

## Draft Resolution

Now that in barely two months, the electorate in Kerala will go to polls as a result of the unjustified, undemocratic and unconstitutional mid-term elections forced on the people by the Union Government, this meeting of the general body of the Central Office Branch draws special attention of the comrades towards their duty in this respect.

Comrades outside Kerala can help the Party's election campaign in two ways, i.e., by explaining the issues involved in the election on the basis of the National Council's resolution and Election Manifesto of the Kerala Committee of the Party, and, secondly, by collection of funds.

This meeting directs the members of the Branch to launch these campaigns seriously. Collection of funds, on which some amount of work has already begun, should be intensified.

This meeting recommends to the members that they should make some personal sacrifice also and in this connection, hopes that voluntarily every comrade will pay towards this fund at least Rs.10 from his earnings, to be paid either in lumpsum or in instalments. This General Body is confident that comrades who can afford to pay more will do so, besides participating actively in the campaign of collection from their friends and the people in general.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

by K.G.Sriwastava, Satish Chatterjee,  
G.V.Chitnis, K.Krishnan and M.Atchuthan (AITUC  
unit)

1. Delete the PREAMBLE as it is and redraft the same by
  - i) stating only the aims and objects in a simple way;
  - ii) avoiding the use of superlatives
  - iii) avoiding the use of jargonised language (tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, et. al)
  - iv) deleting the words "People's Democracy" from the aims and objects.
2. ARTICLE IV - Clause 2, add after the first sentence. "The admission of new members should be ratified by by the District Committee".
3. ARTICLE VIII - Resignation from Party Membership - Delete Clause 2.
4. ARTICLE IX - Membership Fees - Delete the first sentence and substitute by: "All Party Members, full as well as Candidates, shall pay a Party Membership Fee of Four Annas per month or Rupees Three per year."
5. ARTICLE XII - Duties of Party Members - DELETE the existing Article XII and redraft the same retaining only what is relevant to a Constitution and not to make it an organisational resolution.
6. ARTICLE XXVII - Central Control Commission - Clause 6. Delete the clause and substitute by: "The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be final subject to appeal to the Party Congress." Clause 7 may consequentially be deleted.

1. Jayam. Populans
2. People's Democracy
3. Membership Fee
4. Resignation
5. Duties of Party Members
6. Central Control Commission
7. Chatterjee

AI TUC

C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I N D I A

Central Committee Office

7/4, Asaf Ali Road,

New Delhi.

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P.B.Circular No.1/58.

January 10, 1958.

To

All CCMs & PC Secretaries.

Dear Comrade,

I attended the State Conference of the Andhra unit of the Communist Party of India which was held from January 2nd to January 7th at Bezwada. The Conference adopted a number of resolutions on mass work, on strengthening of the Party and collection of Party fund.

The membership of the Party in Andhra, before the enrolment campaign, was 22,300. It has now risen to a total of 48,800. The enrolment campaign is continuing.

The Conference has given a call for 5 lakhs of rupees for the Party fund in Andhra.

The Andhra PC has also decided that from this very year, it will pay its membership due to the Central Committee as proposed by the CC in its amendments to the Party Constitution, i.e., at the rate of 10 nP per rupee for each Party member. The Andhra PC has already sent Rs.1000/- to the Central Committee as a first instalment and has assured that the balance will be paid at the time of the Special Party Congress.

The Andhra Committee has, not only set a good example before all State Committees but has also helped the Centre at a time when we are facing acute financial difficulties. I am sure this example will inspire all Party Committees everywhere.

I understand that in many States, the new enrolment into the Party is being done on the basis proposed by the Central Committee, viz., one rupee subscription for the year. I request that all State Committees take note of what Andhra has done and make their own contribution to the Central Committee fund as soon as the State Conference is over, or at the time of the Special Party Congress in April, 1958.

I also request you to please send us the full report as soon as your State Conference is over, giving the full details, as well as the results of the membership drive.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Ajoy Ghosh

(Ajoy Ghosh)

I am sure if you are able to enthuse the Party and progressive writers and other comrades and friends interested in cultural activities, and impress on them the fact that the bringing out of this magazine is the key job today to integrate progressive writers of India and to make them play a decisive role in the whole writers movement - this amount can be collected without great difficulty.

Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, has been authorised by us to communicate with you separately in connection with the actual campaign for the collection of funds and also to consult with you in appointing assistant editors for the language or languages of your State. Please assist him in every possible way.

Please let me or Comrade Sajjad Zaheer know, as soon as possible, what you can do in this respect in your State.

If the required sum of Rs. 5,000/- can be collected by the end of February, it is proposed to bring out the first issue of the magazine in May 1958.

With Greetings,

Ajay Ghosh  
(Ajay Ghosh)

A. I. T. U.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Central Committee Office

7/4, Asaf Ali Road,

New Delhi

P.B.Circular No. 2/58.

January 15, 1958.

To

All CCMs & P.C.Secretaries

CONCERNING ENGLISH LITERARY MAGAZINE

The need for an English literary magazine, which should reflect progressive developments in Indian literature has been felt for quite some time. While edited by Marxists and attempting to put forward the Marxist viewpoint on literature and cultural affairs and thus developing Marxist literary ideology in India, this magazine should also reflect the best creative literary achievements in our country. It should combat reactionary trends in literature and cultural affairs generally and try and build the unity of all patriotic Indian writers for the creation of a new culture - which, while based on the best achievements of India's past, is at the same time, modern, scientific and popular - a true reflection of our people's struggle to build a Socialist Society in our land.

The magazine would be a forum for a free exchange of ideas among the progressive writers of India - including non-Marxist writers - so that ideological unity and understanding among them might be fostered, and a progressive literary movement embracing the whole of India might be developed.

The creative sections of this magazine would consist of translations of best short stories, sketches, poems, portions of novels, from all the Indian languages.

A small section of the magazine would consist of writings of eminent foreign writers - whose cooperation, we shall seek and which we hope to get.

Book-reviews, reports on significant literary activities in the country, would be another feature of this magazine.

Comrade Sajjad Zaheer, would be the editor of this magazine. He would be assisted by a body of editors belonging to the various languages of the country.

The magazine would be published by the People's Publishing House, Delhi, and would be a quarterly (four issues per year).

I am writing this to ask you to help in the collection of funds for this magazine.

We are aiming to collect a modest sum of Rs.5,000/- (five thousand rupees).

I am sure . . . . .

(Copy of the All India Peace Council Circular)

New Delhi,  
Jan. 21, 1958.

SUMMIT CONFERENCE FORTNIGHT  
FEBRUARY 9 TO 23, 1958.

The All India Peace Council Secretariat has decided to call for the observance of February 9 to 23 as a Summit Conference fortnight. A statement issued in this regard is attached (See NEW AGE, dated 20th January). This will give a clear picture of the aims with which we are convening this Fortnight.

It is not our intention that continuous series of meetings should be held at each centre. One meeting on any day during the fortnight at each centre is all that we desire - the day to be chosen according to local convenience.

The whole fortnight will act also as a preparatory campaign for the Jalgaon Session of our Council (February 21 to 23) and every effort should be made both in the preparations for the Fortnight and during the Fortnight itself, to ensure that a large number of delegates proceeds to Jalgaon. We wish to make it clear that the Jalgaon Session of the Council is open not only to Council members, but to all who stand for peace. A really wide organisational campaign to bring people to Jalgaon must accompany the political campaign.

The urgency of the international situation demands really effective consultations among all the active forces of the movement, and Jalgaon Must be placed at the forefront of the entire campaign.

IMMEDIATE STEPS:

1. Statements supporting the Fortnight should be sought and issued by the local Peace Committees, by all mass organisations, by MPs, MLAs, Municipal Commissioners, panchayat members and other organisations and representative personalities from all walks of life.

2. A Summit Conference Fortnight badge should be printed in the State and provincial languages and distributed freely or sold during the fortnight. The badge could be of this nature:

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*****  
*      Summit Conference Fortnight      *  
*                                         *  
*  TO SAVE HUMANITY FROM NUCLEAR WAR  *  
*      HEADS OF STATES MUST MEET NOW   *  
*                                         *  
*      All India Peace Council         *  
*                                         *  
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3. Preparations for meetings - public meetings and small hall meetings - should be made immediately.

4. A special approach should be made to all mass organisations' requesting them to join the campaign in any form that suits them best, to adopt resolutions in their meetings, to cooperate in organising central meetings, to cooperate in the distribution of badges, etc.

5. Articles should be placed in the local press on the Summit meeting. The AIPC Secretariat is preparing an article which it will send out to all Committees within a week.

C O M M U N I S T P A R T Y O F I N D I A

Central Committee Office

7/4 Asaf Ali Road,

New Delhi

P.B. Circular No. 3/58.

January 24, 1958.

To

All CCMs & PCs

SUMMIT CONFERENCE FORTNIGHT

FEBRUARY 9 TO 23, 1958.

The All India Peace Council has addressed a letter to all parties and mass organisations calling for their support in the campaign launched by the Council to bring the pressure of Indian public opinion to bear for the immediate convening of a Summit Conference.

The Communist Party of India has replied to this appeal of the Peace Council, offering its full support in the campaign. There is no doubt at all, as the Editorial in the NEW AGE Weekly of January 19, 1958 has sharply pointed out that the calling of a Summit Conference is the most urgent necessity of today, and people all over the country should be urged to make the campaign for this meeting of the heads of States a supreme task in the immediate period ahead.

Every Party Committee and unit should study the relevant material which is being published in the NEW AGE, and particularly the Editorial of January 19 and the statement of the All India Peace Council.

The Polit Bureau calls on every Party Committee - at all levels - to plan carefully the holding of meetings during the fortnight. One meeting on any convenient day during the fortnight at each centre is suggested. These meetings will perhaps be called by the Peace Committee, wherever it exists - or they may be called by a number of parties and mass organisations jointly, or by the Party Committee itself, depending on local conditions. When the meeting is called by the Peace Committee or by a joint body of organisations, the Party Committee should give this meeting its fullest support. But, wherever no such initiative is taken by any other body, the Party Committee itself must take the lead and organise the meeting under its own auspices or jointly with other parties and organisations.

Reports of all such meetings held and copies of resolutions adopted should be sent to the Party Centre and to the Party press. Copies should also be sent to the All India Peace Council, 14 Munshi Niketan, Kamala Market, New Delhi.

A copy of the circular issued by the All India Peace Council in regard to the fortnight is attached for your information.

- POLIT BUREAU.

(Note: Please supply copies to your major units.)

