. We are of opinion that the enquiry should be thorough, it should be conducted by a body which certainly utilises the services of experts but which consists of persons who are competent to examine all aspects of the case. We also insist that the personnel of the enquiry body and the methods of the enquiry should not be dictated by Dange and his followers, but should be acceptable to all sections in the National Council.

2. The question of the so-called "disruptive and splitting activities" should be dealt with more comprehensively and in a thorough manner. The Dange group should realise that they are very much in the dock. This being so, all disciplinary actions arising out of the so-called "disruptive and splitting activities" should be held over till the inner-Party discussion, which culminates in the Party Congress, is over. All disciplinary actions taken on this account during the last year-and-a-half should be immediately cancelled.

3. Arrangements should be made for a fresh scrutiny of Party membership in those cases where disputes have arisen in relation to it. And all those members who were in the lists at the time of Vijaywada Party Congress should be allowed to renew their membership.

4. A commission with agreed personnel should be appointed to examine the documents that have already been prepared by us and the documents that may be prepared by other comrades and to decide whether any of them can form the basis of inner-Party discussion, and, if not, how one document or more documents can be prepared for the same.

It is also obvious that, if the above steps are to be taken, then the method of functioning the Party Centre, running the Party

organs, etc., will have to be reviewed and necessary changes made in them.

In making the above proposals, we have not much hope that the Secretariat and its followers would accept them. Their whole conduct during the last year-and-a-half has shown that they would stoop to anything in their resistance to the observance of democratic practices in the functioning of the Party. We are nevertheless offering the above proposals with the hope that those who are earnest about the unity of the Party would ponder over them and force the Secretariat and its followers to accept them. We are sure that all those who are genuinely interested in the unity of the Party would agree with us that only through the acceptance and implementation of the above proposals can inner-Party democracy be assured and split in the Party averted.

While thus appealing to all sincere advocates of Party unity to force the Secretariat and its supporters to reverse their present policies and practices, we wish to declare that, if the Secretariat and its supporters persist in their attitude, we will have to appeal to the entire Party membership to join us in convening the Seventh Congress which will be a Congress of struggle against the reformism, factionalism and the renunciation of revolutionary traditions, which are the characteristics of S. A. Dange and his group.

We have decided to organise an inner-Party and mass campaign on the above lines. We have decided that we will convene a meeting of the representatives of Party members from all over India after two months in order to review our activities during the period and to chalk out further programmes.

We are confident that increasingly vast masses of Party members will lend their support to us in these endeavours and thus contribute to the emergence of a still stronger Communist Party of India, which has been built up by great sacrifices of innumerable martyrs and glorious struggles of our people and uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

4, Windsor Place

New Delhi.

April 14, 1964.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. P. Sundarayya | 2. M. Basavapunniah |
| 3. T. Nagi Reddy | 4. M. Hanumanta Rao |
| 5. D. Venkateswara Rao | 6. N. Prasada Rao |
| 7. G. Bapanayya | 8. E. M. S. Namboodiripad |
| 9. A. K. Gopalan | 10. A. V. Kunhambu |
| 11. C. H. Kanaran | 12. E. K. Nayanar |
| 13. V. S. Achuthanandan | 14. E. K. Imbichibava |
| 15. Promode Das gupta | 16. Muzaffar Ahmad |
| 17. Jyoti Basu | 18. Abdul Halim |
| 19. H. K. Konar | 20. Saroj Mukherjee |
| 21. P. Ramamurti | 22. M. R. Venkataraman |
| 23. N. Sankariah | 24. K. Ramani |
| 25. H. S. Surjeet | 26. Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri |
| 27. D. S. Tapiala | 28. Dr. Bhag Singh |
| 29. Sheo Kumar Misra | 30. R. N. Upadhyaya |
| 31. Mohan Punamiya | 32. R. P. Saraff. |

Statement

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH, P. RAMAMURTI
April 16, 1964

The Dange group has come out with a long resolution on 15. 4. 64, which is supposed to be a reply to the statement of the 32 members who had earlier walked out of the National Council. By that resolution, they have decided to suspend us from the membership of the Communist Party of India. They do not realise that their writ no longer runs among the mass of Party members and units throughout the country.

Out of the National Council of 110, six members are still in jail, and 96 attended the meeting on the 10th and 11th. It is noteworthy that the Dange group could muster less than 50 members when this resolution was passed, some more members having absented themselves on the 15th. Even then, they dared not record positive votes and abstentions! Serious actions against one-third of the National Council and about half of the CEC is passed by less than 50 per cent of the members of the National Council. Such a thing is unheard of in any party in the world.

The resolution once again burkes the issue of the Dange letters and the grave crisis that has arisen because of their refusal to defend the integrity of the Party. It seeks to submerge the real issue in a string of lies, distortions and half-truths.

They falsify the happenings at the last Vijaywada Congress and seek to make out that we threatened to walk out of the Congress. Inadvertently, however, they admit that the differences in the Party are not of recent origin, but were serious even at Vijaywada.

Having worked out a factional majority, they sought to conduct the elections to the National Council and Executive also in a factional way. Not willing to be a party to this factional game, we only said that we would not serve on these bodies and wanted to leave them entirely in their hands, so that they could work out their line without any hindrance and the results would reveal to the Party comrades their real face.

However, the mass of delegates would not allow them to run away with their factional methods and ultimately they had to agree to a unanimous and agreed election.

It is well-known that the deep differences that existed then were political which were embodied in the different draft programmes as well as draft political resolutions, and the differences related essentially to the attitude to the ruling class, the Congress Party and the Congress Government. Equally known is also that the Dange group, in its anxiety to swing the Party to a line of general support to the Congress Party and Government, pooh-poohed the rapid intrusion of foreign private capital, particularly from the U.S., and the collaboration agreements, and called them "investments in Baby Johnson Powder"!

The Dange group had to retreat on this also, for the Congress unanimously adopted the late Comrade Ajoy's Report, after all the basic amendments moved by us were incorporated as the basis of redrafting the political resolution of the Congress.

The election tactics on the basis of the Vijaywada Resolution were worked out at the subsequent meeting of the National Council at Bangalore and Delhi and whatever electoral adjust-

ments were sought to be made by us were done under the direction of the National Council.

It is known, however, that the followers of Dange in certain States, in the name of fighting Right reaction gave general support to the Congress Party and as a result the Party suffered serious reverses. Subsequently, the Dange group has deliberately sabotaged the review of the elections and drawing lessons from experience.

After November 1962, when large-scale arrests took place throughout the country, the Dange group went headlong on this path of general support to the Congress and Government.

In Madras, they supported in all the by-elections the Congress irrespective of the party to which the opponents belonged or even against independents.

In Kerala, they proposed a united front with the Congress in the by-elections to defeat the PSP. It could not be carried out because of the stiff opposition of the ranks.

In Madras, they supported the Congress candidate in the Mayoral election as against a well-known trade unionist, who is even now a member of the Executive of the AITUC, and the Chairman of the Civil Liberties Union.

In the Municipal Elections in Madras they sought a general united front with the Congress Party. Although because of our fight in the CEC, the Dange group had to reiterate the Bangalore National Council Resolution, they surreptitiously connived at their henchmen in Tamilnad carrying out the line of united front with the Congress.

In the Punjab, in the elections to the Panchayats, they entered into united front with Congress, and in the bargain got routed.

Any number of such instances could be given that they have been, in fact, seeking to give general support to the Congress and its Government as a whole, contrary to the Vijaywada Resolution, and not seeking unity with only the democratic elements in the Congress.

Actually, as a result of this line, the discontent of the masses is allowed to be channelised towards the policies of communal

and Right reaction, which was revealed fully in the Amroha and Rajkot by-elections to Parliament.

