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AITUC DIGITAL ARCHIVE - 2021

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CONSTITUTION

1

1958

Record File

(NR)

No. 400

SUPER STAR

From,

The Director of Medical & Health Services,
Uttar Pradesh

To,

Shri Chhail Behari Lal Srivastava
Assistant, Women Section.

No. XIII.F1380

Dated Lucknow, March 18-1958

You are charged as follows:—

That while posted as an assistant in the office of the Dy. Director (Women), you made yourself a convenor of the Convention of "Low paid (non-gazetted) State Government Employees" not recognised by Government and thereby;

- (i) You committed a breach of rules 5-B and 7 of the Government Servants Conduct Rules 1956 as no Government servant can join or continue to be a member of an association not recognised by Government nor can he publish any document or give his opinion or make any statement of fact which has the effect of an adverse criticism of any current or recent policy or action of Government.

Evidence which it is proposed to consider in respect of the charge:—

- (i) Pamphlet printed by the Cheat-printing Press Lucknow entitled "आज शहरी शीर्ष सरकारी दल अति दारिद्र्य अंतर्गत (शहरी शीर्ष) अंतर्गत अंतर्गत अंतर्गत (सम्मेलन) १९५८"
 - (ii) Your letter dated February 20, 1958 addressed to Dr. Sapurnanand, Chief Minister, U.P.
- (2) You contravened the provisions of G.O. No. O-3237/IB-32-52 dated 24.12.52 and G.O. No. 3651/II-1012/1947 in making direct approach to the Prime Minister of India and Chief Minister of U.P.

Evidence which it is proposed to consider in respect of this charge:

Your letters dated 20.2.58 addressed to the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Minister of U.P.

You are hereby required on or before April 2, 1958, to put in a written statement of your defence in reply to each of the charges. You are warned that if no such statement is received from you by the undersigned within the time allowed, it shall be presumed that you have none to furnish and orders shall be passed in your case accordingly.

You are further required simultaneously to inform the undersigned in writing whether you desire to be heard in person and in case you wish to be heard in person and in case you wish to examine or cross examine any witnesses to submit along with your written statement their names and addresses together with brief indications of the evidence which each such witness shall be expected to give.

Sd. K.M. LAL
Director of Medical & Health Services, U.P.

18-3-58

GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH
Appointment (B) Department
No. 2985/IIB-152-57
Dated Lucknow, October 8, 1957

NOTIFICATION
MISCELLANEOUS

In ~~exercise~~^{exercise} of the powers conferred by the proviso to Article 209 of the Constitution of India, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh is pleased to direct that the following amendment shall be made in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, 1956.

Amendment

After the existing rule 5 the following shall be added as rule 5-A:

"5 A - Demonstrations and strikes - No Government Servant shall participate in any demonstration or report to any form of strike in connection with any matter pertaining to his conditions of services."

A. N. JHA
Mukhya Sachiv

GOVERNMENT OF UTTAR PRADESH
APPOINTMENT (B) DEPARTMENT

No. 3330/II-152-1957

Dated Lucknow, November 1, 1957

NOTIFICATION
MISCELLANEOUS

AMENDMENT

After the existing rule 5-A, the following shall be added as rule 5-B:

"5-B. Joining of Associations by Government Servants - No Government Servant shall join or continue to be a member of any Service Association of Government servants:

- (a) Which has not, within a period of one month from its formation, obtained the recognition of the Government under the rules prescribed in that behalf, or
- (b) recognition in respect of which has been refused or withdrawn by the Government under the said rule."

ILLUSTRATION

7. Criticism of Government - No Government servant shall, in any radio broadcast or in any document published anonymously or in his own name, or in the name of any other person, or in any communication to the Press, or in any public utterance, make any statement of fact or opinion:

- (i) Which has the effect of any adverse criticism or any decision of his superior officers, or of any current or recent policy or action of the Uttar Pradesh Government or the Central Government or the Government of any other State or local authority; or
- (ii) Which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Uttar Pradesh Government and the Central Government or the Government of any other State; or
- (iii) Which is capable of embarrassing the relations between the Central Government and the Government of any foreign State;

Provided that nothing in this rule shall apply to any statement made or views expressed by a government servant in his official capacity or in the due performance of the duties assigned to him.

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ALL-INDIA
TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(REGD. No. 1852 Dated 12 SEPTEMBER 1973)

(As amended upto 1991)

AITUC PUBLICATION

Price : Re. 1

Printed by T. N. Siddhanta at New Age Printing Press,
Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055, and published for
AITUC, 24, Canning Lane, New Delhi-110001.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
Registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act 1926
(Registered No. 1852, Dated 12th Sep. 1973)

1. The name of the organisation shall be the All-India Trade Union Congress (to be designated in abbreviated form as the AITUC).

AIMS AND OBJECTS

2. The objects of the AITUC shall be :
- (a) To establish a socialist state in India;
 - (b) To socialise and nationalise the means of production, distribution and exchange as far as possible;
 - (c) To ameliorate the economic and social conditions of the working class;
 - (d) To watch, promote, safeguard and further the interests, rights and privileges of the workers in all matters relating to their employment;
 - (e) To secure and maintain for the workers :
 - (i) The freedom of speech;
 - (ii) The freedom of press;
 - (iii) The freedom of association;
 - (iv) The freedom of assembly;
 - (v) The right of strike; and
 - (vi) The right to work or maintenance.
 - (f) To co-ordinate the activities of the trade unions affiliated to the AITUC; and
 - (g) To abolish political or economic advantage based on caste, creed, community, race or religion.