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p.t.o....

CELL SECRETARIES MEETING

A meeting of the Cell Secretaries will be held in PHQ on 21st of February at 4.30 p.m. to decide dates and agenda for holding the PHQ Conference. Com.Ajoy will attend this meeting.

1. New Age (Weekly)
2. C.C. Office Unit
3. Parl. Office Unit
4. PFH & N.A. Press units
5. Asian Solidarity Office unit
6. A.I.P.C. Office Unit
7. A.I.T.U.C. Unit
8. A.I.K.S. Office Unit (Com.Krishnan)
9. Women's Unit (Com.Hajrah)
10. I.C.F.A. (Com.Nandi)
11. Journalists' Unit

Polit Bureau.

19.2.1958.



GENERALBODY MEETING

A.I.T.U.C.

Com. Ajoy will address a generalbody meeting on 19th December, at 6.30 pm  
at P.H.Q., Asaf Ali Road.

1. P.H.Q. Comrades
2. P.P.H. & Book Shop Comrades
3. New Age Printing Press
4. M.P. Comrades & Office Staff
5. A.I.P.C.
6. A.I.T.U.C.

7. I.P.A. (Nikhil, David & Raghavan)
8. Com. Hajrah Begum
9. A.I.K.S. (Prasad Rao & Krishnan)
10. Delhi PC members

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PHQ

P. H. Q. CONFERENCE

(March 16, 1958).

Draft

Resolution

GREETINGS TO KERALA

The most important national developments since our last Conference has been the formation of the Communist-led Government in Kerala in the wake of the accession of strength of Left and Democratic forces all over the country in the last General Elections.

This Conference of the Staff of the Central Committee Office greets the people of Kerala for their great achievement.

We send our greetings to the Communist Party in Kerala which by its untiring and selfless work has built the strongest State unit of the Party with a Party Member for every 300 of the State's population and made this greatest victory so far of the Communist Party possible, a victory which, we believe, has tremendous national, international and theoretical implications.

We congratulate the Communist-led Government of Kerala and the Party in the State for the maturity and skill they have shown in the handling complicated problems and situations and holding the banner of the Party aloft for the rest of the country to see.

The Kerala example inspires Communists all over the country to struggle ever more in the cause of the Party and the Indian revolution.

- Ramdass
- Zia
- Madhavan
- Nambiar
- Raza

P.H.Q CONFERENCE

(March 16, 1958)

ON P.H.Q ORGANISATION

(From RAMDASS, ZIA, MADHAVAN, NAMBIAR and KAZA)

- The need for an effective Party Centre which has been talked about for a long time has become all the more important today in view of the tremendous growth of the Party and the demands made by the situation on the Party as a national Party.

- At every Congress, it is admitted that the Party Centre has not functioned properly and that efforts would be made thereafter to make the Party Centre effective. But the situation has not improved, in fact there is a feeling that it is deteriorating.

- If we are to correct this situation, it is not enough to just admit that there has been no functioning. The reasons for this have to be properly gone into.

- We find that Party leaders who are fixed to function full-time at the Centre are most of time away in their own States. Developments are taking place in the States and they consider their presence in the States more useful than being at Party Centre. And the States are also reluctant to release their leading comrades for work at the Party Centre, because in the absence of a strong Party Centre they do not get any return for it.

- We also find that comrades who are on the staff of the Party Centre are leaving. Whatever the explanation given in individual cases the underlying factor seems to us to be the growing feeling in comrades that they are not being able to make useful contribution to the work of the Party by remaining at the Centre.

- Obviously the situation at the Party Centre can only deteriorate if this goes on. But why is this happening?

- We are in no position to make a comprehensive examination of all the factors responsible but some of them, we feel, are :

- Decisions of leading bodies are not implemented by members of these committees themselves and there does not seem to be any checking up on the carrying out of decisions. The result is that most of the decisions taken like responsibilities of Party leaders at the Centre, their functioning, etc., remain only on paper. More and more functions are concentrated in less and less hands with the result that most things are not properly done.

- Apart from Party leaders not coming to the Centre even those who are here do not function collectively.

- There is no evaluation of the work that is done at the Party Centre or of the comrades doing this work.

- As a result of all this, unhealthy attitudes are coming up and strained relations are becoming evident.

- We think it is not enough to say that hereafter every-

thing will be set right. This has been said too often. Firm guarantees have to be there to see that such promises are fulfilled. One of them, in fact an important guarantee, will be a resolution adopted by the Party Congress itself on the Party Centre.

- Some suggestions we would make are :

\* Implement correctly the principle of collective functioning with individual responsibility.

We have seen that at one stage collective functioning was emphasised so much that no Party leader was prepared to take any decision, even the smallest ones.

On the other hand we also see that when an individual comrade is given a responsibility it is henceforward considered as an area of non-intervention. There may be dissatisfaction about the work of the comrade, even comments are made about it, but nothing more is done.

Both these, we think, are wrong. The decisions have got to be collective, the implementation of these decisions has to be the responsibility of individual comrades and the check-up of fulfilment should be collective. This has to be the starting point if there is to be any improvement in the functioning of the Party Centre, if it is to inspire comrades working at the Centre, and if it is to create a situation when more comrades will feel confident to come here and work.

- We are generally against the formation of committees again after the experience we have had with them. But even when committees have to be appointed because a particular department has too many functions like the Agit-Prop, each member of the Committee should have specific responsibilities.

- We suggest that the Party leaders at the Centre should take up the responsibility for at least the following work : Party organisation, Party Education, Agit-Prop, Trade Union, Kisan, Peace and Parliament. In addition, an International Department to study world affairs from the angle of India and teams to study the national economy, Indian history, our national movement and its traditions, etc., should be constituted to work under the direction of these comrades.

- Apart from the members of the Secretariat, we suggest that some members of the National Council should be brought to the Centre to work in these various departments. This will relieve the Secretariat Members of part of their work and help better functioning of the Centre. The guarantee that States will relieve comrades for this work is, as we have said before, that the Centre will be an effective one.

- The staff at the Centre will help the Secretariat and National Council Members with the day-to-day work of the Centre. The staff should be composed of comrades who are actually doing the Party Centre's work under the direct guidance of the Party Centre and should form a Party Branch at the Party Centre.

- An English daily run by the Party has become essential. This is a demand which had been raised earlier.

There is justified dissatisfaction with New Age Weekly. Apart from all the other reasons, one reason is that in today's



conditions, a weekly cannot serve the purpose it served in 1942-47.

We do not believe that we cannot find the resources - financial and cadre - for running a daily.

One has only to see the effectiveness of the English Press in the country to counter any argument that an English daily is not needed.

We suggest that serious efforts be made to start the daily as soon as possible.

contd on p.4

On PHQ Organisation

II. FROM MOHIT SEN, D.P.SINHA, M.B.RAO, T.K.N.MENON.

1. The PH Production unit notes the sharp deterioration in the Party life of comrades working directly under the PB. Unit meetings are held extremely rarely and many units do not even have a duly elected secretary. There is hardly any discussion either of the policies of the Party or the work of the comrades. Relations between comrades at all levels is marked by a lack of fraternity and mutual trust. The PHQ has ceased to exist as a national political centre of the Party.

The reasons for this deplorable state of affairs are:

\* Failure of the Party leadership to guide the work and to regulate the inner-Party life of the PHQ and to have any cadre policy at any time.

\* Failure of the Party leadership to put forward any perspective of developing the Party Centre.

\* Failure of the PHQ comrades to maintain even a minimum inner-Party life.

\* Financial problems of most of the comrades.

\* Compartmentalisation in the PHQ and lack of any contact with the local Party.

2. (i) This state of affairs must be radically changed and the CPI, which is growing in membership, prestige and responsibility must be provided a PHQ which can carry out the following duties: (a) Run the Party journals and publications; (b) Party education; (c) Guide Parliamentary work and assist the MPs; (d) Guide and assist the National leadership of mass organisations; (e) Handle relations with Brother Parties; (f) Conduct economic research; (g) Manage central finance.

(ii) All those Party members working in any organisation, institution, movement or activity guided directly by the Central Party leadership shall constitute themselves into a PHQ branch directly under the Secretariat, with a branch Committee and secretary and maintaining closest possible links with the local party.

(iii) The Party will pay a consolidated wage to the PHQ comrades and will not be responsible thereafter for any of their livelihood problems, i.e. housing, medical expenses, travelling, etc.

The maintenance of Party leaders working at the PHQ has to be treated as a separate problem and is to be fixed up by the National Council or central Executive Committee.

The staff comrades shall be paid according to the principle fixed for the wage structure of the PHQ on the basis of equivalent pay for equivalent work.

The branch committee shall fix a levy separately for each member of the PHQ.

ON THE ORGANISATIONAL TASKS

It will be far from enough for the Party Congress merely to ratify the Party Constitution. It will have also to set out concrete inner-Party organisational tasks for the coming 18 months, i.e. till the next Party Congress.

The following should be the tasks:

i) A rectification campaign confined to the National Council.

ii) Party education specifically on the need for unity, discipline and democracy at all levels.

iii) Two or three national-political campaigns to act as the lever for politically unifying and activating the entire Party.

iv) Build up the Party Centre and strengthen district leadership.

Mohit, M.B. Rao, D.P.Sinha and  
T.K.N.Menon

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE PPH PRODUCTION UNIT FOR THE  
PHQ CONFERENCE.

A. ON THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

The PPH Production Unit endorses the draft Party Constitution presented by the Central Committee with the following amendments:

1. Delete from the preamble the term "people's democracy" wherever it occurs.
2. Delete from the preamble the sentence: "It combats tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in all their manifestations."
3. Add to Article III. "On the upper left hand corner there shall be inscribed the National Flag, one-sixth of the total size of the flag."
4. Add to Article IV, Clause 5: "The same procedure applies to Party Members who have resigned."
5. Delete Article V.
6. Amend Article XVI, Clause (A) to read: "The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress half the number of candidates for new national council. The other half shall be proposed directly from the floor of the congress."
7. Delete Clauses 5 & 6 of Article XXVI.
8. Add to clause 5 of Article XXVII "The Central Control Commission shall have the duty to take up cases involving violation of the Party Constitution referred to it by any member of the Party."
9. Replace clause 6 of Article XXVII by: The decision of the Central control commission shall be final between Party Congresses unless overruled by a two-thirds majority in the National Council."