As for mass struggles against the anti-people's policies of the Government, the workers know how Dange tried to sabotage the Bombay general strike of last year, the Goa dock-workers' strike and the Barauni workers' struggles. If later he had given the call for some struggles, it is only because he found that his attempts at sabotaging the struggles were already being rebuffed and his real face was being exposed.

The Dange group could not carry through their line without the stiffest opposition from the Party ranks. Hence they resorted to the most reprehensible methods, unworthy of any decent and honest politician, let alone Communists.

As is known, after the death of Comrade Ajoy, the proposal that Dange should be the Chairman of the Party was stiffly resisted by a large section of the National Council. It was Dange and his group that threatened to split the Party if he were not made the Chairman. After three days, we accepted him as Chairman only after he gave assurances about his behaviour. But no sooner was an agreed Secretariat formed that did Dange and his group start their old factional game of meeting in groups even from among the Secretariat members, briefing in secret the press against their own colleagues, and even giving statements behind the back of the then General Secretary.

After November, 1962, taking advantage of the arrests, they illegally scrapped elected State Councils in West Bengal and Punjab and imposed their own henchmen.

As a result of these and similar despicable methods, they have gerrymandered Party membership rolls. The membership at the time of the Vijaywada Congress was more than 1,70,000. According to the Secretariat the membership for 1962, enrolled before June 1963, was only 1,37,000. Apart from the fall of about 33,000, it is known that their henchmen had enrolled thousands of new members in different States. Thus the gerrymandering of our 50,000 members, i.e. nearly a third in the rolls had taken place in this period.

Why have they rejected our demand that all those that were on the rolls at the time of Vijaywada Congress should be allowed to renew their membership? Is it not obvious that they have done so because they are afraid of this real membership, and want to conduct not a genuine Congress, but a fake Congress?

As usual, when faced with an attack on their political line, they seek to find shelter in labelling their opponents "pro-Peking" and shouting that they are acting at the behest of the Chinese Communist Party. This trick has become too hackneyed and will not work.

As already shown, the struggle that we have been carrying on against the political line and the factional methods of the Dange group has been a long one. We do not take orders from any outside party. It is because we have been convinced that the political line and the factional methods of the Dange group would liquidate the CPI as a revolutionary Party that we have been fighting them for years, long before any ideological differences in the international Communist movement came to the surface.

On the other hand, within two days of the publication of the Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU dated July 14, 1963, which contained an unwarranted attack against those who were opposed to the political line of the Dange group, the Secretariat came out shamelessly endorsing the letter of the CPSU. Why did they not protest against the unwarranted attack against us, calling us an anti-Party group of splitters and disruptors, at a time when most of us were in jail? Why did the Secretariat not protest against this gross interference in the affairs of our Party by the CPSU? It is for them to explain whether they are acting under the orders of some outside party to split the Indian Party.

As for the charge of acting as spies, we have made it clear more than once that we have not made that charge. However, we have maintained that the political responsibility for the governmental repression rests squarely on the Dange group. Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad had made this position categorically clear in his document as early as February 1963.

It is known that the Chairman stiffly resisted the demand for a resolution condemning the arrests of leading TU and Party workers in Maharashtra in the meeting of the Working Committee and the General Council of the AITUC held in the third week of November 1962. For full four months the National Council under Dange's leadership refused to launch a campaign for release. Some of the memoranda submitted by the Dange group to the State and Central Governments are unworthy of any Communist.

In Maharashtra itself, to this day Dange has not raised his voice against the scandalous state of the continued detention of B. T. Ranadive and other leaders. The names of the political opponents of the Dange group were given out to the press in many states and they were slandered as opposing the defence of the country. All these people were later arrested.

How can any one prevent large numbers of Party members, and the public, in these circumstances, from entertaining deep suspicions that the Government is keeping in jail the firmest political opponents of Dange only to oblige him?

The statement that there is not even a *prima facie* case, as regards the Dange letters, is the most amazingly shameless performance of this body of Dange supporters. The existence of these letters and their contents have been made known to every member of the National Council. Detailed notes as regards the entire notings in the Government departments on these letters as well as corroborative evidence of the talk that Dange had with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, referred to in the letters were all circulated to the National Council members by two MPs—Nambiar and Umanath.

Most of the people who had seen these files—not only Party members—but independents as well believe them to be genuine. Is it not clear that in these circumstances, it is for Dange to prove positively that the letters are forged? What can be said of a body that in the face of all this evidence declares that a *prima facie* case has not been made out merely because Dange, the accused, asserts it to be so? They have sold their conscience for

their factional ends. In these circumstances the proposed enquiry by a body composed mostly of the henchmen of Dange will not deceive anyone.

The resolution shows that the Dange group is bent upon its factional methods and imposing its reformist line on the Party, if it could.

We hope that all those interested in the unity of the Party will force Dange and company even now to retrace their steps and accept the reasonable proposals we have made for inner-Party discussion, democratically convening the Congress and for an impartial enquiry into the Dange letters. The Dange group should realise that their writ will not run in the Party. We are confident that not only will the big majority of the Party members and units repudiate Dange and his group decisively but in a short time make this known to the world.

New Delhi,
16. 4. 1964.

P. Ramamurti
M. Basavapunniah

“Dange Council” on “Dange Letters”

Resolution

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has given preliminary consideration to the question of the alleged letters in the National Archives.

It has heard an exhaustive explanation of Com. Dange on the subject. Com. Dange has categorically reaffirmed his denial that he ever wrote such letters. The Council has also heard several members on this question including some of those who have personally examined the documents concerned.

The National Council however considers it necessary to go on record that those members of the Council who had earlier made public statements or otherwise expressed themselves to the effect that the alleged Dange letters are genuine were absent from the meeting when this question was discussed. These members did not return to the meeting, having walked out of it two days earlier.

Though the National Council had their press statements and documents before, their non-participation naturally denied the National Council the opportunity of hearing their views and their case on the subject in person. For this however the responsibility rests with these members themselves.

On the basis of these alleged letters which relate to the years 1924-25, some people have contended that Com. Dange has been a British agent. Even those who think that the letters are genuine have not produced any convincing evidence at all to prove this contention.

Their entire case in regard to this charge is sought to be substantiated by these letters and inferences from certain observations and remarks of British officials in connection therewith. All this does not make even a *prima facie* case in favour of this charge.

The National Council cannot but recall the fact that Comrade Dange not only served the full term of his sentence in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case but was later arrested and tried again in the Meerut Conspiracy Case.

He was held in custody as undertrial prisoner for nearly four years and was awarded by the Trial Court 12 years' rigorous imprisonment. This sentence, however, was reduced to three years by the High Court, along with that of Comrades Muzaffar Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani. This was the highest sentence given to any Meerut case prisoner on appeal.

During the Second World War, Comrade Dange was arrested in 1939 and 1940 and was in continued detention from the later year till 1943. He continued to be in detention even when almost all the Communist detenus in the country were released. All this, together with Com. Dange's record of work and active service to the cause of the working class and National Liberation Movement would refute the charge that he has been a British agent.

The public records of Com. Dange's political activity in the years that followed his release from the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy Case would on the contrary show him to be a staunch anti-imperialist fighter. The National Council repudiates this charge as slanderous.

From the reports which have been made to the National Council by members who examined the documents, it does appear that there exist a number of glaring inconsistencies and discrepancies in these "letters", such as the wrong spelling of Comrade Dange's name and signature, the general tenor of handwriting and also discrepancies regarding the stationary, ink, etc., used.

It has to be noted that in the copies of the letters circulated by Comrade M. Basavapunniah the difference in the spelling of Comrade Dange's name has been suppressed.