3. The AITUC shall endeavour to further the aforesaid objects by all legitimate, peaceful and democratic methods such as legislations and, in the last resort, by strikes and similar other methods, as the AITUC may, from time to time, decide.

DEMANDS

4. The demands of the AITUC shall be :
 - (a) A statutory enactment providing for a six-hour working day;
 - (b) Minimum living wage;
 - (c) Weekly payment of wages;
 - (d) Equal wages for equal work, without racial or sex discrimination;
 - (e) One month's leave with full pay, or an equivalent amount of compensation when leave is not granted;
 - (f) Unemployment, sickness, old age, accident and maternity insurance;
 - (g) Pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children;
 - (h) Proper housing;
 - (i) Formation, through trade unions, of workers' committees in factories, workshops, business houses and all other places where collective work is performed, with a view to control conditions of work inside these places;
 - (j) Abolition of the employment of children under 15 years of age;
 - (k) Payment of wages to women workers six weeks before and six weeks after child-births;
 - (l) Abolition of all other systems of recruiting labour, except through trade unions;
 - (m) Abolition of fines and debts; and
 - (n) Effective control of the subscribers over the Provident Funds.

AFFILIATION OF UNIONS

5. (a) The AITUC may affiliate to itself any bonafide trade union which is in existence for at least one year and which satisfies the following conditions :
 - (i) The trade union seeking affiliation shall make an application according to the form.

- (ii) It shall pay an annual contribution and special levies, as provided in these rules.
 - (iii) It shall send a copy of its rules and regulations, a list of its office bearers, a copy of the statement of accounts for the official year, giving an average paying membership for the period, duly audited as per the provisions of the Trade Unions Act; and such other information or materials as the general secretary of the AITUC may require.
 - (iv) The application for affiliation shall be forwarded through the state committee, wherever such a committee exists, to the general secretary of the AITUC, with remarks, if any, made by the state committee regarding the eligibility of the union for affiliation, under the Rules of the AITUC. Such applications shall be forwarded by the state committee to the general secretary within a period of two months.
 - (v) The minimum fee which a union desiring affiliation to the AITUC shall charge to its members shall not be less than three rupees per year, to be collected either monthly, quarterly, half yearly or yearly.
- (b) The Working Committee of the AITUC shall have the authority of accepting or rejecting any application for affiliation from a trade union, provided, however, that in case of the acceptance or rejection of any such application by the working committee, it will be open to the general council, or to the general body of the AITUC to confirm or set aside such a decision.
- (c) (i) The working committee/general council shall have the right to disaffiliate any union on any of the following charges:
- (a) non-payment of affiliation dues for three consecutive years;

- (b) indulging in anti-AITUC/anti-working class activities.
- (ii) The working committee/general council shall have the right to suspend or expel any individual office-bearer or member of the working committee or of the general council if such a member indulges in anti-AITUC/anti-working class activities.
 - (iii) Any union or individual against whom action is proposed to be taken under sub-rule (b) (i) and (ii) shall be informed in writing of the charges against it/him and opportunity shall be given to its representatives/him to answer the charges.
 - (iv) A decision of the working committee/general council shall be by simple majority of those present.
 - (v) Any union/individual against whom action has been taken may appeal to the next higher body. The general council will also have the right to review its earlier decision. Pending the appeal/review, the decision of the working committee/general council shall however be fully operative.
- (d) Agricultural Workers' Unions :
- (i) The working committee/general council of the AITUC may affiliate a union/federation of agricultural workers on an application made by it in the form specified.
 - (ii) Such a union/federation shall be governed by the constitution and will have all rights and obligations of an affiliated union subject to the following provisions :
 1. The minimum fee chargeable from its members prescribed in Rule 5(a) (v) of this constitution shall not be applicable;
 2. The affiliation fee payable to the AITUC shall be at the rate of 10 paise for every five

members. 50 per cent of this fee will be paid to the respective state committees;

3. A union affiliated under this clause shall be entitled to send delegates to any session on the following basis: and its membership will be accounted for the relevant state's entitlement under Rule 9(a) (vi) for the general council on a pro-rata basis: One delegate for every 5,000 members. Any fraction over the last batch of 5,000 members shall be entitled to one additional delegate if it is in excess of 2,500 members.

- (e) The AITUC will maintain a register of affiliated unions. Such list and account books shall be open for inspection by the general council members on giving 15 days' prior notice in writing to the general secretary.

AFFILIATION FEES

6. Each affiliated union shall pay to the AITUC:
 - (a) An annual contribution at the rate of 50 paise per member, subject to a minimum of Rs. 50/-
 - (b) Such other levy as may be fixed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the general council.

(Note: Accounts of the AITUC shall be maintained in accordance with the financial year beginning from January 1 and ending with December 31).

7. (a) The annual contribution shall be paid by the 30th June each year. The special contribution or levy shall become payable as and when fixed in each case. Non-payment of any contribution or levy that has become due shall disqualify the defaulting union from voting at or participating in the meetings of the AITUC, or any of its constituent bodies, until the payment is made; the disqualification shall also apply to the voting on the circulars that may be issued by the secretariat, till the

fees are paid; provided that the working committee may, in special cases for reasons to be recorded, remit the disqualifications.