B. ON THE PHQ

1. The PPH Production Unit notes the sharp deterioration in the Party life of comrades working directly under the PB. Unit meetings are held extremely rarely and many units do not even have a duly elected secretary. There is hardly any discussion either of the policies of the Party or the work of the comrades. Relations between comrades at all levels is marked by a lack of fraternity and mutual trust. The PHQ has ceased to exist as a national political centre of the Party.

The reasons ~~are~~ for this deplorable state of affairs are:

- Failure of the Party leadership to guide the work and to regulate the inner party life of the PHQ and to have any cadre policy at any time.
- Failure of the Party leadership to put forward any perspective of developing the party centre.

Failure of the PHQ comrades to maintain even a minimum inner-party life.



Resolution on PHQ contd.

- Financial problems of most of the comrades.
- Compartmentalisation in the PHQ and lack of any contact with the local party.

2. (1) This state of affairs must be radically changed and the CPI, which is growing in membership, prestige and responsibility must be provided a PHQ which can carry out the following duties: (a) Run the Party journals and publications; (b) Party education; (c) Guide parliamentary work and assist the MPs (d) Guide and assist the National leadership of mass organisations; (e) Handle relations with brother parties; (f) conduct economic research; (g) manage central finance.

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(iii) The party will pay a consolidated wage to the PHQ comrades and will not be responsible thereafter for any of their livelihood problems, i.e., housing, medical expenses, travelling, etc.

The maintenance of party leaders working at the PHQ has to be treated as a separate problem and is to be fixed up by the national council or central executive committee.

The staff comrades shall be paid according to the principles fixed for the wage structure of the PPH on the basis of equivalent pay for equivalent work.

The branch committee shall fix a levy separately for each member of the PHQ.

### C. ON THE ORGANISATIONAL TASKS

It will be far from enough for the Party Congress merely to ratify the Party constitution. It will have also to set out concrete inner-party organisational tasks for the coming 18 months, i.e., till the next Party congress.

The following should be the tasks:

- i. A rectification campaign confined to the National Council
- ii. Party education specifically on the need for unity, discipline and democracy at all levels.
- iii. Two or three national-political campaigns to act as the lever for politically unifying and activating the entire party.
- iv. Build up the party centre and strengthen district leadership.

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P. H. Q. CONFERENCE

March 16, 1958

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

amendments

From Nikhil Chakravarty

PREAMBLE

Para 3 - Read " Steadfastly serving the Indian people, courageously championing the cause of freedom, democracy and socialism, the Communist Party of India has grown to its present stature."

Para 4: Read: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of political power by the working people in India and the realisation of Socialism and Communism."

Para 6: Instead of "masses" put "toiling people."

Para 7: Read: "The Communist Party of India is pledged to defend the unity of our country and the solidarity of our people, forged in the fire of our struggle for freedom. Fighting against all forms of disruption, the Communist Party of India strives for equality and equal treatment among the peoples of all linguistic regions as a sure foundation of the unity of India. Equally strongly does it oppose all manifestations of communalism and defends the legitimate interests of all communities and works for friendship among all communities."

Para 8: Delete the para.

Para 9: Delete the last sentence.

Para 10: Read: " The Communist Party of India works out its policies by integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation, with the historical traditions of the Indian people and also their national characteristics."

Also in the last line, replace "its decisions" by "all its actions."

Para 12: Read "Imbued with the spirit of genuine patriotism, the Communist Party of India draws inspiration from the rich heritage of our people and defends all that is great and noble in our national life. At the same time, the Communist Party of India fights against chauvinism basing itself on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It stands for fraternal relations and friendly cooperation among the workers..."

Add at the end: " in realising the common aim of socialism and communism."

Para 13: Read the second line as follows:

" By developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Parliament and by backing its decisions with mass sanctions, the Communist Party will organise the working class and its allies to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and to ensure that..."

Para 15...

Para 15: Delete "political and mass responsibilities."

" For discharging its political responsibilities to the toiling people..."

Para 16: Instead of " is" put "constitute".

Para 19: Last sentence:

" They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, extend our democracy and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous socialist India." (People's Democracy needs explaining)

#### ARTICLE IV -Membership

Clause 1- " who accepts the political line and constitution of the Party."

Clause 2- " on the recommendation of two Party members of at least two years' standing."

Clause 4- " If a leading member" replace by " If an active member".

Clause 7- " Elementary education on the political line and the constitution of the Party and look after their development as members of the Communist Party."

#### ARTICLE VI AND VII

1. These two Articles should form one Article as they both relate to Party membership card.

2. Clause 2- Instead of "Party cards" write "Party membership cards" "throughout" and " not " "through."

#### ARTICLES IX AND X

1. These two articles should be combined into one, for they are on the same subject.

2. No need of putting the last sentence in Article IX in parenthesis.

3. Instead of "Party Fees" in Article X, call it "Party membership fees."

4. After "Ten per cent for the National Council; the State or Provincial Council will be responsible for collecting this on behalf of the National Council."

#### ARTICLE XII: Duties of Party Members

1. The order of the Sections should be (a) (f)(e)(d),(c), (g), (h),(i),(k),(j)

2. Clause(b) - add " and to try to assimilate it so as to apply it in mass activity and in personal life."

3. Take out the last part " and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism." Put it as a separate clause, next to clause(x)

4. Add to clause(e) " to attune themselves to the life of the common people, sharing in their privations and hardships. "

5. Add to...

5. Add to Clause (g) - " to display human qualities in the every day relations with the common people, winning their affection and respect as well as confidence."

6. Re-write clause(k)-" To deepen their understanding of the patriotic traditions of our people and their rich cultural heritage; to constantly strive to raise their own cultural level to contribute effectively both in the Party activity and the national life."

#### ARTICLE XIV

Clause (2)(a) add "its policy and activity and also their ideological implications."

#### ARTICLE XV:

Clause (1)(d) - "Conference at the end of Party units, if any, directly under the all-India Party Centre."

Clause (2)- Section (d) should be after (f) and before(g).

Section (f) should be deleted. (This should be the job of the National Council.)

#### ARTICLE XVI

Clause(B) - "The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all States, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activities, and should represent as far as possible, the combination of both the old and the new in the ranks of the Party."

Clause(D) - "right to withdraw with the permission of the Congress."

Clause(E)- Replace the word "panel" by list."- as it is not the original panel by N.C.

#### ARTICLE XVII

Clause 5- Delete "and the Party Congress."

Clause 9- Delete the last line and put in another clause- "As the supreme authority between the two Party Congresses, the National Council has the right to discuss and decide on any other question pertaining to any aspect of Party of Party activity. It also has the right to call any member of a lower unit to attend its session when any matter pertaining to that unit is being discussed."

Add a new clause- "The quorum of a Session of the National Council shall be fifty per cent of its total strength."

#### ARTICLE XVIII

Clause 2(d), add "also regularly review their work. The election of office-bearers of the Communist group in Parliament shall have to be confirmed by the Central Executive Committee."

Add a new clause- "Except in case of emergency, Central Executive Council shall not decide on an issue without collective discussion: the practice of taking decisions only by circulation of drafts should be avoided as far as possible."

Add a new clause after clause 3- The quorum of the Central ...

Central Executive Committee is to be fixed at 40 per cent of its total strength."

ARTICLES XXI

Clause 3(d) add - "and also regularly review their work." The election of the office-bearers of the Communist group in legislature has to be confirmed by the State Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XXIV

Clause 3(d) - add "also arrange for the despatch of regular reports to Party journals."

ARTICLE XXVI

Clause 8, add a new section - "To help individual Party members in taking up self-education."

ARTICLE XXVII:

Clause 4- "by right attend, participate but not vote at"

ARTICLE XXIX

Clause 10, "right of appeal to higher party bodies upto National Council and Party Congress in all cases of disciplinary action. During the period of the appeal the disciplinary action is to be in force."

Add after clause (9) "It is the duty of other Party members to furnish to their own units or to the higher Party bodies any information about such irregularities of a Party member."

ARTICLE XXX

Add a new clause - "There must be regular review of the work of Party members in mass organisation by the appropriate Party Committees. The Central Executive Committee shall help in coordinating the work of different State or Provincial Councils vis-a-vis the mass organisations in their States or Provinces through the study of such reviews."

AMENDMENTS FROM RAMDAS, ZIA, MADHAVAN, NAMBIAR, RAZA

" We endorse the Draft Constitution of the Party with suggestions for the following amendments:

\* Where the Preamble speaks of building Socialism in India, while certain new things are mentioned, our concept of Socialism is treated rather vaguely. A paragraph should be added to explain our concept of socialism more fully.

\* Similarly, where the Preamble deals with the question of achieving Socialism by peaceful means, we should make clear that in the State structure we visualise full democracy will be guaranteed by genuine organs of people's power at the lowest level.

" Para 4 of Preamble should be amended to read: The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people led by the working class and the realisation of socialism and communism."

\*Para 9...

Para 9- of Preamble ; Replace " fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism" by " teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

Amend last sentence of Preamble to read: "They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, win power for the working people led by the working class and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous socialist India."

The Central Control Commission should not be a body just to look into some cases of disciplinary action. It should be a body which stands guard over the observance of Party Constitution and implementation of Party policies also. If this concept is accepted, Article XXVII should be suitably amended.

Even as it stands, the provision in the Article that the Central Executive Committee by a two-thirds majority can stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission should be dropped.

AMENDMENTS FROM MOHIT, D.P. SINHA, M.B. RAO & T.K.N. MENON

The PPH Production unit endorses the draft Party Constitution presented by the Central Committee with the following amendments:

1) Delete from the preamble the term " People's Democracy" wherever it occurs.

2) Delete from the Preamble the sentence: "It combats tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in all their manifestations."

3) Add to Article III-"On the upper left hand corner there shall be inscribed the National Flag, one-sixth of the total size of the Flag."

4) Add to Article IV Clause 5: "The same procedure applies to Party members who have resigned."

5) Delete Article V.

6) Amend Article XVI, Clause(A) to read: "The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress half the number of candidates for new National Council. The other half shall be proposed directly from the floor of the Congress."

7) Delete Clauses 5 and 6 of Article XXVI

8) Add to Clause 5 of Article XXVII-"The Central Control Commission shall have the duty to take up cases involving violation of the Party Constitution referred to it by any member of the Party."

9) Replace clause 6 of Article XXVII by : The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be final between Party Congresses unless overruled by a two-thirds majority in the National Council."

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Central Office,  
7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi

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No. NC/1/58

May 16, 1958

To

All Members of the National Council  
and Provincial Committee

Dear Comrades,

IN this note we are communicating to you a number of decisions taken by the CEC at its recent meeting held in Delhi from 8th to 10th of May, 1958. Some of the decisions, however, are endorsement of the proposals made earlier by the Secretariat, in some cases with modifications.