Similarly in the notings given in the papers circulated by Comrade Basavapunniah there are some vital words and sentences which are not faithful to the papers in original file.

From the reports that have been made to the Council by its members, the Council has come to the conclusion that not even a *prima facie* case has been made out that the letters are genuine.

Nevertheless, in order to make a more extensive examination of all relevant and available materials and documents, including the circumstances as to how these letters were found and then distributed to the outside world and by whom the National Council decides to set up a committee which shall submit its report within a month.

The Committee will consist of Comrades S. V. Ghatge, G. Adhikari, C. Rajeshwar Rao, Bhupesh Gupta, Achutha Menon, Sohan Singh Josh and Hiren Mukherjee.

From *New Age*, April 19, 1964

Appendix (ii)

National Integration and Communist Party

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Preface

The Tenali Convention decided to circulate the Note on National Integration and a critique of the Draft Programme by Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad as documents for Pre-Congress Discussion. The Note on National Integration is being published accordingly. This note was submitted by Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad to the National Council in 1962, but it never discussed it.

A brief critical note on the Programme Drafts sent by Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad is also being published in this booklet.

Secretariat
Central Organising Committee
CPI

*This is a pre-Seventh Congress Document.

I. Historical Presentation of the Problem

1. The emergence of communal and regional separatism as a political force is not new. It is as old as 1952 when the first general election took place. Innumerable political parties based either on communalism or regionalism participated in the election. Some of them did get fairly good representation in the Legislatures. But the majority which the Congress secured in the Central Parliament and in most of the State Legislatures gave its leaders confidence that they could successfully meet the challenge posed by these parties. Subsequent to the election, the congress leaders thought that the new orientation that they were giving to their policies—friendship and cooperation with the Socialist powers on a world-scale; adopting of the Socialist pattern, and subsequently Socialism, as the goal of the nation; the new perspective regarding planned economy; agrarian reform, etc—would secure them such solid support from the people that a crushing blow could be dealt to communalism and regionalism.

2. Subsequent developments showed how misplaced was their optimism in this regard. Parties based on communal and regional separatism grew stronger, rather than weaker. They were able to cash in on the growing discontent of the people against Congress policies to a far greater extent than Left Democratic Opposition. And by 1959, they had grown so serious that the then President of the AICC, Smt. Indira Gandhi, called a representative meeting of Congress workers to discuss the problem. That Conference decided to appoint a Committee to consider the whole question of what has since come to be known as National Integration. This decision, however, was not implemented. In the meanwhile, the language disturbances in Assam took place and showed the explosive character of the situation.

3. It was against this background that the Bhavanagar session of the Congress, held in January 1961, adopted a resolution on National Integration. That resolution stated: "democracy, with its widespread system of elections, which is vitally important and which is the very basis of our Constitution, has also resulted in some ways in encouraging certain disintegrating forces.

Under the cover of political and social activities, the old evils of communalism, casteism, provincialism and linguism have appeared again in some measure...Communalism which has in the past done so much injury to the nation is again coming into evidence and taking advantage of the democratic apparatus to undermine this unity to encourage reactionary tendencies. Provincialism and linguism have also injured the cause for which the Congress stands. Caste, although losing its basic force, is beginning to function in a new political garb. If these tendencies are allowed to flourish, then India's progress will be gravely retarded and even freedom will be imperilled. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that every effort should be made to remove these evils and always to keep in view the unity and integrity of the nation. Adequate progress can only be based on a national scale, embracing all communities and states."

4. The adoption of the above resolution was followed by the appointment of the Committee envisaged earlier. Headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Committee held two sittings at the end of which it submitted a report to the AICC. The report is divided into four parts. The first part deals with "National Outlook in the Fields of Education and other Spheres" and makes 10 recommendations. The second is in relation to "Promotion of opportunities for Minorities in the Economic Field" and makes 8 recommendations. The third part is on "Maintenance of Security of personnel and property" with 9 recommendations. The last part explains "role of the Congress Organisation" and has 9 recommendations.

5. In the meanwhile, the seriousness of the threat which communalism constitutes to national life was further underlined by the riots which took place in Jabalpur, Saugar and other places in Madhya Pradesh. The meetings of the Indira Gandhi Committee were themselves held under the shadow of these riots. This naturally influenced the deliberations of the Committee. It is doubtful if the Committee would have considered the questions dealt with in the second part of its report had it not been for the fact that these communal riots did break out. It may

be further noted that, as it is, the report did not deal with what are known as "Linguism", "Provincialism" and "Regionalism".

6. The communal riots caused concern to progressive elements outside the Congress too. Our Party expressed its concern through the report and resolution adopted at the Vijayawada Congress. The resolution stated: "Fissiparous and separatist tendencies based on caste, community, province and region have grown apace in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritage of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation. The patriotic elements belonging to all parties are deeply depressed by these phenomena". This was further expressed in the letter which Com. Ajoy Ghosh wrote to Pandit Nehru on May 18, 1961, in which he said: "In the light of what happened in Jabalpur and other places, it is evident that the Congress, by relying on its own influence alone, cannot wage an effective battle against communalism. Not merely is the influence of the Congress today considerably less than it was in the days of struggle for national freedom but also it is a well-known fact that many Congressmen themselves have come to imbibe communal ideas. At the same time, larger numbers of Congressmen are definitely non-communal. There are non-communal and secular-minded men and women in other parties also and many of those who belong to no party. In this situation and taking into account the seriousness of the menace, we feel that an appeal should be issued by you and by the Congress Working Committee to ask Congressmen in all parts of the country to join hands with other non-communal forces to wage a concerted struggle against communalism. Also we feel that it is high time that a Conference is convened of all the major secular parties and elements in the country to discuss communal problem in all its aspects and evolve ways and means to eradicate it".

The National Integration Conference held from 28th September to the 1st of October, 1961, was not of the type suggested by Com. Ghosh in the above letter. What had been suggested by him was a Conference of secular parties. Actually,

however, the Conference included the representatives of some communal parties. The National Integration Council formed after the Conference also included the leader of the Jan Sangh. By the time the first meeting of the Council was to be held, another member was added to it—the representative of the Hindu Mahasabha. While thus including representatives of Hindu Communalism, the Conference and the Council did not include representatives of the Muslim League, the Akalis, DMK, etc. This naturally led to be legitimate criticism of the composition of the Conference, as well of the Council formed after the Conference. Our party, however, did not consider this to be strong enough ground to refrain from participating in their work. Com. Ajoy Ghosh and Dr. Ahmed participated in the Conference, while Com. E. M. S. Namboodiripad has been functioning in the National Integration Council and in the Sub-Committee appointed by the Council. Comrade Hiren Mukerjee functioned in the Emotional Integration Committee headed by Dr. Sampurnanand.

8. In the meanwhile, the question of national integration has been dealt with by certain other bodies as well. These are:

- (a) the Chief Ministers' Conference, held in May-June 1961. The Conference discussed in detail the various recommendations made in the Indira Gandhi Committee's report. (The members of that Committee and the Congress President were also invited to attend the Chief Ministers' Conference). The Conference considered most of the recommendations made in part I, II and III of the Report (leaving out the last part which is concerned exclusively with the role of the Congress as an organisation). Having come to some conclusions on each of these recommendations, another Conference of the Chief Ministers and Central Minister was held on August 10th, 11th and 12th, 1961. The Conference had as the main subject for its discussion the question of language in its various aspects.
- (b) the Emotional Integration Council with Dr. Sampurnanand as its Chairman and Com. Hiren Mukerjee as one of its members. The Committee submitted a preliminary report

on November 17, 1961. The Committee also submitted its final report in September this year. Com. Hiren Mukerjee, as a member of the Committee, submitted a sort of supplementary note:

- (c) the Committee on "Religious and Moral Instruction", appointed by the Ministry of Education with Shri Prakash as its Chairman which submitted its reports on December 21, 1959.