- (b) A union, when disqualified for non-payment of contributions or levies may be reaffiliated on payment of the arrears and the current fees.
- (c) In case a union is disqualified, within the meaning of subrule (a), for a period of not less than twelve months, the general secretary may issue a notice to the union concerned to make good within three months, all the dues at the date of the notice. In case, the union fails to pay all such arrears, demanded within the time given, it shall be liable for disqualification.

COMPOSITION OF THE AITUC

8. The AITUC shall consist of:

- (i) The affiliated unions;
- (ii) The delegates assembled at the general or special session;
- (iii) The general council including the office-bearers;
- (iv) The working committee of the general council;
- (v) The state bodies.

GENERAL COUNCIL

9. (a) The general council shall consist of:

- (i) A president;
- (ii) Not more than nine vice-presidents;
- (iii) A general secretary;
- (iv) A treasurer;
- (v) Not less than three secretaries, but not more than five; and
- (vi) Other members elected by the general session of the AITUC on the basis of the total affiliated membership of unions in each state on the following scale:

—One representative for every 5,000 members or part thereof up to a membership of 50,000;

—One representative for every additional 10,000 members;

—One representative each from the trade federations or groups that may be formed by the general council.

(b) Delegates alone shall be eligible for election to the general council. Election of members of the general council shall be made during the general session of the AITUC, by the delegates present at the session.

(c) Vacancies shall be filled or changes made in the personnel of the general council from the state where vacancies have occurred, at a meeting of the general council.

10. The council of state committees shall have the right to substitute members of the general council from the state as elected under Rule 9(a) (vi).

11. The representatives elected by the AITUC on the general council, in the manner prescribed in these rules, shall co-opt members on the council, not necessarily connected with any trade union as such but who have taken part in the trade union movement and whose presence on the council may be considered essential in the interest of the movement. The number of such co-opted members may not be more than one-sixth of the total number of representatives of the affiliated organisations.

12. There shall be a working committee of the general council consisting of:

(a) All office-bearers of the AITUC as ex-officio members;

(b) Thirty-five members elected by the general council by a system of cumulative voting.

13. (i) The general secretary and secretaries shall constitute the secretariat.

(ii) The functions of the secretariat will be defined by the working committee.

14. (a) The AITUC shall meet once every three years;

(b) The general council shall meet at least once a year;

- (c) The working committee shall meet at least twice a year.

15. The working committee shall have the power to call a special session of the AITUC. On a requisition from the unions representing one-fourth of the total strength of the AITUC, the general secretary shall, in consultation with the president, call a special session of the AITUC within six weeks of the receipt of the requisition, for the purpose of transacting the definite business mentioned in the requisition.

NOTICE FOR MEETINGS

16. (a) Notice of the time and place of meeting of the working committee, general council and general and special sessions of the AITUC, shall be given by the general secretary.
- (b) For the meeting of the working committee, at least 15 days' notice shall be given; for the meeting of the general council and the general session of the AITUC, at least a fortnight's and a month's notice respectively shall be given.
- (c) Emergency meeting of the working committee can be called by giving a notice of seven days.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

17. (a) For the general or special session of the AITUC the affiliated unions (except agricultural workers' unions) shall be entitled to elect delegates on the following basis :
- (i) One delegate for each union having a membership between 250 and 500.
 - (ii) One additional delegate for every complete set of 500 members upto a total membership of 5,000.
 - (iii) One additional delegate for every complete set of 2,000 members for membership exceeding 5,000 upto 20,000.
 - (iv) One additional delegate for every complete set of 4,000 members for membership exceeding 20,000.

- (v) Unions having membership below 250, two or more unions shall pool together their membership for the purpose of jointly electing a delegate.
- (vi) One additional delegate will be allowed for the last fraction in each category provided that the said fraction consists of more than 50% of the requisite numbers.
- (b) To ascertain the number of delegates which an affiliated union is entitled to send to the AITUC, the basis shall be the number of paying members existing on the register of the union, as disclosed in the balance sheet of the union, for the year prior to the session of the AITUC, duly certified by the auditor.
- (c) An affiliated union shall furnish to the general secretary the names and addresses of the delegates two weeks before the date fixed for the session of the AITUC.
- (d) Delegate's cards will be issued on production of a certificate of election by the secretary of the union concerned and on payment of a delegation fee of Rs. 2.00 per delegate.
- (e) No person who is neither an office-bearer of the affiliated union, nor a member of the affiliated union shall be entitled to be elected as a delegate of the AITUC.
- (f) Office bearers of members of the working committee or general council who are working in the central office of the AITUC will be ex-officio delegates to the general or special session of the AITUC with full rights to speak and vote. The working committee will determine the number and names of such delegates for every session.
- (g) Propositions for the agenda of the general session of the AITUC must be signed by the president or the secretary of the union sending them, and must reach the general secretary of

the AITUC, at least two weeks before the time fixed for the meeting of the AITUC.

- (h) A trade union shall not be allowed to send more than five resolutions but in order that important labour questions may not be omitted from discussion at the session, the general council is empowered to place important propositions on the agenda.
- (i) At the meeting of the AITUC, the official business shall have priority over other business.

18. On a motion being put to the session of the AITUC, the president shall declare the result on a show of hands. But if any delegate demands a division, the voting shall be by unions, and each union is then entitled to as many votes as the number of delegates it is entitled to send as per rule 17 above. On a poll, the voting shall be by means of a card.