After the Party Congress, the Secretariat met in the last week of April and discussed mainly the question of division of responsibility and jobs for its own members. When the CEC met, decisions in this regard were of course placed before the latter. The CEC took necessary decisions.

I) Specific Responsibilities for the Members of the Secretariat are as follows:

- a) AJOY GHOSH - General responsibilities; works on the New Age Weekly Editorial Board, Agit-Prop Sub-Committee, Syllabus Sub-Committee.
- b) S.A.DANGE - Main responsibility TU; also press and publications; Syllabus Sub-Committee, Finance Sub-Committee.
- c) B.T.RANADIVE- Main responsibility New Age Monthly; Works on the Agit-Prop Sub-Committee and Syllabus Sub-Committee; Party Education. Also publication of Party pamphlets.
- d) P.C.JOSHI - Main responsibility New Age Weekly; Works on Agit-Prop Sub-Committee.
- e) DR.AHMAD - Main responsibility kisan work and works on the Finance Sub-Committee; tours certain districts.
- f) A.K.GOPALAN- Main responsibility kisan work.
- g) M.BASAVPUNNIAH-Party Education, work on the Syllabus Sub-Committee; also routine work in the Party's Central Office. Goes to his Province also.
- h) BHUPESH GUPTA-Main responsibility Parliament. Works on the Editorial Board of New Age weekly as well as on the Agit-Prop Sub-Committee. Goes to Provinces, especially West Bengal.

The following...

The following Central bodies have been finalised by the CEC.

- i) Agit-Prop Sub-Committee: Ajoy Ghosh, B.T.Ranadive, P.C.Joshi & Bhupesh Gupta
- ii) New Age Weekly Editorial Board: Ajoy Ghosh, P.C.Joshi and Bhupesh Gupta.
- iii) Syllabus Sub-Committee: Ajoy Ghosh, B.T.Ranadive, S.A.Dange & M.Basavpunniah
- iv) Finance Sub-Committee : S.A.Dange, Z.A.Ahmad and S.V.Ghate. Com.Ghate- Treasurer.

v) The following comrades have been entrusted with the responsibility of preparing a kisan document to be considered at the next meeting of the CEC and the National Council:

Prasada Rao, A.K.Gopalan, Dr.Ahmad, Jagjit Lyalpur, Bhowani Sen, Hare Krishna Konar, Keraleeyan, Y.V. Krishna Rao and M.Basavpunniah.

The first meeting of the Sub-Committee will be held from 2nd to 7th of July, 1958 at Hyderabad(Dn).

II) When the Orissa situation developed towards the end of April, the Secretariat immediately met and took certain decisions. Com. Bhupesh Gupta was sent to Bhubaneshwar and met the P.C.

The CEC considered the report on the Orissa situation made by Bhupesh Gupta and Gurucharan Patnaik and adopted its resolution which has been already published in the Party Press. The Secretariat was authorised to take other measures following up the resolution. Accordingly, the Secretariat has decided to send Com. B.T.Ranadive and Dr. Ahmad to Orissa to explain the line adopted by the CEC and help the Orissa comrades in arriving at a unified understanding with a view to implementing the above line. Comrades B.T.Ranadive and Ahmad have already left for Orissa.

III) The CEC considered the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for sending a fraternal delegation from our Party to their Party Congress. It was decided, on the proposal of the Secretariat, to send a delegation consisting of Comrades S.A.Dange, B.T.Ranadive and Jyoti Basu. Com. Dange is to be the leader of the delegation.

IV) Changes in the Structure of the Party according to the New Constitution: The CEC decided that the changes in the structure of the Party in conformity with the new Party Constitution should be completed by the end of April, 1959. Each State or Provincial Committee should decide upon when this has to be effected within the said period.

V) Party Card: The CEC authorised the Secretariat to finalise the design etc. of the Party Card. The Secretariat accordingly examined the designs of the Andhra and West Bengal Party Cards. The Secretariat generally approved of the design of the Andhra Party Card with some modification. Coms. P.C.Joshi and M.Basavpunniah are to finalise the card and send specimens to all Provinces by the end of May, 1958.

VI) The CEC heard the report on the collection of Party levies from MPs. Having taken note of the heavy arrears that have again accumulated, the CEC decided that-

- a) There shall be no exemption or reduction in the levy...



levy of Rs.100/-per month for the Party Centre.

b) The Secretariat should fix a date by which arrears of the current year(1958) should be paid up by the MPs concerned and inform them accordingly.

c) As regards arrears of the last year(1957), the Sectt. should ask each MP concerned for explanation and fix up instalments in which the arrears would be paid.

d) In case of those whom the Secretariat finds to be chronic defaulters and who persist in not paying up their dues, the Secretariat is authorised to take disciplinary action against them. This may take the form of publication of their names in the Central & State journals, after informing the PC concerned, followed up by other action, if necessary.

Subsequently, the Secretariat met and decided that all arrears for the current year(January to May,1958) must be paid by the end of July,1958.

VII) The CEC discussed the question of shifting of the Party office. It was decided that the Party office should not shift to any MPs bungalow. If possible, a cheaper house should be found.

VIII) Next meeting of the CEC: The next meeting of the CEC will take place from July 8 onward at Hyderabad.

IX) Next Meeting of the National Council: The National Council of the CPI will be convened about the middle of September,1958. The main item on the agenda of the National Council will be the kisan document. The meeting of the National Council will be preceded by a meeting of the CEC which will discuss the kisan document prepared by the Sub-Committee and finalise the draft to be placed before the National Council.

The C.E.C. discussed a number of other important issues. It was decided that Comrade Dange should visit Kerala on May 22-25.

Comrades Ajoy and Gopalan left abroad for treatment on May 13,1958.

It was decided by the Secretariat that Com.B.T.Ranadive will act on the Editorial Board of the New Age weekly during Com. Ajoy's absence.

G r e e t i n g s,

*Bhupesh Gupta*

(Bhupesh Gupta )  
for Secretariat.

26 DEC 1958

New Delhi,  
December 26, 1958

*New Party Por. Committee File*  
*AITUC*

To: P.H.Q. Branch Members

The PHQ Branch Committee met on 24th December and took the following decisions:

- 1) To organise a tea party for Branch members and their families on 1st January, 1959 at 3.30 p.m. at 4-Ashok Road, New Delhi.
- 2) To hold a meeting on 27th December at PPH at 6 p.m. where Com.K.P.S.Menon will present a review of the recent Parliamentaru session. All are requested to attend, although it is not compulsory.

To hold a meeting as early as possible for the Hindi-knowing comrades where Com.Zia will report on the Nehru-Yudin controversy.

To hold a meeting early in January where Com.Basavapunniah will report on the Andhra Conference. Attendance will be compulsory.

To hold a meeting in the middle of January where Com.B.T. Ranadive will initiate a discussion on revisionism. Attendance will be optional.

To hold a meeting towards the end of January where Com.Srivastava will report on the AITUC General Council meeting. Attendance will be compulsory.

Arrangements will be made for Hindi-knowing comrades to get the ~~gist~~ gist of these meetings and also special programme arranged for them.

In addition, from time to time the Branch Committee will try to organise informal discussions with persons, Marxist and non-Marxist, who may have specialised in a particular subject. Attendance at such discussions will, of course, be optional.

We request Branch members to give us their suggestions for Branch activity as also their criticism.

Mohit Sen,  
Secretary,  
PHQ Branch Committee

417058 ✓  
notice

A meeting of Party members working directly under the Party Centre will be held tomorrow, 20th December, 1958 at 5.30 p.m.

Place: P.P.H. Office at Jhandewallan

Agenda: Formation of Party Branch

All Party members working at the Party Centre should be present.

New Delhi,  
December 19, 1958

M. Basavpunniah,  
for Secretariat.

Com. K. G. Sawantia.

26 DEC 1958

THE P.H.Q. BRANCH COMMITTEE cordially invites all  
members of the P.H.Q. Party Branch and their  
families to tea at 3.30 p.m. on 1st January, 1959  
at 4 ASHOKA ROAD:

New Delhi,  
December 26, 1958

Mohit Sen,  
Secretary,  
P.H.Q. Branch Committee

AITUC Party

Mohit - 19/1/59  
Picnic - 12/Jan - Fairs

P. H. Q. BRANCH COMMITTEE

To All Branch Members.

New Delhi,  
January 19, 1959.

On Formation of Party Groups

The Branch Committee has suggested the formation of seven Party working groups with the following composition:

1. NEW AGE (Weekly)  
Ramdass, Zia, Raza, O.P. Malhotra, Madhavan, Nambiar, Chandola, Mohit, Majumdar.
2. SECRETARIAT STAFF  
Rashid, Lokare, Vasu, Bhag Singh, Harbens, Upadhyaya.
3. PARLIAMENT  
Suppu, Mahendra, Madan, Krishnan, Nikhil. *Pran Lalai*
4. PEACE  
Nair, Paliwal, Perin, Litto, Kaleem, Nandi.
5. AITUC  
Srivastava, Achutan, Dayanand, Pandhe, Baburao, Krishnan.
6. PRESS AND PRODUCTION  
Rao, Sinha, Kalipada, Rajkumar, Namboodiri, Achutan, Achutan, T.K.N. Menon, Sachida, Munshi.
7. SALES & MANAGERIAL  
Dulal, Pisharodi, Robi, Varma, Ajit Sen, Arjun, Kannan, Bhagwat, Anand, Nepal Singh, Kumaran, Jose.

Comrades should send in their opinions on this suggestion to the Branch Committee Secretary within a week. After considering these opinions the Branch Committee will make its recommendation to the Central Secretariat.

Mohit Sen,  
Secretary,  
P.H.Q. Branch Committee.

Vs.

16/54  
54

ON FORMATION OF PARTY GROUPS

After discussing the suggestions made by different comrades the Branch Committee decided to recommend to the Secretariat the formation of the following Party groups for the comrades of the Central Office Branch:

- (1) Party Office Group: Ramdas, Zia, Raza, O.P. Mehrrotra, Madhavan Nambiar, Chandola, Majumdar, Rashid, ~~Talwar~~ Lokare, Baghsingh, Harbans & Upadhyaya.
- (2) Parliament Group: Suppu, Mahendra, Madan, Krishnan, Mikhail and Thanu Pillai
- (3) Peace group: - Nair, Paliwal, Perin, Litto, Kaleem and Nandi
- (4) A.I.T.U.C. Office: Srivastava, Achuttan, Dayanand, Pandhe Krishnan and Baburao
- (5) P.P.H. Group: - - There will be three groups:
- (A) Rao, Sinha, Kalipada, T.K.N. Menon, Sechida and Munshi
- (B) Rajkumar, Namboodiri, Achutan, Achutan
- (C) Dulal, Pisharodi, Robi, Verma, Ajit Sen, Arjun, Kannan, Anand, Nepal Singh, Kumaran and Jose.