9. The above mentioned bodies went in to the question of national integration whether under direct governmental auspices, or under the auspices of the ruling party. The question has also been discussed by various non-official bodies, through Seminars, Conferences, etc. It is not possible to keep track of them all, or to bring together the various suggestions and recommendations made by them. Nor it is necessary, since a study of the above reports will be sufficient to show the way in which official thinking goes on regarding the basic issues involved.

II. Fundamental Approach of Marxism to the Question

10. A study of this voluminous material does not help us to understand the fundamental reason why such a threat to national integration should make its appearance now. The various specific recommendations made in them, therefore, do not help to solve the most important problems connected with national integration. The fundamental problem was put as follows by Com. Ajoy Ghosh in the speech he delivered at the National Integration Conference, held in September-October, 1961: "At the very outset we feel it necessary to emphasise certain contradictory aspects of the present situation. India is today administratively more united than ever in its history. Economic planning is carried out by central body. Above all, state power is no longer exercised as was the case in the past by the British who were interested in keeping up the accentuated conflicts inside the country. All these are factors favourable for the consolidation of the unity of the country and of the nation. Yet, as would be denied by none, fissiparous and disruptive tendencies have grown alarmingly in recent years. They threatened one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation. What has then happened? How has this happen?"

Any study of the national integration, which does not try to find a correct answer to these questions will not help us. The analysis and series of solution contained in it is bound to be superficial. This happens to be the case which all the recommendations made by the various official or Congress bodies mentioned above.

11. It should be recognised that our own Party is not free from the superficiality of approach mentioned above. While the Vijayawada resolution of the Party Congress and the speech delivered by Com. Ghosh at that Congress explains the political background against which these fissiparous and disruptive tendencies are emerging and growing stronger, our Party is yet to make a proper Marxist analysis of the growth of disintegrating forces in our national political life. While the above-quoted passage from Comrade Ghosh's speech at the National Integration Conference indicated an awareness of the need for a sufficiently deep study of the phenomenon, no such study has actually been made. The result, therefore, is that the party is not able to take a unified stand on the problem of national integration in general, and its various aspects like Communalism, Casteism, Linguism, Regionalism and Separatism. On every one of these questions, conflicting trends in theory and practice—revisionism in theory and right opportunism in practice, as well as dogmatism in theory and sectarianism in practice—have made their appearance and are preventing the Party from coming to correct conclusions. The enemies of the Party are naturally trying to take advantage of this situation in order to accentuate differences and to create a split in the Party.

12. It is, therefore, necessary for the Party to steer clear of these incorrect trends. It should take its firm stand on the solid ground of Marxism-Leninism on the question of national unity. None of these fissiparous and disruptive forces that are making their appearance now in our political life can be understood if we do not understand the fundamental proposition of Marxism which Lenin Summed up in "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination". He said: "National movements did not first arise in Russia, nor are they peculiar to Russia alone. Throughout

the world, the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with national-movements. The economic basis of these movements is that in order to achieve complete victory for commodity production the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, must have politically united territories with a population speaking the same language, while all obstacles to the development of this language and to its consolidation in literature are removed. Language is the most important means of human intercourse; unity of language and unimpeded development are the most important conditions of a genuinely free and extensive commercial turnover corresponding to modern capitalism, of a free and broad grouping of the population in all their separate classes; finally, they are a condition for the close connection between the market and each and every proprietor and petty-proprietor, seller and buyer. The formation of *national states*, under which these requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied, is therefore the tendency of every national movement. The deepest economic factors urge towards this goal, and for the whole of Western Europe, nay for the entire civilised world, the *typical*, normal state for the capitalist period is, therefore, the national state".

13. This fundamental Marxist-Leninist approach to the phenomenon of development of nations and national movements should never be lost sight of by our Party when it deals with the question of national integration in our own country. Particular mention should be made of this now, when the bourgeoisie in our country is equating "linguism" with casteism and communalism as "fissiparous trends", and, on that ground, even suggesting that the formation of linguistic states was a mistake. Any surrender to this bourgeois stand would be a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

14. Equally incorrect would it be to make a mechanical comparison of the conditions in Russia with those in India and to apply to India the principle of self-determination for all nationalities, including the right to separate. Lenin himself had warned against such mechanical application of the principle of self-determination to all countries regardless of differences among them.

Polemising against Rosa Luxemburg who argued that, since this principle is not included in the Programmes of West European Social Democratic Parties, it is wrong to put it in the Russian Party's Programme, Lenin says: "A comparison of the political and economic development of various countries as well as of the Marxian Programme is of enormous importance from the standpoint of Marxism, for, no doubt exists as to the general nature of modern states and general law of their development. But such a comparison must be drawn in a sensible way. The elementary condition required for this is the elucidation of the question whether the historical epochs of the development of the countries contrasted are at all *comparable*".

Regarding the national question itself, he says that Rosa Luxemburg "has lost sight of the most important thing, i.e., the differences between countries where the bourgeois democratic reformation has long been completed and those where it has not yet been completed. This difference is the crux of the matter. The complete disregard of this difference transforms Rosa Luxemburg's exceedingly long article into a collection of empty, meaningless generalisations."

Lenin goes on to refer to the comparison between Austria and Russia made by Rosa Luxemburg, and says that under the circumstances in which the bourgeois democratic revolution **was started** and completed in Austria, it was perfectly natural for the Germans, Hungarians and Slavs in that country to gravitate "not towards separation from Austria, but on the contrary, towards the preservation of the integrity of Austria precisely in order to preserve national independence, which could have been completely crushed by more rapacious and powerful neighbours! Owing to this peculiar position, Austria assumed to form of a double centre (dual) state, and is not being transformed into a three centre (triune) state (Germans, Hungarians and Slavs)".

He then adds: "The peculiar conditions of Russia in regard to the national question are just the reverse of those we have in Austria. Russia is a state with a single national centre the Great Russian. The Great Russian occupy a gigantic uninterrupted stretch of territory and number about 70 million".

Analysing in detail the stand taken by Marx and Engels on the national question in relation to Poland and Ireland, Lenin says: "The conclusion that follows from all these critical remarks of Marx is clear: the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken *all* nations to independent life. But to brush aside Mass national movements once they have started and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to *nationalistic* prejudices, that is recognising "one's own as the model nation" (or we will add on our part, as the nation possessing the exclusive privilege of forming a state).

15. Running like a thread throughout Lenin's writing on the principle of self-determination for non-Russian nationalities, including the right of separation, is recognition of the basic fact that the then Czarist empire was a state of Great Russian domination. "The peculiarity of this national state (Russian)" he says, "is, in the first place, that 'alien races' (which, on the whole, form the majority of the entire population—57 per cent) inhabit precisely the border lands; secondly, that the oppression of these "alien races" is much worse than in the neighbouring states (and not in the European States alone); thirdly, that in a number of cases the oppressed nationalities inhabiting the border lands have compatriots across the border who enjoy greater national independence (suffice it to recall the Fins, the Swedes, the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Rumanians along the Western and Southern frontiers of the State); fourthly, the development of capitalism and the general level of culture are not infrequently higher in the border lands inhabited by "alien races" than in the centre of the state. Finally, it is precisely in the neighbouring Asiatic states that we observe incipient bourgeois revolutions and national movements, which partly affect kindred nationalities within the borders of Russia."