QUESTIONS FOR DECISION

18-A. Questions coming for decision before the working committee, the general council and the session of the AITUC, shall be decided by a majority of votes, provided, however, that questions of political nature, and those relating to strikes to be declared by the AITUC, and the affiliation of the AITUC to any international organisation shall be decided by a three-fourths majority.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

- 19. (a) The state committee for the place where the session is to be held, will form a reception committee for the purpose. In places where a state committee is not functioning, a committee appointed by affiliated unions of the place shall be the reception committee.
- (b) The reception committee shall have power to collect funds for the expenses of the AITUC session. After meeting the expenses of the session, if there be any surplus, the same shall belong to state or local trade union organisation of the place, where the session is held.

QUORUM

20. The quorum at the sessions of the AITUC and at the meetings of the general council and the working committee shall be one-third of the delegates or members of the respective bodies. The quorum for meeting of the secretariat shall be three.

POWERS OF GENERAL COUNCIL AND WORKING COMMITTEE

21. (a) The general council shall have the authority to take all proper steps to carry out the work of the AITUC in accordance with the constitution.
- (b) The working committee shall have the authority:
- (i) To take all proper steps for carrying out the resolutions passed at the previous sessions of the AITUC;
 - (ii) To deal with the emergency that may arise affecting the interests of the working class; and
 - (iii) Generally to advance and further the aims and objects of the AITUC.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

22. The general secretary shall present to the general session, a report of the work done by the working committee and the general council and an audited statement of accounts and balance sheet, duly certified by auditors.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

23. Office-bearers shall be elected by simple majority by the general council of the AITUC at its meeting immediately following its election and before the session concludes.

The general council shall be entitled to fill any vacancy or make any other changes among the office-bearers arising due to any reason.

24. The outgoing president shall preside at the general session, and any special session that may be held during his term of office.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER CONFERENCES

25. Delegates and advisers to the meetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions and other international and national conferences and meetings shall be ordinarily elected at meetings of the general council or the working committee, whichever is being in session. In case of emergency and when either the general council or the working committee cannot be convened, decisions may be taken by circular to the members of the working committee.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

26. The AITUC may be affiliated to such international bodies as have same or similar object and methods.

The decision about affiliation shall be taken by the general council of the AITUC.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

27. The working committee may appoint, from among its members, a political committee consisting of seven members. The committee shall endeavour :

- (i) To encourage the affiliated unions to build up their political funds;
- (ii) To organise, in consultation with the general council, elections to the local bodies and the legislatures.
- (iii) To keep a watch over the taxation proposals of the central and state governments and over the development of labour legislation in India, from the point of view of the working class.
- (iv) To initiate legislation in the interests of the working class; and
- (v) To do such other political propaganda in consultation with the working committee, as may not be inconsistent with this constitution.

FINANCES

28. The funds of the AITUC shall be kept in a bank and the working committee shall have the power to nominate

such persons from among the office-bearers of the AITUC who may be authorised to open and operate such bank accounts.

The funds of the AITUC will be spent for the management of the organisation and on trade union issues as decided by the secretariat/working committee of the AITUC.

BYE-LAWS

29. The general council shall have power to make by-laws, not inconsistent with this constitution, and in particular on questions to :

- (a) the election of delegates,
- (b) the submission of returns, and
- (c) the affiliation fees.

STATE COMMITTEES

30. (a) Affiliated unions in every state/union territory shall form a state committee of the AITUC. Every union in the state/union territory affiliated to the AITUC shall automatically form a part of the state committee, and a union which has not secured affiliation to the AITUC cannot become a member of the state committee. The state committee and the individual unions shall have power to manage their affairs according to their own rules, subject to the provisions of this constitution.

Where a state consists of two or more linguistic units, separate state trade union committees may be permitted to be formed by the general council.

- (b) Out of the collection of affiliation fees from unions, the state committees shall be paid fifty percent.
- (c) State Committees shall have the right to fix levy on affiliated unions in the state, as may be decided by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the members of the general council of the state committee.

- (d) The state Committee may enrol as associate member, any union which has not secured affiliation to the AITUC but which proposes to observe the constitution of the AITUC, except sub-rule (a) (iv) of Rule 5. The associate unions will have no power of voting at the meeting of state committees nor will they be entitled to have any privileges of affiliated unions under the constitution of the AITUC.

AMENDMENT

31. Any addition or changes in the Constitution shall be made by the General Council by a three-fourth majority in a meeting attended by at least sixty per cent of the members for which a specific item in the agenda has been notified in this behalf.

32. The AITUC shall be merged with any TU organisation or dissolved on a decision taken by a three-fourths majority of the delegates present at a special congress with specific agenda called for the purpose.

BYE-LAWS OF THE CONSTITUTION UNDER RULE 29

(1) Election of delegates: Delegates to the session of the AITUC shall be elected in a meeting of the executive committee or some duly authorised committee or the general body of the union. A delegates form should be issued by the general secretary, AITUC, to each union in which the names of the delegates and other details required, shall be entered. The general secretary, AITUC, shall register only those persons as delegates, whose names are sent to him duly entered in the form.

(2) Submission of Returns: Every affiliated union shall send to the general secretary, every year, such information or material as the general secretary may require. The general secretary, should issue a form in the month of April every year. The information must reach the office of the AITUC by the end of August. A report of the information received may be presented to the general council at its next meeting held after October.



DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(As Adopted by the Central Committee in its Session from 6th to 11th February, 1958.)

PREAMBLE

THE Communist Party of India is the political party of the Indian working class, its highest class organisation. It is a voluntary organisation of workers, peasants and of toiling people in general, devoted to the cause of Socialism.