For the PPH groups, the Branch Committee has recommended to the Secretariat the holding of joint meetings of all the three groups at regular intervals.

( Mohit Sen ),  
Secretary,  
Central Office Branch.

Dated: March 16, 1959.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

1. Para 4, Preamble, reword the present paragraph 4 as follows :

4. The short-term aim of the CPI is the achievement of power by the working class through the establishment of a Government led by the working class and the ultimate aim is the realisation of Socialism and Communism.

Article XIV, 1(f) : Reword the present sub clause as follows:

(f). All questions of international affairs, questions of all India character etc. (the rest as it is).

Article XIV, 2(c). Reword the present sub clause as follows:

(c) When serious differences arise in a Party Committee, and in the event of all efforts to reach fairly agreeable decisions on vital problems, such problems should be brought to the notice of higher committees for firm decisions. If such ~~the~~ differences occur in the National Council on vital questions of party policy and if the lack of decisions are likely to lead to the ~~an~~ immobilisation of the party, the issue should be referred to Congress as soon as is practically possible. If an immediate and firm decision is necessary in the interests of party and the mass movement, the decision of the majority will be carried out. ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~

Article XV 2, add at the end :

(h) To elect the Audit Commission.

Article XVII, Delete Clause 5.

Article XVII, para 7, add at the end : "and the Central Audit Commission".

Article XVIII, clause 2, after sub clause (c), add:

(e) ~~The political and organisation Control and guidance over the life and work of the Communist Members of Parliament~~

(d) Selection of candidates for election to Parliament in consultation with the respective State or Provincial Committees.

Renumber the clauses.

Reword the present clause (d) as follows

(e) The political and organisational control and guidance over the life and work of the Communist Members of Parliament.

~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ Article XIX. 8. after sub clause (e) add:

(f) to elect State or Provincial Audit Commission.

After article XXVII, add:

XXVIII. Central Audit Commission.

1. There shall be a Central Audit Commission elected by the Party Congress whose number will be determined by the Party Congress. The Party Congress, if it so desire, entrust the work of the Audit Commission to the Central Control Commission itself in which that body will be known as the Central Audit ~~an~~ and Control Commission.

2. The method of election of the Audit Commission will be the same as for the Central Control Commission.
3. The Central Audit Commission shall elect its own Chairman who shall by right attend the meeting of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Central Audit Commission can by right attend the meetings of the National Council.
4. The Central Audit Commission shall go through all the financial transactions of the Party Centre, check up the veracity of the same, and prepare an annual audit report on the Accounts of the Party Centre to be placed before the National Council.
5. The Central Audit Commission will also prepare an audit statement of a/cs of the Party Centre for the period following the last party Congress and up to a three months preceding date of the Congress and cause it to be placed before every Party Congress for discussion and adoption.
6. It shall be the duty of the Secretariat and the Central Executive Committee to place or cause to be placed before the Commission all relevant facts about the financial transactions for the scrutiny by the Commission and it should explain to the full satisfaction of the Commission all cases of improper and unauthorised expenditure of Central funds. If the Commission is not satisfied with such explanation, it shall bring all such cases specifically to the notice of the National Council and the Congress as the case may be, with recommendations for such action as it may think fit to make.

Article XXVII. 6 . Reword

6. The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. However, on a reference made to it, either by the Commission itself or by the Comrade or Comrades affected or by the Party Committee on whose initiative the disciplinary action was taken, the National Council, may by a 2-3rd majority stay, revoke, or ~~revoke~~ confirm the decision or send it back to the Commission for a re-examination of the case in the light of any new material or facts brought to its notice.

Article XXVII. After clause 4, add:

5. One of the functions of the Central Commission shall be the preparation and placing of a report on the observance or violation of the Party Constitution, giving inter alia,

(a) specific cases of violation of Constitutional provisions by party organisations, leaders or general members.

(b) suggestions for preventing the recurrence of such violation of the constitutions and

(c) recommendations for forming healthy conventions and party forms to enrich and enhance the principle of Democratic Centralism, strengthen discipline and foster comradely relations in the Party.



Article  
Swastava  
for circulation

CENTRAL OFFICE BRANCH MEETING

The Branch General Body will meet on the 22nd March  
(Sunday) at 9,30 a.m. at the P.P.H.

A G E N D A :

1. Report of the Branch Committee
2. Formation of Groups
3. Admission of new members
4. Election of Branch Committee

Dated: March 16, 1959.

( Mohit Sen ),  
Secretary,  
Central Branch Office.

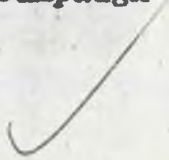
Party - AITUC

AITUC

PHO BRANCH GENERAL BODY

On Sunday 30 August at P.P.H. at 9-30 a.m.

- Agenda:
1. Discussion on Kerala Initiators: Mohit Sen
  2. Branch participation in Aid Kerala Campaign
  3. Miscellaneous



August 25, 1959

Mohit Sen  
BRANCH SECRETARY

12/1  
MK. Pandey  
8/25

27/7/50

(Party)

JAGANNATH SARKAR

CARE COMMUNIST PARTY

LANGARTOLI

PATNA

WIRE IF SUNIL MUKERJEE HAS PASSPORT AND IN FIT CONDITION PROCEED  
FOR TREATMENT STOP OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FINALISED

AITUCONG



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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT



No. 381

Parity

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O MI GAUHATI 23 GENERAL SECY A I T U C NEW DELHI

..NORTH KAMRUP SIX THANAS NAMELY NALBARI RANGIA KAMALPUR HAZO TIHU AND BARAMA OF KAMPUR DISTRICT ASSAM STATE INUNDATED BY UNPRECEDENTED FLOOD

STOP PEOPLE EFFECTED NEARLY TWO LACS STOP AH7 AND BAO CROP TOTALLY DESTROYED AND ALL THE PADDY DEPOSITS AND HOUSES DESTROYED STOP SIX PERSONS DIED STOP INNUMERABLE CATTLES ARE ((50))--- DYING STOP NEARLY FIFTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE ARE MAROONED STOP RAIL ROUTE BUS SERVICES ARE SUSPENDED STOP STATE GOVT HELP PRACTICALLY NIL STOP RELIEF SQUAD CANNOT PROCEED DUE TO COMMUNICATION STOP PRAY IMMEDIATE ALL COMPREHENSIVE

P.T.O.

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

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PAGE II

(COMPREHENSIVE)

HELP AND TAKE WARLIKE MEASURES IN THIS BEHALF ...

.. NANDESWAR TALUKDAR SECY KAMRUP DISTT CONCIL COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF INDIA...

COPD AT-5,25

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIFPAb—1271—28-1-58—1,13,3 50 Ehs.

Brief Minutes of Branch Meeting on 30th August

1959 to discuss the Kerala Question.

The discussion was opened by the Branch Secretary, Mohit Sen, and there was lively discussion for about two hours.

The main points that emerged during the discussion were :

1. The Amritsar Thesis of the CPI. It was explained by some that this Thesis posed a revolutionary perspective; stressed on the importance of mass organisations, mass Communist Party and the need to turn to the peasantry; it emphasised the need for broad democratic unity; it did not do more than bring forward the possibility of peaceful transition and made it clear that for this it did not depend on the goodwill of the bourgeoisie. There was indication of this thesis during the recent Kerala developments.

But at the same time not enough was being done to fight bourgeois reformism (some said bourgeois liberalism) which was very widespread in the Party, this ideological struggle was of particular importance today.

The view was also advanced that following the adoption of the Amritsar Thesis the Party had taken a negligent attitude to mass work and building of mass organisations. Exclusive importance was being attached to elections at all levels of the Party, leading in many cases to ideological degeneration. This was due to illusions about Parliamentary democracy.

2. Character of the Kerala Government and its work.

It was pointed out that the Kerala government was not a worker-peasant government, though it undoubtedly based itself on the support primarily of these two classes. It was an administration in one State led by the Communist Party functioning within a bourgeois constitution and under a very powerful bourgeois dominated Central Government. It was implementing the programme of the national movement *but with a different class content*.

Against this background the achievements of the Ministry are the main aspect of its work. Particularly it achieved a change in social atmosphere in Kerala, showed the masses in India an actual and radical alternative to the Congress, curbed the vested interests and initiated a series of progressive legislation.

There were also a number of mistakes: lack of priorities, failure to take a dent in the hold of the Catholic church over Catholic peasants and fishermen, Birla Pact, very poor public relations work,

3. The All-India Party and Kerala.

The All India Party was very slow in realising the importance of Kerala and quite complacent about the likely bourgeois offensive against it. A change was only begun to be made in July 1958 with the CEC meeting in Trichur. Neither in alerting the Party, in popularising the achievements of the Ministry, in building democratic support behind it nor in helping the Kerala comrades with guidance, discussion and cadres was the work at all sufficient. This showed precisely a bourgeois reformist deviation.

4. The struggle in June-July 1959 and the tactics of the Party.

Here also the achievements and the correctness of the tactics in Kerala and outside were the main aspect. This helped greatly to raise the morale and prestige of the Party.

Some comrades felt that while being correctly lenient the Kerala Govt. after the initial period, could have struck harder and enforced Preventive Detention against the known goondas and r w dies who were the backbone of the Vimochana struggle.

Other comrades felt that such a course might have led all India Congress leaders to rush to Kerala, offer satyagraha and thus complicate affairs. Besides, the lack of the use of repression paid heavy dividends outside Kerala.

Some weaknesses, however, were revealed:

i) Mass mobilisation was achieved on an extensive scale but there was a dearth of mass action, which shows a serious weakness of the Party and democratic movement.

ii) No organisational form was given before, during or after the struggle to the spontaneous expression of democratic opinion in ~~an~~ our support. Defend Democracy Committees or Civil Liberties Unions, etc, could have been tried out.

iii) The Party leadership wobbled on the question of mid-term election which agains showed a bourgeois reformist deviation.