To which he adds: "It is precisely the concrete historical peculiarities of the national question in Russia that caused the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination in the present epoch to become a matter of special urgency in this regard."

16. It will be idle to argue these specific features which existed in Russia then exist in India today. The very manner in which capitalism developed in our country and generated the national movement is basically different from that of Russia. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse the specific features of the development of capitalism and of the national movement in our country in order that we may be able to apply the general principle of Marxism-Leninism to our own conditions. But before doing this, it is necessary for us to be clear in our minds that our approach to this question as to all other questions is opposed to the approach of the bourgeoisie.

National integration in general, and its various aspects like casteism, communalism, linguism and regionalism are not abstractions, as the bourgeoisie would have us believe when it speaks of these 'fissiparous trends' in contraposition to "nationalism" in general. All these aspects of national integration, as well as the fact that problems of national integration have assumed importance at the present time, are the result of historical development. The working of these social, economic, political and cultural forces that led to the emergence of these separate problems, as well as the fact that the question of integration *versus* disintegration has come to the forefront now, have to be studied from a historical point of view. Furthermore, the study should be made not academically, but in a concrete way in relation to the class interests of the oppressed masses.

When such an approach is made, it will inevitably come into conflict with the approach of the bourgeoisie. There is, therefore, no question of our Party evolving a common programme of struggle against fissiparous trends and for national integration with the bourgeoisie, although, on several specific issues of struggle against fissiparous trends, we can and should carry on a continuous, systematic struggle against the bourgeois approach to national integration, even while joining hands with it on issues in order to isolate and defeat the more disruptive forces.

III. India's Specific Conditions Analysed

17. The essential differences between Czarist Russia, in relation to which Lenin worked out his principle of self-determination for nationalities, and India is that capitalism became the dominant social system in our country not under the native bourgeoisie, but under foreign capital. The efforts to break the internal barriers for the exchange of commodities and thus to create a unified home market were successfully made in our country by the British rulers. Hence the domination of the bourgeoisie of the numerically largest nation within the country (which was the specific feature of the Czarist empire, where the Great Russian nationality which was not only numerically the largest but politically dominant in the country) is absent in India.

As a matter of fact, Indian capital developed in such a way that the territories occupied by that linguistic group which is numerically the largest, the Hindi speaking people is economically less advanced than certain other territories. It is Bombay and Calcutta and not the cities of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan that became the base of such industrialisation as took place in the country during the British rule. In relation to other indices of capitalist development, such as the growth of a professional middle class, the Hindi-speaking region was behind Bengal, South India and Bombay. Finally, the Hindi-speaking region itself was not unified enough to become a dominant national group in the political, not to speak of the economic life of the country.

Coming to language, literature and culture too, there was no question of the Hindi-speaking region dominating over the rest of country in the days of the British rule. The question then was one of absolute equality of all Indian languages including Hindi, in that they all were equally suffering because of the domination of English. It was not till the 1920's that it became permissible among the educated middle class all over the country to use the mother tongue as the medium of communication between all.

18. Naturally, under these circumstances, the target of attack from all the democratic forces including the Marxists in India was the domination of the British ruling classes, as opposed to

the Great Russian in Czarist Russia. It was in this struggle against these foreign rulers that our national movement took shape, national unity forged.

It should, however, be noted that, as soon as the anti-imperialist movement penetrated to the mass of our people, there emerged a strong mass movement not only for the development of all Indian languages, but for the formation of linguistic states. The first big mass national movement in which the peasantry was drawn into the movement at a big scale—the non-cooperation and Khilafat movement—also had the idea of linguistic states inscribed on its banner.

It should be further noted that, as early as the Lucknow (Congress-League) Pact, it came to be accepted in the national movement that the Constitution of independent India should be Federal and not unitary. At every phase in the history of discussions on the future set-up of free India State, everybody had to agree to its federal basis. This principle has become such an integral part of the political consciousness of the people that, at the time of the framing of the Constitution after the attainment of independence, even those who were in their heart of hearts advocates of the unitary principle had to agree to the federal basis of the constitution.

19. The acceptance by the entire anti-imperialist movement in the pre-independence period of these two principles—the federal basis of the Constitution and the formation of the linguistic states—shows that, despite the above-mentioned difference between Czarist Russia and pre-independence India, the crucial principle laid down by Lenin regarding the formation of national states as an integral part of the capitalist movement, as well as the connection which he traces between language and national development, are applicable to our country also.

It is, however, these two crucial factors that are sought to be ignored by our bourgeoisie, when, in the name of national integration, they harp upon the theme of a strong centre which, in practice, renounces the federal basis of our Constitution and carry out a persistent campaign against what they call the 'mistake' of having formed the linguistic states.

In our Party also, it is natural that a trend should appear which ignores the historical significance of these two factors. This does in practice lead to trailing behind the bourgeoisie in its way of "fighting separatism".

20. While drawing attention to these specific features of the development of capitalism and national movement in our country, it is at the same time necessary for us to note that, despite their existence, the general tendency of our national movement was against the separation of the various linguistic groups inhabiting the country. The tendency of our national movement was for the utmost possible *unity* of the entire country *consistent* with the need for allowing all the linguistic and cultural groups to develop their languages and cultures, as well as making the *States* (formed on the basis of language) *autonomous within the field of activities allotted to them. The unity of the country is not to be counterposed to, but integrated with, the widest possible autonomy for the states formed on linguistic basis.* It is this that is denied by the separatist elements like DMK whose ideology finds reflection in our ranks too.

21. The economic basis for the particular form of political consciousness of the anti-imperialist movement which is opposed to separatism lies in the fact that, created as it was by the British rulers, the home market in the country was one and indivisible. It was in the interests of the bourgeoisie in the entire country to have the unity and integrity of this all-India market preserved. Those bourgeois groups which were already developing under the British were not basing themselves on any particular territory inhabited by a single linguistic group. Everyone of them was interested in extending its activities to territories inhabited by other linguistic groups. As a matter of fact, the most developed among them—the Gujaratis and the Marvadis—had connections as traders and industrialists with the territories inhabited by almost all linguistic groups. A common Indian citizenship as different from different citizenships for each linguistic groups, is, therefore, conducive to the development of the bourgeoisie as a whole: the right of every individual citizen of India to hold property, carry on trade, start industry and take up jobs in any

part of the country is necessary for that "free and extensive commercial turnover corresponding to modern capitalism" in the interests of which, according to Lenin, development of language and the formation of national states are necessary.

22. At the same time, language being the most important means of human intercourse, its development is an unavoidable necessity if capitalism has to develop all over the country. It is impossible for the development of such democratic institutions as are necessary for genuine capitalist development if we continue to use a foreign language as the medium for education and for official work. Such a transition from English to the mother tongue as medium of instruction and official work can be brought about only if the states are formed on linguistic basis.

It should also be noted that, while the bourgeoisie as a whole is interested in keeping the unity and integrity of the Indian markets as a whole, there are undoubtedly developing elements in the various territories and regions of the country who are not strong enough to compete with the strongest and most dominant among the Indian bourgeoisie. A fully unitary Indian state, it is feared would be so much in the hands of the dominant sections that these growing elements would be thwarted by them.

23. It was inevitable, under these circumstances, that the aspiration for a united country should take the form of the well-known principle of "unity in diversity"—the federal principle of the Constitution and the linguistic basis for the formation of States.

IV. Post-Independence Developments

24. The position, however, did not remain like this in the post-independence years. The urge for united India began to get weakened and ideas of separatism grew. This was, of course, most serious in Madras, where the DK and DMK championed the cause, of a separate Dravidanad and came on the political scene as serious forces as early as during the first general election. The same trend, however, appeared in different forms in other states as well. Particularly was this true of those areas which are predominantly inhabited by the tribal people, such as

Jharkhand, Assam, etc. But even in areas where it did not take the extreme form of separatism, tendencies towards regionalism made their appearance and grew strong.