The Communist Party of India arose in the course of our liberation struggle as a result of the efforts of Indian revolutionaries who under the inspiration of the Great October Revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence. It was one of the first organised forces to put before our people the aim of complete independence from British imperialism. It was the first party to raise the banner of Socialism in our country. It tirelessly strove to make our emancipation struggle all-embracing by giving it a correct social and economic programme. For consistent championing of the cause of Indian freedom, for leading the innumerable battles of the workers and peasants against exploitation, for carrying the message of Socialism to the working class and the people, the founders and members of the Party had to undergo long terms of imprisonment. Many had to lay down their lives for daring to serve the people. By its courage and self-sacrificing spirit, the Party attracted to its banner the best sons of the working class and the peasantry, steeled in the struggle of the toiling millions, and the best elements from the intelligentsia.

Steadfastly serving the masses, courageously championing the cause of Socialism, freedom and independence, the Party has grown to its present strength.

The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people, the establishment of

People's Democracy led by the working class and the realisation of Socialism and Communism.

In furtherance of these aims and taking into account the immediate tasks confronting our people, the Communist Party of India strives to unite and lead all patriotic and democratic forces in the country in the struggle for defence and consolidation of national freedom, strengthening of national economy, all-sided expansion of democracy and liquidation of feudal survivals and the evil heritage of foreign rule in the economic, cultural and social spheres.

The Communist Party of India defends the vital interests of the masses, fights for steady improvement in their living conditions and struggles against social and economic inequalities. It fights against all obscurantist conceptions and practices such as communalism, caste, untouchability and the denial of equal rights to women.

The Communist Party of India is pledged to defend the unity and solidarity of India and its people forged in the fire of our freedom struggle. Fighting against all disruptionist trends and movements, the Communist Party struggles for equality and equal treatment for the peoples of all linguistic regions as a sure foundation of Indian unity.

The Communist Party of India fights for peace and peaceful cooperation between all States on the basis of full freedom and equality of all peoples and nations.

In the struggle for its immediate, as well as ultimate objectives, the Communist Party of India is guided by the philosophy and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show the toiling masses the correct way to put an end to domination of class by class and the establishment of a Socialist society. It combats tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in all their manifestations.

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 experience of India's history, with the traditions of the Indian people, with India's national peculiarities. It formulates its policies and determines its line of action in accordance with the interests and needs of the people and is responsible to them for its decisions.

Working out its policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, the Communist Party draws on the rich experience of the International Working Class Movement extending over more than a hundred years, on the experience of the Soviet Union, China and all countries of People's Democracy, as well as of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. It bases itself on the principle of proletarian internationalism and stands for fraternal relations and cooperation among the workers and peoples of the world, for the unity of the organised Communist movement, in the common struggle for peace and against war, for the liberation of subject peoples from the yoke of imperialism, for establishment of democracy and Socialism all over the world. The Party believes that cooperation and common understanding between the workers and peoples of Socialist and non-Socialist countries have a vital role to play in achieving the common aim.

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

In cooperation with all forces working for Socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a Socialist society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and association, including the right of political organisation. Socialism alone, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, can create conditions for the full flowering of human personality.

For discharging its political and mass responsibilities effectively and for leading the movement of the people, the Communist Party organises itself in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. The principle of democratic centralism builds the Party as a unified disciplined and militant organisation capable of moving its membership into action in any situation.

The correct observance of democratic methods and practice, the initiation and encouragement of organised discussion in the Party on current and important questions, the ascertainment of the freely expressed opinions of Party Members, is a vital responsibility of the leading organs of the Party.

Proper practice of democracy in the Party strengthens centralism which is essential in order that the Party may conduct the people's movement in a vigorous and unified manner.

The strength of the Communist Party lies in its ideological purity and homogeneity, in its firm links with the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections of the people, in its unity of will and action. It is the paramount duty of every member of the Communist Party to strengthen this unity continuously and at all times and on all occasions.

The Communist Party of India enjoins on all its members to place the interests of the Party above their personal interests, observe strict discipline and loyally serve the great people of our land. They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, establish People's Democracy and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous Socialist India.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

ARTICLE II

Emblem

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white: "Communist Party of India."

ARTICLE III

Flag

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

1. Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party Membership Fees and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

2. New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party Branch on the recommendation of two Party Members. Party Committees at District, Provincial and Central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party Members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility.

3. The General Body meeting of the Party Branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a Candidate Member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission.

4. If a leading member of another political party, who is of local, district or provincial standing seeks admission to the Party, it will be necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee before such applicant is admitted to the Party.

5. Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party Committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee.

6. Candidate Members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

7. The Party Branch or the Party Committee admitting Candidate Members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, Constitution and the current policies of the Party and observe their development.

8. By the end of the period of candidature, the Party Branch

or Party Committee concerned shall discuss whether the Candidate Member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party Branch or the Committee concerned may admit Candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a Candidate Member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee may cancel his or her candidate membership. A report of recruitment of Candidates and of admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the Branch or the Party Committee concerned to the next higher Party Committee.

9. The higher committee may, on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the Branch or the Party Committee which has submitted the report. The District and Provincial Committee will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of Candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

10. A Party Member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the District or Province, approval by the District or the Provincial Committee concerned shall be necessary.

ARTICLE V

Party Pledge

All Candidates as well as full Party Members shall sign the Party Pledge. This Pledge shall be:

“I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party.

“I shall strive to live up to the ideals of Communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests.”