*(iv) The weakness of the Party in and around the capital, Delhi.*

#### 5. Perspective Problems.

The lessons of the Kerala struggle are not being drawn so as to educate the Party and the democratic movement. The gains of this struggle are also not being sought to be consolidated. This will be a serious lapse on the Party of the Party leadership, if not quickly rectified.

i) The perspective has opened of a big offensive by reaction. This was already in operation before Kerala, was brought to a height during Kerala and has continued since then. While there is no ground for panic and no immediate threat of fascism, the Party, mass organisations and democratic movement have to be made ideologically and organisationally ready to meet this offensive. But no signs of such preparation are visible.

ii) The slogan of defence of democracy has to be concretised and linked up with the slogan of extension of democracy. Mere appeals for defence of parliamentary democracy are quite inadequate.

iii) The problem has come up of how to conduct mass struggles in different states, to what level to take it and to what extent all India support has to be secured to meet the attack of the bourgeoisie.

iv) The Party worked with a gusto during the Kerala campaign. But its very serious ideological and organisational weaknesses remain and it is a pity that the opportunity is being missed to tackle these problems on the basis of the success of the campaign.

To

The Secretary,  
PHQ Branch, CPI

Dear Comrade,

Sub: Kerala Election Fund

The campaign for fund collections on specific issues has two purposes, viz., (i) popularisation of the issue and our stand, and (ii) need of the money. Therefore, in all our campaigns, our approach is to collect funds ~~for~~ from (a) as large number of masses as possible, though the per head donation may be less and (b) individual donors. Party members who are part-timers often pay a percentage or lumpsum out of their earnings. Wholetimers inside the Party do collect funds from sympathisers and general masses and sometimes take upon themselves to pay from their wholetimer wages a portion as their personal donations, if the issue concerned is of such a nature. Such cases are rare because wholetimers nowhere in the country are paid - and cannot be paid - in the near future what may be called a living wage. There can be exception to this and only exception can be those comrades who somehow manage to earn/get what may be called from Indian standard a decent wage in a part of their time while at the same time, devoting major portion of their time to Party work.

The position of wholetimers in PHQ is that they get what is just sufficient for them to have two square meals and bare necessities of life. Judging from the financial position of the Party, there cannot be any reason for complaint in this. As wholetimers, the comrades are prepared even to sacrifice part of this, if it becomes necessary.

In the circumstances, our feeling is that when any fund collection campaign is to be run, normally there should not be any levy on the wholetimers, from their wages. In exceptional cases, this levy can be imposed with full agreement in a well-attended meeting but such a levy should be for one month only. All other levy should be purely optional and not mandatory.

In case the Party feels that there is financial stringency or for any other outstanding purpose money has to be spent from the regular Party funds, the wages of the wholetimers can be reduced either for a few months or as the circumstances demand.

In the light of the above, we feel that the mandatory decision of the G.B. meeting of the Branch held on August 30 (to impose a levy on all Party members working in PHQ Branch to pay one day's wage per month during the period September 1959 to February 1960 or till Kerala elections take place) is incorrect in principle and is impracticable.

We therefore suggest that in future, normally, no levy should be imposed mandatorily on wholetimers of the Party.

In exceptional cases, it should be only for one month.




Wholetimer comrades, as others, are free to offer their whole wages or part of it, if their circumstances permit and they want it for any Party purposes.

The decision taken in the G.B. meeting held on August 30 should be made optional and not mandatory.

This note is based on principles and practical difficulties and nothing to do with the purpose for which the collections are being made.

This may please be circulated to the various groups and decision taken as early as possible.

Sept 25, 1959

- 
- 1) Dalai Lama Eritreals.
  - 2) Hysteria caused by Nehru.  
ideological system by P.H. + Jansankh.
  - 3) knowing no opinion - no war.
  - 4) from P.M., S.M., P.M. down.
  - 5) Kerala Bengal stampedes.
  - 6) LIC Affair.
  - 7) Thiruvayya Affair.
  - 8) Himalayas overrule belong to us.  
Still some sentiments.

India's power to her Bohuan, prepared  
Greece + Russia + technical. - Announcements  
of Nepal + other necessities

- 1) China correct or not.
- 2) McMahon line.
- 3) China shifting position on maps.  
China propaganda.  
China about Alamythang, Likid.  
Mechanism in India.

41.

Part 1

Part 2

I. Boipsein rehabilitasi vs. Rehabilitasi  
Internasionalin.

Criticism of Chinese Party - July in 1947  
Proclamation together to Internasionalin, kompar  
over masses

of well curtain feeling of 1942  
1948.

Partisipan

1946 struggle trava,  
for konstitusi  
transitional struggle.

Mahasiswa vs. Expansionist  
or  
Imperialist

Subversion of Kuala opinion us.

Purpose of Internasionalin which cannot  
easy conviction with mass in our  
country.

Demand

Beijing struggle link with China.  
Any TV in def; will be linked.

Parly file

Parly  
A.H.U.

29 SEP 1959

1. Education in T.V.

© Reading material

(b) ~~see~~ talks by visitors on T.V. products

~~##~~

2. T.V.R.

12<sup>th</sup> + 28<sup>th</sup> session.

Dung meeking 5<sup>th</sup> + 20<sup>th</sup>

Perpetual.

3. Rennell's Scar

4. Filip System.

5. Dwight

After dinner.

Typing.

1. Communists and Communist Parties are against aggression basically. Hence and because of Panch Sheel, China will never commit aggression against any country, much less against India. The so-called aggression on either side is because of absence of clearly demarcated boundary and agreement on the same between the Independent China and Independent India.

2. Friendly criticism of CPC, if any, to be sent to them.

3. The CPI has fought against imperialism and for the national independence of India prior to 1947. It might have committed mistakes in this struggle as many other political parties including the Congress have committed, but the Communists have sacrificed in the fight for the independence of the country along with others.

4. Even after 1947, in the struggle in Kashmir and Goa, Communists have fought shoulder to shoulder with others and shed their blood. Inside the country, in the people's struggles against Congress misrule, - in the struggle of peasants, workers, middle classes and others for their betterment - Communists are proud to be ahead of any other political party in sharing their sufferings and sacrifices.

Internally as well as internationally, the lot of Communists is with the people. Communists have always fought and will fight reaction at home and fight for the independence of our country.

We have known the so-called national parties in many countries surrendering to reaction and fascism, native and foreign. It is the Communists who have firmly stood, fought and sacrificed in these fights against foreign reaction

and fascism, for national independence. Communists in India will also in practice show, whenever occasion and need arises that they can do the same for India.

5. The present disturbance on the India-China border is stirred up to suit certain political aims.

According to Government of India, the acts of so-called aggression have been taking place since 1954 and still the Himalayas have not changed position.

According to Chinese Government, the so-called acts of aggression have been taking place for the last few years and still Brahmaputra flows where it was.

Therefore, nothing would be lost by maintaining status quo for some more time, till negotiations start and conclude. Neither the MacMahon Line nor the maps of old China should be considered as sacrosanct, though these may be taken, along with historical material available with both the governments, as a basis for mutual negotiation.

Both the sides have expressed their desire for settling the disputes through discussions and efforts should be made to start the same as early as possible.

We assure the Indian people that CPI shall do its utmost to create suitable atmosphere for starting the negotiations and settlement of the border dispute in order to maintain friendliest relations between the two great countries and its people in Asia and the world. Peace in Asia and to some extent in the world hangs on the good-neighbourly relations of these two peoples and their governments.

6. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not point out to the dangerous trend in the politics of our country. As against the growth of the Communist and socialist ideas and elements in

the country, during the past decade; reactionary and fascist tendencies have been desperately trying to consolidate themselves to face the above. Various political parties including the Indian National Congress, the PSP and certain political figures in the country have often taken stand which has helped the latter. To put down people's struggles, these elements knowing full well that no aggression is going to take place on India-China border, have tried to create a warmongering situation. The main purpose of the scare-mongers is to divert the attention of the general mass of people from their own struggles against rising prices, better living and working conditions, land reforms and anti-democratic behaviour of the Congress Governments, in the name of foreign aggression and secondly to create a wedge between the democratic sections of the people by challenging the sense of patriotism of those who stand for progress and mutual understanding between countries and settlement of issues by discussions. The principles of Panch Sheel and patriotism are complementary.

Therefore, the tasks of Communists are two-fold: to expose the game of reactionary forces to stir up trouble on imaginary foreign aggression, to divert their attention from the serious situation in the country (a very pet game of reactionaries all over the world) and explain to the masses the correct position of the border dispute and the imperative need for starting negotiations on the same and its peaceful settlement through discussion. Efforts should be made to mobilise the basic masses - workers, peasants and their allies, the middle classes and the intellectuals, for this campaign. Articles, small pamphlets in all languages, seminars





and discussion groups should be organised.

Observance of the 10th Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, should be arranged on a big scale throughout India. The India-China Friendship Association should realise its mistake of depending mainly on intellectuals alone, instead of basic masses. It should become active at this moment.

X

1/ Communis + Communist Parties are  
- against agrarian baricade, Hence + been  
of Landless class will never come  
against any class - will class  
against India. The so-called agrarian  
on either side is because of cheap  
demanded bond, + present on the same  
between the Independent, class + Ind:  
India.

2/ Frigidly criticism of C.P.C., 7 any,  
to be sent to them.

3/ C.P.I., has fought against imperialism  
and for the national independence of India since  
in 1947. It might have committed mistakes in  
the struggle on many other political fronts  
including India's economic system, but they have sacrificed for the  
independence of the country along with others.

4/ Even after 1947 with the struggle in  
Kashmir + two Communist have fought shoulder  
to shoulder along with others + shed the blood.  
Inside the country with the people struggle against  
Communist misrule, for the struggle of peasants



position.

According to Church's find, the so-called act of opinion has been tampered with in the last few years & since Brahmputra flows when it was.

Peace & stability would be best by maintaining status quo for some time until the negotiation starts. & conclude. Neither the McMahon line, nor the maps of the old China should be considered as sacrosanct, though there may be taken <sup>along with the McMahon line</sup> a basis for a mutual negotiation. <sub>to mutual advantage with both the parts of</sub>

BUT the sides have expressed their desire for settling the dispute through discussion & efforts should be made to start the same as early as possible.

It is our desire that Indian people should do this utmost to create <sup>that</sup> <sup>positive</sup> atmosphere for starting the negotiations, & settlement of the dispute in order to maintain friendly relations between the two great countries & its people in Asia & the world. Peace in Asia & to some extent in the world hangs on the good neighboring feeling of the two people & their friends.