25. This new phenomenon should be traced to the manner in which development of capitalism proceeded in the post-independence years and affected the economy and politics of the country. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse the major economic and political developments that took place during the last 15 years.

26. The first important development to be noted in this connection is that, for the first time in the history of the country, India became politically and administratively united. A centralised administration came into existence and all the petty principalities and 'Indian States' were integrated into it. Those economic factors which, even under the British tended to unite the country were now supplemented by certain factors which made themselves felt in the political and administrative fields.

27. This, however, was done by the bourgeoisie which was by no means single and original. It was composed of various groups, each of which had its own special interests and had, therefore, original conflicts among them. Furthermore, it was ever-growing; new sections were entering its ranks, while those that were already in existence grew in size. All this naturally led to competition between one group and another. Each of them, therefore, naturally tried to use the political and administrative machinery that had come into existence during this period in order to serve its own specific interests and, therefore, against its rivals. The realities of economic life, therefore, generated the forces of conflict in a situation in which politics and administration were being increasingly integrated.

28. To these conflicts within the capitalist class as a whole should be added the fact that whatever economic development is taking place is extremely uneven. It is true that the formerly backward states and regions have started developing. It is, however, equally indisputable that the lag between some of these formerly backward regions and the more advanced regions is widening, rather than being breached. There are whole states in

the country, and within each state there are particular regions, whose development is below the average for the country as a whole and for the particular states respectively. This naturally leads to discontent in the states and regions which remain relatively backward. It is, therefore, inevitable that the whole people in such states and regions rally behind the bourgeoisie of these states and regions in demanding that the centre takes effective measure to overcome their backwardness.

29. It is natural that, led as they are by the bourgeoisie such people's movements against the policy of the centre take undesirable and unjustified forms; they are bound to make unreasonable demands on the Central Government and to take a generally chauvinistic attitude, so long as the bourgeoisie is at their head. If this is what is meant by the usual denunciation of provincialism and regionalism, then that denunciation is justified. It, however, remains true that, in most cases of provincialism and regionalism, the reason for the discontent is strong—the state or region concerned is, undoubtedly, being denied the legitimate share of the nation's overall development.

30. Developments in the political and cultural fields too tended to generate the forces of disunity, rather than of unity. No more is English foisted on the people by alien rulers; our own people are perfectly at liberty to throw it out in favour of their own languages. An end has, therefore, been put to the situation in which all the languages in the country were equally being suppressed in favour of the foreign language that was dominant in the political, administrative and cultural life of the country. Being the language spoken by the largest number of people and, therefore, known in pre-independence years as national language, Hindi has come to be accepted as the language of Central administration and all-India communication. Hindi is eventually to replace English as the official language of the country and as medium of instruction at least in higher educational institutions.

This has led to two types of conflicts: (i) the conflict between those who are conservative enough to resist the very idea of change-over from English, to demand that English continue to be used for an indefinite time, and those who want a

rapid transition from English to Indian languages; (ii) the conflict among those who are united on the need for replacing English but who differ on which should replace it as the all-India language. Some want Hindi to take its place, while others want to treat all Indian languages alike. The latter, however, is an impossibility, since one language has to be used for all India purposes and this has necessarily to be Hindi. Now Hindi-speaking linguistic groups therefore contain a much bigger proportion of those who champion the continuance of English indefinitely.

31. This led to acute controversy on the language issue which reached the time when the Constitution was being framed and which continues even now. Passions are roused in all parts of the country—both in favour of Hindi in Hindi-speaking and “against Hindi imperialism” in the non-Hindi-speaking regions. It is an index of the depth of feeling on this issue that those who are seeking a compromise on this issue have no other alternative than to suggest that English together with Hindi should continue to be an associate language and the link between various Universities until such time as the non-Hindi-speaking groups voluntarily agree to accept Hindi as the sole official language of the Centre and the link between various Universities.

32. The conflict, however, is not confined to Hindi-versus non-Hindi languages. It extends itself to the relations between different non-Hindi languages, as shown in the Assamee-Bengali controversy in Assam in 1960.

33. Together with such a growth “linguism” should also be noted another phenomenon—emergence of tribal separatism. The inevitable result of capitalist development is that forces of capitalism from the plains enter the hills inhabited by the tribal people. The economic and social life of the tribes, so far free from the penetration of capitalist forces, has now become subject to the working of the laws of capitalism. Land and other forms of property owned by the tribes begin to get alienated; the community life that binds the tribes together gets disrupted; pauperisation, if not proletarianisation, forces members of all tribal groups to leave the area of inhabitation of their tribes,

leave their traditional jobs in the tribal community and seek jobs elsewhere. While the economic and social life of the tribal people is thus getting disrupted, exploiting classes and elements from the non-tribal areas are able to lord it over the territories and regions inhabited by the tribals. The conflict which consequently arises between the tribal and plains people takes various forms in various parts of the country. It has so far reached the most extreme form in the Assam hills where the violent movement developed between the Naga rebels and the administration on the issue of forming a fully separate independent Nagaland. In other places like Jharkhand, it has not taken this extreme form, but the fact that the demand for the formation of a separate Jharkhand State arose shows that the tribal problem is serious everywhere.

34. It is these economic and political factors that have led to the development of what is known as separatism. It has reached the most extreme form in Madras where the DK-DMK slogan of separate Dravidanad has become a serious political force and in Nagaland where the slogan of separate Nagaland has created an explosive situation.

If the economic and political developments that have led to these separatist movements are not reversed, not only will it be impossible to arrest the growth of these separatist movements but it is even likely that other similar movements arise in other parts of the country. For, the disparity in economic development, the question of language or languages that should be used for administrative and educational purposes, and the conflict between tribals and plains people are agitating millions of people outside Madras and Assam as well. Even in those places where they have not reached the stage of demanding separation, it should be noted, violent passions are being roused on such issues as allocation of river waters, location of industry and other development projects etc.

V. Bourgeois and Proletarian Approaches to Separatism

35. The bourgeoisie is blind to these realities of the economic and political developments in the country during the post-

independence years. Neither the class as a whole nor the different sections and groups into which it is divided, are able to see that the problem of national integration is in essence that of forging unity in diversity in a multi-lingual—if we are to use the strictly correct Marxian term a multi-national-country in which capitalism is developing rapidly, but unevenly. Far from solving the real problems arising out of this situation its leaders satisfy themselves by just denouncing linguism, provincialism, regionalism and separatism as disruptive of national unity. Having made such a denunciation of these outward symptoms of a deep-seated malady which has its roots in the process of social change, they come to the facile conclusion that the remedy for the evils lies in such administrative measures as putting a ban on the propagation of separatist ideology, if not a ban on the parties and organisations which propagate them.

Such an approach on the part of the dominant All-India section of the bourgeoisie is matched by the approach of those sections of the bourgeoisie which are dominant in the non-Hindi-speaking states and regions which are lagging behind others in economic and cultural developments, and among the tribal people. While the dominant bourgeoisie uses the slogan of 'national unity and integration' to justify its domination in the entire country, the other sections plead the cause of 'justice' and stretch it sometimes to the point of political and administrative autonomy, even separation.

36. Failure to see this class nature of fissiparous tendencies like linguism, provincialism, regionalism and separatism takes our party too towards the line of tailing behind either the dominant all-India bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie of the states, regions, linguistic groups and tribes.