ARTICLE VI

Party Membership Cards

1. On admission to full membership, every Party Member shall be issued a Party Membership Card.
2. Party Cards shall be uniform through the country and shall be issued by the Provincial Committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Renewal of Membership Card

1. There shall be an annual renewal of Party Membership Cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the Party Member belongs. No Party Card shall be renewed in the case of any Party Member who, for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party Membership Fees.
2. A report on such renewal of Party Cards by a Branch or a Party Committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.

ARTICLE VIII

Resignation from Party Membership

1. A Party Member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party Branch concerned, which by a decision of its General Body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.
2. The Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party Member to revoke his or her wish to resign.
3. In the case where a Party Member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion

and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

4. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsions shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party Committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

ARTICLE IX

Membership Fees

All Party Members, full as well as Candidates, shall pay a Party Membership Fee of one rupee per year. This annual Party Fee shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party Card. (The Party Member's Fees may, if the Provincial Executive Committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments).

ARTICLE X

Distribution of Party Fees

Party Fees collected from Party Members by Party Branches or Units shall be distributed as follows:

- Ten per cent for the National Council;
- Forty per cent for the State or Provincial Council; and
- The remaining fifty per cent shall be divided among the District Council, the Party Branch and the Local Committee where it exists, in such proportions as decided by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

ARTICLE XI

Party Levy

The State or Provincial Executive Committees and the Central Executive Committee may fix levies on the Party Members in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the National Council.

ARTICLE XII

Duties of Party Members

1. The duties of the Party Members are as follows:
 - (a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organ-

- isation to which they belong and to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party;
- (b) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding;
 - (c) To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications;
 - (d) To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism;
 - (e) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests;
 - (f) To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party;
 - (g) To cultivate comradely relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party;
 - (h) To practise criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work;
 - (i) To be frank, honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party;
 - (j) To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the country;
 - (k) To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions of the Indian people and their rich cultural heritage.

2. It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party Members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

ARTICLE XIII

Rights of Party Members

1. Rights of the Party Members are as follows:

- (a) To elect Party organs and Party Committees and be elected to them;

- (b) To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;
- (c) To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life;
- (d) To make criticisms about Party Committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;
- (e) To demand to be heard in person when a Party Committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party Member or evaluates the personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed;
- (f) When any Party Member disagrees with any decision of a Party Committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee, including and up to the National Council and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party Member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions;
- (g) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the National Council and the Party Congress.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

ARTICLE XIV

Principles of Democratic Centralism

1. The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) All leading organisations of the Party Committees from top to bottom shall be elected;

- (b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority; the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs or committees; the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the National Council;
- (c) All Party Committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisation immediately below and all lower Committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees;
- (d) All Party Committees, particularly the leading Party Committees shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank-and-file Party Members;
- (e) All Party Committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility;
- (f) All questions of an all-India character, or questions concerning more than one State or questions requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a State, Provincial or District character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisations. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major Provincial importance, it shall do so after consultation with the Provincial Party organisation concerned. The State or Provincial organisation shall do likewise in relation to Districts;
- (g) On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the Central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the Central leadership.

2. In the sphere of the internal life of the Party, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) Free and frank discussion within the Party Unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work;
- (b) Sustained efforts to activate the Party Members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party;
- (c) When serious differences arise in a Party Committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement;
- (d) Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below;
- (e) Impermissibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form;
- (f) Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of service to the Party.

ARTICLE XV

All-India Party Congress

1. The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the All-India Party Congress.
 - (a) The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the National Council ordinarily once every two years.
 - (b) An Extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State or Provincial Party organisations representing not less than one-third of the total Party membership.
 - (c) The dates and venue of the Party Congress or of the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

- (d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the State or Provincial Conferences as well as by Conferences of Party Units directly under the all-India Party Centre.
 - (e) The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
 - (f) The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
 - (g) The members of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary. Other members of the National Council shall be entitled to attend the Party Congress as delegates without vote unless elected.
 - (h) The number of membership from any State or Province for which the Membership Fees' quota to the National Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from that State or Province at the Party Congress.
2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:
- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the National Council;
 - (b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;
 - (c) To determine the tactical line and the policy of the Party on the current situation;
 - (d) To elect the All-India National Council by secret ballot;
 - (e) To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals;
 - (f) To hear and decide on the report of the Audit Commission;
 - (g) To elect the Central Control Commission.

3. The Congress shall elect a Presidium and a Steering Committee for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XVI

National Council

The National Council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 101 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress.

- (a) The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates.
- (b) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all States, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity.
- (c) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names.
- (d) Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.
- (e) The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.

ARTICLE XVII

Right and Responsibilities of the National Council

1. The National Council shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congress.
2. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.
3. The National Council shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The National Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.
4. The National Council shall elect from amongst its members a Central Executive Committee of not more than 25, to carry

on the work of the National Council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the Central Executive Committee the General Secretary and Secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of six to eight to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The National Council elects an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of the Central Party finances and report on the same to the National Council and the Party Congress.

6. The National Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the the Central Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

7. The National Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Central Control Commission.

8. The National Council shall meet at least once every six months or whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.

9. The National Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the Central Executive Committee. The National Council may decide to take up any other proposal or question.

ARTICLE XVIII

Central Executive Committee

1. The Central Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Party during the period between two sessions of the National Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the National Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movements and shall guide the Provincial Committees. It shall submit a report on its work and discussions to the next meeting of the National Council.

2. Carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

- (a) To convenue regular sessions of the National Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;

- (b) Guidance and assistance to the Provincial Committees;
- (c) Party press and Party publications;
- (d) Direction of work of the Communist group in Parliament;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in all-India mass organisations (or mass fronts);
- (f) Party education;
- (g) Party finance;
- (h) Relations with fraternal Parties.

3. The Central Executive Committee shall meet at least once every two months.

4. The functions of the General Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Party Centre and shall function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. No member of the Secretariat shall belong to any Provincial or District Party organ. To handle the work of the Party Centre, the Central Executive shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XIX

State or Provincial Party Organs

1. The highest organ in the State or Province shall be the State or Provincial Conference. In the present bilingual State of Bombay, however, the highest organ in Maharashtra shall be the Maharashtra Provincial Conference and in Gujarat the Gujarat Provincial Conference. In the Centrally-administered areas where the Party organisations are of the same Party status as that of a State or Provincial organisation, the highest organ shall be their respective Provincial Conferences.

2. The regular State or Provincial Conference shall be convened by the State or Provincial Council once every two years.

3. An Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be called by the State or Provincial Council at its own discretion,

or when this is demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the Party Membership.

4. A regular State or Provincial Conference shall be composed of delegates elected by District Conferences and by the Conference of Party Units, if any, directly under the Provincial Centre.

5. The basis of representation at State or Provincial Conferences shall be determined by the State or Provincial Council.

6. The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be decided by the State or Provincial Council.

7. Members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee and of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the State or Provincial Conference, whether regular or extraordinary. Members of the State or Provincial Council shall attend the State or Provincial Conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any District for which the Party Membership Fees quota to the State or Provincial Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the District at the State or Provincial Conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular State or Provincial Conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the State or Provincial Council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the State or the Province, in accordance with policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council and to suggest changes in the all-India policies and the general line of the Party;
- (c) To elect delegates to the all-India Party Congress;
- (d) To elect the State or Provincial Council;
- (e) To elect the State or Provincial Control Commission;
- (f) The State or Provincial Conference shall elect a Presidium and a Steering Committee for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XX

The State or Provincial Council

1. The State or Provincial Council which shall be elected by the Party Conference shall consist of not more than 101 members. The exact number shall be determined by the Conference.
2. The outgoing Provincial Council shall propose a panel of candidates.
3. The list of candidates shall be prepared with a view to constitute a leadership to meet the needs of the growing mass movement and Party activity in the State or Province or the Centrally-administered area but bearing in mind the general considerations under Section (b) in Article XVI.
4. The election of the State or Provincial Council at the Conference shall be governed by the same rules and principles as laid down in Sections (c) to (e) in Article XVI
5. The State or Provincial Council shall be the highest authority of the State or Provincial Party organisation between two Party Conferences.
6. The State or Provincial Council shall represent the State or the Provincial Party organisation as a whole and shall be responsible for directing its work between two conferences. The Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on questions of State or Provincial nature but in conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council.
7. The State or Provincial Council shall elect a State or Provincial Executive Committee of not more than 25 from among its members to carry on the work of the State or Provincial council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee a Secretariat of seven or nine including the Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee.
8. The State or Provincial Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in or remove any member from the State or Provincial Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

9. The State or Provincial Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Provincial Control Commission.
10. The State or Provincial Council shall meet at least once in four months or earlier if one-third of its members make a requisition.
11. The State or Provincial Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational reports and other matters placed before it by the State or Provincial Committee. The Council may take up any other matter.
12. The State or Provincial Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of Provincial Party finances and to report on the same to the State or Provincial Council and Conference.

ARTICLE XXI

State or Provincial Executive Committee

1. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall direct the work of the State or Provincial Party organs during the period between two sessions of the State or Provincial Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and the directives of the State or provincial Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movement and shall guide the District Committees and shall report on the same to the Provincial Council.
2. To carry out these responsibilities on behalf of the State or Provincial Council, the State or Provincial Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:
 - (a) To convene regular meetings of the State or Provincial Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
 - (b) Guidance and assistance to the District Committees;
 - (c) State or Provincial Party press and Party publications;
 - (d) Direction of the work of the members of the State legislature, regional councils, municipalities and other local bodies;
 - (e) Direction of the Party's work in the mass organisations;

(f) Party education;

(g) Party finance.

3. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall normally meet once every two months.

4. The functions of the Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under the various heads on behalf of the State or the Provincial Executive Committee; all members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the State or Provincial Party Centre and shall function collectively with specific responsibility assigned to each of them. To handle the work of the State or the Provincial Party Centre, the State or the Provincial Executive Committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

5. Some State and Provincial organisations may be exempted by the National Council from forming State or Provincial Councils. In such cases, the State or Provincial Conferences shall elect State or Provincial Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences. The State or Provincial Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work.

ARTICLE XXII

District Party Organs

1. The highest organ in a District shall be the District Party Conference.

2. A District Party Conference shall be convened by the District Council once every two years.

3. An Extraordinary District Conference shall be called by the District Council at its own discretion, or when demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the total membership, subject to the approval of the State or Provincial Executive Committee.

4. A regular District Party Conference shall be composed of

delegates elected by Branch Conferences or by Conferences of the local intermediary units where such units exist.

5. The basis of representation at the District Conference shall be determined by the District Council.

6. The basis of representation and method of electing delegates to the Extraordinary District Conference shall be decided by the District Council.