X

6/ We shall be failing in our duty if we don't front out to the <sup>the</sup> dangerous trend in the politics of our country. To against the growth of the Communist & Socialist ideas & elements in the country during the past decade; reaction & fascist tendencies have been deliberately trying to entrench themselves to gain the same. Various political parties including Ind: National Congress, & PSP & certain political groups in the Congress have often taken stand while have helped the latter. To that aim people's simple barrow; these elements knowingly that the no yamoi is ~~points to the present~~ ~~circumstances~~ ~~for either~~ ~~group~~ ~~to~~ ~~have~~ ~~shown~~ or Indog - but <sup>then</sup> ~~has~~ ~~created~~ a war - emergency situation. The main purpose of the scare message is to force to divert the attention of the general mind of people for the own simple against rising prices, better living & working conditions, land reforms, and anti - democratic beliefs of the. Current trends in the name of foreign opinion and security to create a waste before the democratic beliefs of people by challenging

The fact some of patriots of those who stand for progress and mutual understanding between countries & intellectual of our by discussion. The possible ~~opposite~~ <sup>opposite</sup> Panel shall to patriots are ~~not~~ compulsory.

Therefore the ~~law~~ of Comrades are the field. TO ~~express~~ the form of machinery force to shift up limits on inquiry <sup>from</sup> opinions to discuss the activities for the service of labor in the country - (a very big part of machinery all over the world) and explain to the masses the correct position the border dispute & the ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> imperialist need for ~~planning~~ <sup>planning</sup> ~~syndicates~~ <sup>syndicates</sup> or the same & its peaceful settlement thru discussion. Effort should be made to utilize the ~~mass~~ <sup>mass</sup> ~~1~~ <sup>1</sup> ~~section~~ <sup>section</sup> of patriots - women & peasants & the alien the ~~mass~~ <sup>mass</sup> ~~claim~~ <sup>claim</sup> the intellectuals for this campaign. Articles, small pamphlets in all languages, seminars, & discussion groups should be organized.

elsewhere of the 10% anniversary of the independence of the Peoples Republic of China on 10th 1949 should be arranged

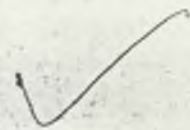
on by Deale mentioned in the Indi-  
 - Chris Frutkin's Arm should realize  
 its mistake of depending on many  
 intellectuals alone instead of basic men,  
 It should become active at the moment

ACTIVE Copy

Part  
ACTIVE

To

The Secretary,  
PHQ Branch, CPI



Dear Comrade,

Sub: Kerala Election Fund

The campaign for fund collections on specific issues has two purposes, viz., (i) popularisation of the issue and our stand, and (ii) need of the money. Therefore, in all our campaigns, our approach is to collect funds from (a) as large number of masses as possible, though the per head denation may be lessen and (b) individual donors. Party members who are part-timers often pay a percentage or lumpsum out of their earnings. Wholetimers inside the Party do collect funds from sumpathisers and general masses and sometimes take upon themselves to pay from their whole-timer wages a portion as their personal donations, if the issue concerned is of such a nature. Such cases are rare because wholetimers nowhere in the country are paid - and cannot be paid - in the near future what may be called a living wage. There can be exception to this and only exception can be those comrades who somehow manage to earn/get what may be called from Indian standard a decent wage in a part of their time while at the same time, devoting major portion of their time to Party work.

The position of wholetimers in PHQ is that they get what is just sufficient for them to have two square meals and bare necessities of life. Judging from the financial position of the Party, there cannot be any reason for complaint in this. As wholetimers, the comrades are prepared even to sacrifice part of this, if it becomes necessary.

In the circumstances, our feeling is that when any fund collection campaign is to be run, normally there should not be any levy on the wholetimers, from their wages. In exceptional cases, this levy can be imposed with full agreement in a well-attended meeting but such a levy should be for one month only. All other levy should be purely optional and not mandatory.

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In the light of the above, we feel that the mandatory decision of the G.B. meeting of the Branch held on August 30 (to impose a levy on all Party members working in PHQ Branch to pay one day's wage per month during the period September 1959 to February 1960/till the elections take place) is incorrect in principle and is impracticable.

We therefore suggest that in future, normally, no levy should be imposed mandatorily on wholetimers of the Party.

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The decision taken in the G.B. meeting held on August 30 should be made optional and no mandatory.

This note is based on principles and practical difficulties and nothing to do with the purpose for which the collections are being made.

This may please be circulated to the various groups and decision taken as early as possible.

September 25, 1959

1. Dayanand Anant
2. M. Atchuthan
3. Satish Chatterji
4. M.K. Pandhe
5. Babu Rao
6. K.G. Sriwastava
7. Krishnan Dubey
8. Com. Madan
9. K. Krishnan

To: PHQ Group leaders

The Branch Committee decided that the next branch general body will be held on November 8 at 9 a.m. at PPH.

2. The Branch Committee suggests the following agenda:

- (A) Problems of the PHQ;
- (B) Kerala Election Fund Quota;
- (C) Branch Report
- (D) Miscellaneous

3. All PHQ groups should meet to discuss firstly, the problem of the PHQ and secondly, their quotas (personal contribution and collections) for the Kerala Election Fund.

4. To help the discussion of the problems of the PHQ, the Branch Committee suggested the following points for the attention of the comrades:

- (a) Problems of livelihood: wages (are they adequate?); uniformity of wages; some measure of equality; travelling allowance once a year for going home; how to improve Party's finances.
- (b) Problems of work: Is the PHQ acting as a proper Party Centre? Is the number of cadres sufficient? Is proper coordination established between different departments so as to avoid duplication and ensure regular rhythm of work?
- (c) How to further improve relations between all the Party Groups and all the Party comrades.
- (d) The mechanism through which party functioning and tackling of problems.

These are only some suggestions which might help. Groups, can of course, take up any problems that they like.

5. The AITUC Building Fund Drive- Groups should discuss ~~discuss~~ how much they would like to pay. The Branch Committee feels that while this is voluntary, it would be good if the Branch could make some contribution to this Fund.

Mohit Sen  
Secretary, PHQ Branch

26/11/55

- Statement of work to be circulated
- Party finances - what's the position?

- (i) Winter allowance — Four
- (ii) Dayanand — Babu Rao
- (iii) — Dayanand
- Hamid
- Kuran:

+

AITUC

A G E N D A

✓ 9.15 a.m.  
at P.P.H.

for Central Office Branch Meeting  
on November 29, 1959

- (1) Kerala Election Fund levy and quota
- (2) Branch Committee resolution on leakage of inner-Party news
- (3) Branch Committee proposal for political discussion over the next two months
- (4) Branch Committee Report
- (5) Miscellaneous

November 27, 1959

Mohit Sen,  
Branch Secretary

draft

RESOLUTION

The General Body meeting of the Central Office Branch expresses its serious concern at the systematic leakage of inner-Party news, which has gone on for some time and seems to have been intensified recently. While welcoming the fact that the CEC has instituted an Enquiry Commission, which should go thoroughly into the question in all its details and at all levels, the Branch reiterates the determination of all its members to heighten their vigilance.

AITUC  
+

Amendments to the Draft Resolution:

- 1. Para 1 of Page 1: Line 14, delete from " In the conspiracy .....had been thoroughly discredited",

and substitute the following: "In the conspiracy to oust the Kerala Ministry, every party of the bourgeoisie had aligned itself with the darkest forces of reaction and lost heavily in the eyes of the masses".

- 2. Substitute the present paragraph 2 with the following :

"Moreover the position and prestige of the Communist Party as the defender of democracy and the people's interests has enormously risen. The struggle for working-class leadership of the nation has reached a new height".

- 3. Para 3 of Page 1, line 6, ~~XXXXX XXX XXXXXXXX XXXXXX WITH XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX, XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXX XXXXX XX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXX XXXXXXXX AND XXXXXXXX XXX~~  
delete the rest of the para starting from "...misled public opinion..." and re-write ~~xxx~~ it as follows :

"...tried to mislead public opinion and create war psychosis in the country. This war hysteria is intended to change India's foreign policy, push it into the Western Camp and destroy Panch Shila. It is endangering our national independence itself. It is also directed against the Communist Party of India which has been gathering wide and decisive support from more and more sections of the people in recent months. The effort is to use the occasion to isolate the Communist Party from the main current of Indian public opinion and crush it. So, while shouting about aggression by China on our borders, the leaders of the bourgeoisie at the same time call for the banning of the Communist Party, call us traitors, challenge us to declare our attitude to the alleged aggression etc.".

- 4. Substitute present para 7 by the following:

"But the dispute has assumed some serious proportions, due to the war-hysteria indulged in and the encouragement to the activities of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan rebels by Indian reaction. According to published Chinese maps, the McMahon line engulfs an area of more than 48000 sq. miles of what they claim as Chinese territory".

- 5. Para 10 of Page 2, Add the words "has not" before "will never".

- 6. Para 11: Substitute the existing para by the following:

"Secondly, we must give up any idea of entering upon a competition in chauvinism with bourgeois parties and intensify the struggle against the ideology of bourgeois nationalism. In countering bourgeois propaganda, we ~~must~~ emphasise that the patriotism of our Party can never be questioned by anybody, in view of our sacrifices for the country, our record in the national movement and our persistent and consistent struggle in defence of the interests of people and lastly our policies which are genuine national policies"

- 7. Substitute the existing paras 12 and 13 by the following:

"We should insist that the basis for negotiation between India and China should be the MacMahon-line, the Chinese Maps and other relevant historical documents. We should

not commit ourselves that the MacMahon line is the only basis for negotiations. If we also join the crowd of the advocates of the MacMahon line we will be unwittingly jamming the way for negotiations and making it difficult for the Government of India to come to a compromise. The border disputes, it must be emphasised, can be settled only if both sides adhere firmly to Panch Shila and goodneighbourliness".

24-9-59

K.P.S.Menon  
Ramdas  
Raza Ali  
Mohit Sen

14

Party

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE.

The present dispute between India and China about the border is causing serious concern among the people of the country. The dispute is coming in the background of the unprecedented disillusionment of the people of India against the policies of the Congress Governments in the internal sphere; the failure of the 2nd Plan; the dismissal of the Kerala Government and the attack on Parliamentary Democracy which it signifies. The loud boasts of the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen in India and abroad about the competition between socialist economic development and capitalist economic development represented by China and India respectively were proved to be colossal bluffs. While the economy of China has been leaping forward at tremendous strides adding to the economic and military might of the Peoples' Republic of China. In the conspiracy to oust the Kerala, every party of the bourgeoisie had aligned itself with the darkest reaction in the country and thus got themselves discredited in the eyes of the Indian masses. Thus there has been recently an unprecedented disillusionment about the pretensions of the Congress and other political parties of the bourgeoisie; the bourgeois values of democracy, had been thoroughly discredited.