The former leads a section of the Party to make a dogma of the slogan of 'national unity and integration' and repeat the same arguments as are advanced by the all-India leaders of the Congress. This, in practice, leads them to the position of supporting the Congress as against communal and separatist political parties. Such arguments and practices miss the basic and significant fact that the Congress approach to the question of

national unity and integration is such as cannot be acceptable to broad sections of the people.

On the other hand, there is a section of the Party which makes a dogma of the particular point in Lenin's work which is related to the development of nations and the right to self-determination and would try to mechanically apply it to our own conditions. This dogmatic approach leads them, in practice, to a policy of tailing behind the DMK and other movements which are based on separatism. Even in those states and regions where the local bourgeoisie does not put forward the demand for separation, this approach rallies the Party behind the local bourgeoisie with regard to location of projects, division of waters, etc.

The essence of both approaches is the same—dogmatism in theory and tailism in practice. The difference is only with respect to the particular principle which is to be made a dogma—'national unity' or 'self-determination of nations'; also which section of the bourgeoisie to tail behind—the dominant all-India bourgeoisie, or the bourgeoisie that is dominant in different states, regions, linguistic groups and tribes.

37. The National Council, therefore, calls upon the entire party to launch a determined struggle against every manifestation of these anti-Marxian trends. The unity of the entire Party has to be built through a systematic struggle against bourgeois trends of all varieties (a) against the tendency of over centralisation and domination as well as against provincialism and regionalism; (b) against the efforts to develop Hindi and help it to dominate in the administrative and cultural life of the country at the expense of other languages, as well as against refusal to recognize the special role of Hindi as the language of all-India communication; (c) against the landlords and capitalists of the plains who want to dominate the tribal belt, as well as against the growing bourgeois elements among the tribal people to set their people against the plains' people.

Such a struggle against all forms of disruption practised by different sections of the bourgeoisie cannot be conducted if the Party adopts the line of building unity with Congress against

the forces of separatism, as is advocated by some comrades; or the line of fighting the Congress in alliance with the forces of separatism, as some sections within the Party would like to do. It can be done only if the Party independently comes before the people with a programme of building the unity of India on the basis of recognition of the real diversity which exists because of its multi-lingual character, the uneven economic and cultural development of various states and regions and the existence of the various tribes inhabiting the various parts of India.

VI. Casteism and Communalism

38. The same thing applies to the other two aspects of the problem of national integration, or rather the other two "fissiparous trends" which are talked of in connection with national integration—casteism and communalism. Just as linguism, provincialism, regionalism and tribal separatism, so have communalism their roots in the concrete manner in which capitalist development has been and is still taking place in the country. These two phenomena can, therefore, be understood and their concrete manifestations dealt with only through a scientific analysis of the social institution of the caste and religious community and how they are being changed in the process of capitalist development.

39. Caste is an ancient social institution. It grew and developed on the basis of relations of production existing under pre-capitalist social formations; as a matter of fact, it was, by and large, a particular form of division of labour in an economy where commodity production had not yet become the dominant feature of social life. Such a form of division of labour being inconsistent with requirements of commodity production—which began to become dominant in the economy of the country under the British regime—, caste became an anachronism. It, therefore, should have ceased to exist the moment commodity production became the dominant feature of the economic life of the country.

40. This, however, did not happen because:

Firstly, the new relations of production being developed by capitalism involve acute competition among the various sections of the nascent bourgeoisie. In this competition between different

sections of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois elements developing from particular castes have greater opportunities for advancement. It is true that individuals belonging to all castes are able to develop as capitalist farmers, traders, industrialists, government officials, etc. But the number of such individuals is much less among the 'lower' castes than among the 'higher' castes; in the case of such castes as are in the lowest rung of the castes ladder (scheduled castes and scheduled tribes), they are virtually absent. The result is, that, by and large, the particular castes which were dominant in pre-capitalist social formations are able now to appropriate a bigger share of the fruits of capitalist development; they, therefore, continue to be dominant in the new set up also. Furthermore, the development of capitalist relations in agriculture and industry leads to the ruination of the common people of the country belonging to all castes, particularly those in the 'lower' castes. Capitalist development does therefore, appear to them as a process of enriching the 'higher' and impoverishing the 'lower' castes.

Secondly, even though the particular (caste) form of division of Labour has ceased to exist, the social consciousness which is crystallised in the manners and customs of the people continue to be caste-oriented. Even those who have broken, and continue to break, the centuries-old rules of caste in relation to their professions, who do not observe the rules of caste behaviour when outside the home, strictly observe the rules of caste in the home and in respect of all social customs and manners.

41. These two factors are not unrelated to, but act and react on, each other. The first generates acute competitions and rivalries between sections of the bourgeoisie belonging to the 'higher' and 'lower' castes in general, and between the various castes in each category. The bourgeoisie belonging to each caste, therefore, seeks to secure advantages for itself at the expense of the other and, to this end, utilises the caste sentiment. In doing this, they see a handy instrument in the second factor—the remnants of caste consciousness among the masses are thus turned by the bourgeoisie into caste passions. On the other hand, it is just because caste consciousness and caste prejudices among

the masses that the unequal development, which is the inevitable companion of the development of capitalist relations, becomes inequality between various castes in a new way. In other words, caste inequality which was the characteristic feature of pre-capitalist society in India is now further strengthened by inequality of development under capitalist development and gives rise to discontent and agitation on the part of various castes in relation to division of jobs and professions, opportunities for development in the lines of industries and trade, etc.

42. The struggle against casteism, therefore, should be based on a two-pronged attack: (a) against all remnants of inequality between castes which was the characteristic feature of precapitalist society—for full equality of all citizens of the country irrespective of the case into which they are born; for special measures to raise the level of life of those who belong to the formerly 'lower' castes; (b) against the uneven development which is inevitable if the process of modernisation is to take place under the domination of the bourgeoisie for a just and fair division of all developmental opportunities among the various states, regions, and groups of people. Only by uniting the masses of people belonging to all castes, high and low, for such a two-pronged attack can the evil of casteism be fought and overcome.

43. Far from doing this, the bourgeoisie intensify the conflicts between the 'higher' and 'lower' castes. Here again, two sections of the bourgeoisie take two different stands which are contradictory to each other and, in the process, divides the people along caste lines. Furthermore, in the absence of a correct class approach, our own Party is, to a certain extent, influenced by these different approaches.

44. The bourgeoisie belonging to the 'higher' castes uses the struggle against casteism as the means through which a formal, juridical equality between all castes is maintained, but behind this is continued the real inequality between 'high' and 'low' castes. Such, for instance, is the struggle waged by the 'nationalist' sections in all parties and organisations who demand that reservations and other concessions to be given to the 'backward

communities' should be based not on caste but on the economic condition. This argument forgets the fact that there are certain castes which, due to historical reasons, have continued to be and still are backward *as castes* and that their backwardness can, therefore, be overcome only if they are helped *as castes* to become equal to other castes. In several other ways too, the formerly 'lower' and 'backward' castes have to be helped to overcome their low standard and backward conditions if casteism is to be liquidated.

45. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie belonging to the 'lower' castes refuse to recognise the fact that, if the inequality of their castes as castes is to be ended, they have to unite with the masses belonging to the 'higher' castes. For, the interest of the masses belonging to all castes, the interests of the country, demand the abolition of the caste itself as an institution. The existence of caste consciousness, caste prejudices, discontent on the basis of castes—all these are impediments in the way of developments of the country as a whole and, therefore of the development of the 'lower' and backward castes themselves. Caste separatism therefore hinders, rather than helps, the advancement of the 'lower' and 'backward' castes themselves.