In this situation, the Communist Party - the party of the working class - has become the leading force in the country in the defence of peoples' interests, of democracy and emerged as the genuine custodians of the country's future. We are on the threshold of becoming the leader of the Nation.

In this background, the fact that the border between India and China has not been demarcated has been taken advantage of by the reactionary forces in the country. They have turned the occasion to an all-out attack on the Peoples' Republic of China, spread false stories of aggression on our borders, misled public opinion and created a psychology of war in the country. Their effort is primarily directed against the Communist Party of India which has been gathering such wide and decisive support from more and more sections of the people in recent months. The effort is to use the occasion to isolate the Communist Party from the main current of Indian opinion and crush it. So, while shouting about aggression by China on our borders, the leaders of the bourgeoisie at the same time call for the banning of the Communist, call us traitors, challenge us to declare our attitude to the alleged aggression etc.

The facts that have to be taken into consideration in this situation are that, nowhere has the Chinese forces crossed any definite frontier, including the MacMahon line (which though the Chinese do not accept have nevertheless not violated). As regards the Aksai China Plateau, it has been admitted by Nehru that the position of the border there is not clear. The Bara Hoti incident also does not give any proof of Chinese intrusion. In any case it is the Indian forces who occupy the Bara Hoti though the Chinese Government has been protesting that it is on their side of the border.

On the MacMahon line it is only in one place, Longu that there has been any real dispute, the Chinese claiming it to be on that side of MacMahon line and the Indian Government claiming it to be this side of the line.

Thus it will be clear that there has not been anywhere, any aggression by China on our borders.

But the dispute has assumed some serious proportions due to the non-acceptance of the MacMahon line by the Chinese Government. According to published Chinese maps, the MacMahon line engulfs an area of more than 48,000 square miles of their territory. Thus the dispute has serious implications, irrespective of the present position of Chinese Forces.



In such a serious situation, what should be the attitude of the Communist Party? Legally, the Chinese Government is right. They have never accepted the MacMahon Line. But de facto, the Government of India's forces have been occupying large areas covered by the MacMahon line.

Our attitude on this question should be based on both principles and practical considerations. We should not join the bourgeois chorus of aggression by China; nor should we suggest even, by implication that the Chinese Government will commit aggression. If China commits aggression, it is not just a Chinese Government that gets discredited in the eyes of the people, but Communism that gets discredited. Thus our protesting that we will defend India's borders against Chinese aggression does not absolve us in any case of the odium. Thus talk about our defending our territory against China is foolish.

We have to take up the categorical stand that we are firm and we believe that China will never never commit aggression against India.

Secondly, the strength, vitality and militancy of our party cannot be protected by any sort of cheap popularity. We can protect ourselves only the firm foundations of international solidarity. The question is: What sort of Communist Party are we going to build? Is it a party based on certain firm principles, capable of facing unpleasant situations with courage and confidence and resisting the inroads of alien ideology into our ranks? Or do we want to just gather ~~xxxx~~ all sorts of people who will be able to stand with us only when we are riding the crest of popular ovation? That is the question we have to face in the particular situation. So we should not, on this issue, drag ourselves into a position of criticising the Peoples' Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party - either directly or by implication. We have to guard against that blunder.

Thirdly, we should not commit ourselves that the basis for negotiations should be the MacMahon line. If we also join in the crowd of MacMahon liners, there is practically no room left for negotiations between India and China. We will be unwittingly jamming the way for negotiations. We will be making it difficult for any Government in India to come to a compromise. So we will not commit ourselves to any line.

So, we say negotiate and settle the dispute. The basis of negotiations should be good-neighbourliness and nothing else.

Fourthly, we emphasise the facts about the present situation-expose the scare-mongering of reaction.

Fifthly, mount a counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie and their values, their crimes against the Indian People-the hollowness of their patriotic protestations when millions are starving, prices rising, crores unemployed etc.

Expose their diversionary tactic in this context.

Sixthly, show the people where their road is leading to-conflict with China, alliance with the West, destruction of our independence and all the consequences.

It is only by mounting a counter-offensive against the bourgeois onslaught, by exposing their game, how their edge is directed internally against the progressive forces in the country led by the Communist Party, the logical culmination which their slogans will lead to-only such a firm, confident and militant stand that can help us.

AMENDMENT TO COM. CHIPPU'S RESOLUTION ON  
INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE

I Paras 1 and 2: Amend paras 1 and 2 to read  
as follows:

The present dispute between India and China about the border is causing serious concern among the people of the country. However, some sections inside the Party has consistently sought to belittle the gravity of the issue by presenting the entire problem as arising out of some friendly misunderstanding. Such a view, in our opinion, carefully ignores the fact that the disputed territory over India-China engulfs over 50,000 sq. miles, which is no small area to be under dispute for any self-respecting nation to make a gift of to another country, between two nations. There is also a studied indifference to take note of the sinister potentialities that any aggravation or even prolongation of the present dispute may hold forth. It is not fully appreciated that what is at stake is not simply the traditional friendship between the two ancient countries of India and China, nor merely the threat of right-wing dictatorship in India, but, in a larger world context, the inevitable driving away of the uncommitted nations of Asia into the camp of imperialism. Such a development will not only alter the balance of forces in Asia in favour of imperialism and war-pacts, but will make the task of the liberation movements of Asia and Africa more arduous and costly.

On a national plane, the present dispute has arisen in the background of the unprecedented disillusionment of the people of India against the policies of the Congress governments in the internal sphere - the failure of the Second Five Year Plan; the dismissal of the Kerala Government and the attack on parliamentary democracy which it signifies. The loud claim of the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen in India and abroad about the superiority of the 'democratic system' over the 'totalitarian system' represented by India and China respectively were proved to be colossal bluffs. While the economy of India has failed to register any significant advance over the last eleven years, the economy of China has been leaping forward at tremendous pace, adding to the economic and military might of the People's Republic of China. In the conspiracy to oust the Kerala Government, every party of the bourgeoisie had aligned itself with the darkest reaction in the country, and thus got themselves discredited in the eyes of large sections of the Indian people. The process of the isolation of bourgeois parties from the masses of our people has reached a new stage and bourgeois claims of adherence to the principles of democracy and parliamentarianism have begun to be challenged by an ever growing number of people.

In this situation, it is only natural, the Communist Party - the Party of the working class - has come to be looked upon by an ever growing number of our people as the alternative political forces that will defend their vital interests, the Indian Constitution and Indian democracy. Rightly, the Communist Party has increasingly come to be looked upon as the Party of the future.

II. Para 3: Delete the last para beginning from "the effort is to use..." and ending with "alleged aggression, etc..." and add the following in its place.

Reaction also hopes that with the isolation of the Communist Party from the national political life of the country, it will become even more easier to orientate the present progressive foreign policy of India into a pro-west, pro-imperialist one. The effort is to utilise the occasion for the twin purpose of crushing the Communist Party and reversing our foreign and internal policy openly in favour of reaction at home and imperialism abroad. So, while shouting aggression by China on our borders, the reactionary right-

right-wing leaders at the same time proclaim the failure of our foreign policy and call for the banning of the Communist Party.

III. Para 7: Amend the second sentence to read as follows:

"According to published Chinese maps, the McMahon Line engulfs an area of more than 48,000 sq. miles claimed by the Chinese as their territory".

IV. Page 2: Delete entire page and substitute the following:

In such a situation what should be the attitude of the Communist Party? In our considered view, the Party should strive to steer clear of the extreme positions accepted by the contending parties to the dispute and present a line of thought that is consistent with the principles of proletarian internationalism and the patriotic sentiments of our people. It should discard the defeatist caution and suicidal silence that have till today characterised its attitude to the India-China border dispute. As the country's most responsible political organisation, it has to act quickly and boldly to prevent the right-wing conspiracy from succeeding, and to wrest back national initiative. Following from this, the two chief tasks of the Party - interrelated as they are - are:

(a) To help to bring to an end the prevailing abnormal relations between India and China by providing a national and feasible basis for peaceful negotiation between the two countries and for a solution of the India-China border dispute; and

(b) To defeat the right-wing bourgeois offensive against internal democracy and progress and against India's progressive foreign policy and thus to isolate them as traitors to the true national interests of the country.

For the realisation of these tasks the Party should immediately undertake a campaign on the following lines:

1. The Party should call upon the Governments of India and China to settle the present dispute across the conference table. For the purpose of initiating such a round table talk, we feel it necessary to take a prudent and realistic attitude towards the so-called McMahon Line. This line can serve as the basis of discussion to be suitably modified, by taking into account the actualities of the present border situation, of the factors of history and the principles of geography, of the internationally accepted criteria of usage and custom. It should call upon both the Governments to stop all further unilateral actions on the border and strictly abide by the status-quo till the final delimitation of the India-China border is established.

2. Reiterate our conviction that the People's Government of China can never commit aggression against any country, India including, because, it must be pointed out that, a socialist system can do without war and colonial expansion. In the context, it should also be emphasised that, contrary to the impression sought to be created by the press and reactionary politicians, the Chinese Government have not occupied even an inch of our territory.

3. Explain the international significance of India-China friendship as a major force for world peace and as a bulwark against imperialist intrigues in Asia, particularly in relation to India and other uncommitted nations of Asia.

4. Affirm, if need be, our readiness to defend the territorial integrity of our country. In the present context, a statement of this nature is expected of us by the nation. However, the Party should also unhesitatingly combat any tendency towards acts of aggression by any section of opinion in this country.

5. Mount a counter-offensive by educating the people on the facts of the situation, of the crisis of bourgeois democracy and values in India, and the threat that reaction presents against everything good that eleven years of independence have brought to our country. It must be sharply brought home to the people that

.... it is

it is the reactionary hate-China circles in the Congress, the PSP and the Jan Sangh, who by their strident calls to drag into a war with China, are the real traitors to the country. A war with China would not merely divert the entire national energy and resources into wasteful and destructive channels but would eventually deprive India of her independence and her very future.

T. K. N. MENON

No.	Terms in English with definitions and illustrations, where necessary	Hindi equivalents suggested by others	Regional equivalents	Equivalents suggested	Remarks
	<p>Consciousness.</p> <p>P. 26</p>				