46. Our Party, therefore, should be vigilant against the ideological offensive launched by the bourgeoisie—either those sections of it which belong to the 'high' castes, or those who hail from the 'low' castes. Here again, the Party should launch a two-pronged ideological offensive (a) against all forms and manifestations of 'high castes' domination masquerading in the name of struggle against casteism for special measures to help the 'low' castes to advance more rapidly than the 'high' castes, so that they can shortly be equal to them; (b) against the petty short-sighted approach of the bourgeoisie belonging to the 'lower' castes who fail to see the immense harm done to the low castes themselves arising by the division of the masses as between the 'high' and 'low' castes. The Party should carry on systematic ideological work among the masses belonging to the castes for eradication of all remnants of caste as an institution and to generate the unity of the masses of the working people through the process of class struggle.

47. The other fissiparous trend which has to be combated—communalism—is related to the religious community which is an institution not peculiar to India. Different religious communities, and even conflicts between them, exist in several other countries. But the problem of relations between different religious communities in India has its own peculiar feature. The two religious communities which may be said to be dominant in our country—the Hindus and the Muslims—have behind them a history of continuous political conflicts. It is true that history is not a one-sided story of conflicts alone, as was sedulously propagated by British historians; co-operation and brotherhood had developed at various stages between the two communities. It is, nevertheless, a fact that conflicts have taken place between them at various phases in our history. All the more is this true of the British rule when the rulers deliberately followed the policy of 'divide and rule'. Political and administrative measures to keep them divided and to incite quarrels between them, were supplemented by the ideological poisoning of the minds of the people by the one-sided distortion of Indian history. The result of all this was that, at the very time when the Indian people were more and more uniting themselves against the British the relations between the two major religious communities were getting further and further strained. Every time a mass anti-imperialist movement reached the zenith of militancy, Hindus and Muslims were turned against each other; the unity of the anti-imperialist movement was thus weakened. This naturally led to the inevitable partition of India and all that followed.

48. Such a historical development of the relations between Hindus and Muslims to a certain extent, those between Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims as well—has led to a mixing up of religion and politics. While everybody pays lip service to the modern concept of a secular state, religion, in practice, interferes in the political life of the nation. Extreme viewpoints among the Hindus lead to the concept of Hindu Rashtra which is openly proclaimed by certain organisations. Other religious groups too have given birth to their own variants of the anti-secular concept—Deen Ilahi; the superiority of the Panth; the Christian

way of life and approach to all questions, including political education; etc. Organisations and parties which base themselves on these anti-secular concepts spring up all over the country and become a menace to the nation. Particularly is this true of the organisations and parties which speak in the name of Hindu Dharma, since not only is their approach anti-secular; they chauvinistically demand the suppression of the freedom of conscience of minority religious groups.

49. Far from effectively combating these anti-secular trends, the bourgeoisie gives concessions to them and strengthens them. Its leaders do not take a consistently secular stand, but are themselves victims of religious obscurantism. They try to distort the whole concept of secularism; they would have the people believe that, instead of complete separation of religion and politics from each other, secularism means freedom for all religious faiths to equally interfere in the political life of the people. This approach of the bourgeoisie can be clearly seen in such official documents as the report of the Sri Prakasha and Sampurnanand Committees referred to earlier. Furthermore, the concession that they give to the communalism of the majority community can be seen in the fact mentioned earlier that, in constituting the National Integration Council the Central Government had no hesitation in appointing the representatives of the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha while scrupulously keeping out the representatives of non-Hindu communal organisations.

50. Our Party, therefore, has the duty to fight an uncompromising struggle for the consistent implementation of the principle of secularism. Even the slightest departure from that principle should be exposed and fought. While defending the right of every religious community—whether it is the majority or minority—as well as of those who have no faith in any religion to believe in and practise whatever religion they like or to remain irreligious, the Party should fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the social, economic, political and administrative life of the nation. Equally opposing the efforts of the leaders of all religious groups to interfere in the

public life of the country, we should, concentrate the fire on the chauvinistic leaders of the majority religious community—the Hindus. At the same time, we should continue to point out to the minority religious groups that their legitimate rights can be defended and protected only on the basis of a consistent application of the principle of secularism.

51. It is clear from the above analysis of the concrete way in which fissiparous trends like casteism, communalism, linguism, regionalism and tribal separatism manifest themselves that our Party has to take independent stand on all of them. It will be suicidal for us to tail behind the bourgeoisie under the mistaken assumption that its leaders are putting up an effective and consistent fight against those forces which are disrupting the unity of the nation and preventing its integration. On the other hand, we have to sharply expose before the people the inherent weaknesses of the policies pursued by the bourgeoisie which accentuate the conflict on the questions of language, provincial and regional inequality, caste, communal and tribal discontent. Against these policies pursued by the bourgeoisie, we should advance a programme which will help the nation to find proper solutions for all these questions. The elements of such a programme of building national unity are given below:

(A) On the question of Separatism: We are opposed to all forms of separatism, such as the DMK slogan of Dravidanad, the slogan of an independent Nagaland, etc. We cannot however, agree to the manner in which the Congress leadership and the Central Government seek to fight separatism. We have, on the other hand to firmly oppose the tendency shown by them to consider India a unitary state with a highly centralised administration. The twin principles should be firmly adhered to. Concrete slogans and demands calculated to bring about a consistent application of these two principles should be worked out.

(B) On the question of Language: We firmly adhere to the principle of replacing English by the regional languages at the state level and Hindi at the Centre as official language. The transition from English to Hindi at the Centre should be

simultaneous with the same from English to the regional languages in the states; the preparation for this transition which is being made by the centre with regard to Hindi should also be made with all necessary Central assistance in the states. At the same time, for the transition period (the duration of which should be decided with the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking regions), English should be given the status of an associate official language. The above guiding lines should be applied to the question of medium of instruction as well, the aim in this respect being as rapid a transition as possible from English to the regional languages with necessary guarantees for a high standard of knowledge in Hindi and English.

(C) On the question of Provincialism and Regionalism: This should be considered a question of the most rapid reduction of provincial and regional disparities in development. The allocation of funds for developmental plans, location of projects, division of waters, etc., should be made on certain generally known principles which would ensure that every state and region will receive approximately the share which is its due on the basis of population. As for the demands relating to recarving of the boundaries of states which have become serious in certain regions, all such questions should be solved on the principle of linguistic states whose borders are to be fixed with village as the unit and putting contiguous areas which have a majority speaking one language in that linguistic state.

(D) The Problem of Tribal Discontent can be solved only if the Government bases itself on the need for protecting the tribal people from the exploitation of landlord and capitalist elements from the plains. Tribals should be assisted in modernising themselves, but the process of modernisation should be left to the Tribals. The solution will differ from area to area and tribe to tribe; in some places it may be necessary to form autonomous areas within a particular state or region; in certain other places, even while having no such local autonomy special safeguard will have to be given to protect the property and social life of the tribal people.

(E) Our Party is opposed to Casteism. It, however, cannot endorse the stand taken by the leaders of the bourgeoisie according to which any step taken to help the 'lower' castes to overcome their low status amounts to casteism. Not only educational concessions, but even reservation in government jobs will have to be continued for several years; the basis of which should be no economic condition the degree of the hangover of social oppression which particular castes have been subjected for centuries. At the same time, certain criteria should be laid down in order to fix the stage at which a particular caste may be considered to have freed itself from these hangovers of past social oppression.

(F) With regard to *communalism*, we have to take a firm stand on the principle of secularism and fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the political life of the country. We should carry on a consistent campaign among the people against the tendency of religious leaders asking their followers to form themselves into political parties and organisations, to vote in a particular way, etc., as a community.

Various concrete questions arising out of the above have to be considered in detail by the National Council in so far as they relate to all-India questions and by the State Councils in relation to provincial questions.

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