7. Members of the District Executive Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the District Conference, both regular as well as extraordinary. Members of the District Council shall attend the Conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any Branch or local organisation for which the Party Membership Fees quota to the District Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the Branch or the local unit for the District Conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular District Conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the report of the District Council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the District in conformity with the decisions of the higher Party organs;
- (c) To elect a District Council.

10. The District Council shall be elected by the District Conference. The exact number of members shall be decided by the District Conference.

11. The election to the District Council shall be governed by the same rules as laid down in Sections (c) to (f) of Article XVI.

ARTICLE XXIII

District Council

1. The District Council shall be the highest authority in the District between two District Conferences.

2. The District Council shall represent the District organisation as a whole and direct the entire work of the Party between two District Conferences.
3. The Council shall have the full right to take decisions concerning the work of the District Party organisation but in conformity with the line of the Party and decisions of the higher Party organs.
4. The District Council shall elect a District Executive Committee from among its members, to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the District Council. The number of the District Executive Committee is decided by the District Council. It also elects from among the members of the Executive Committee a Secretariat including a Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee.
5. The District Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the District Executive Committee and to reconstitute the same.
6. The District Council shall meet as frequently as the Council may decide.
7. The District Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the District Executive Committee. The Council may take up any other matter.
8. The District Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of District Party finances and to report on the same to the District Council and Conference.

ARTICLE XXIV

The District Executive Committee

1. The District Executive Committee shall direct the work of the District Party organisation during the period between the two sessions of the District Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the District Council and higher Party organs.
2. It shall decide on political and organisational questions affecting its work within the District and shall guide the lower

committees. The responsibilities of the District Executive Committee shall be discharged in conformity with the decisions of the District Council and higher Party organs.

3. The responsibilities of the District Committee shall include:

- (a) To convene regular meetings of the District Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
- (b) To check up the work of the lower units;
- (c) Guidance and practical assistance to the mass organisations;
- (d) Circulation of Party journals and Party literature;
- (e) Direction of Party members' work in the municipalities and local bodies;
- (f) District finance;
- (g) Organisation of District Party schools and Party education.

4. The District Secretariat shall be responsible for looking after the work of the District Centre.

5. If any State or Provincial Council or in its absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee so decides, any District organisation may be exempted from forming the District Council. In all such cases the District Conferences shall elect District Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences. The District Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work.

ARTICLE XXV

Intermediate Party Organs

1. Between the Branch and District Committee, there may be formed an intermediary local Party organ such as Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town Committee when the State or Provincial Council so decides.

2. The highest organ of such a local unit or local organ shall be the Local Conference consisting of the delegates elected by the Conferences of the Branches in the area. The members of the Local Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Conference.

3. The Conference of the local Units, in the Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town shall elect a Local Committee and dele-

gates to the District Conference. It shall elect a Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town Council if the Provincial Executive Committee so decides.

4. The Local Committee will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the area concerned and for the coordination of the work of the Party Branches directly under it.
5. The Local Committee shall elect its own Secretary, and subject to the decision of the State or Provincial Executive Committee, a Secretariat;
6. The Local Committee will report on its work to the District Executive Committee once every month.
7. The Local Committee will meet at least once a month.
8. The Local Committee shall work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and shall help the District Executive Committee in maintaining close contact with Party Branches.

ARTICLE XXVI

Primary Unit

1. The primary unit of the Party shall be the Party Branch.
2. The highest organ of the primary unit shall be the General Body meeting of the Party Branch.
3. The Party Branch shall be responsible for maintaining direct day-to-day contact with the masses and for organising Party activity in its sphere.
4. The Party Branch shall discuss all questions regarding its work and mass activity and take necessary practical decisions.
5. The membership of a Branch may be divided into Groups of convenient size. Each Group shall have its own convenor.
6. The function of the Group shall be to distribute and check up the work of individuals. Where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the Branch, preliminary discussions may be organised in the Groups.
7. The Party Branch is organised on the basis of the village, panchayat, municipal ward, street, mohalla, industry, individual

factory, occupation and institutions. The maximum membership of the Branch shall be fixed by the State or Provincial Executive Committee.

8. Functions of the Branch are:

- (a) To carry out the directions of the higher committee;
- (b) To win masses in its locality or sphere of activity for the the political and organisational decisions of the Party;
- (c) To build up and participate in mass organisations in its locality or sphere of activity.
- (d) Sale of Party journals and publications;
- (e) Collection of Party Membership Fees and Party finances;
- (f) To draw in sympathisers and militants into the Party and educate them and to help illiterate Party Members to become literate;
- (g) To help higher committees in day-to-day organisational and agitational work.

9. The Branch at a General Body meeting shall elect a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary to conduct its current work and, where membership of the Branch exceeds 25 persons, it shall elect a Branch Committee including its Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

10. The General Body of the Branch shall meet at least once a month at which the Branch Committee or the Branch Secretary shall submit a report of the work done and its proposals.

11. The General Body of the Branch shall elect delegates to the Party Conference of the Party organ immediately above.

12. The Secretary of the Branch Committee shall submit to the next higher Committee and to the District Committee every two months a report on the new Candidate and full Members enrolled by it.

13. Where necessary a Party Member, besides being a member of a Branch in his own place of work or residence may also be attached as an associate member to the unit of his place of residence or work as the case may be, without the right to vote.

ARTICLE XXVII

Central Control Commission

1. There shall be a Central Control Commission elected by the Party Congress. The number of members of the Central Control Commission shall be determined by the Party Congress.
2. The National Council shall propose names for election to the Central Control Commission. In proposing the names for nomination, the Party standing of the candidate, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account.
3. The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the National Council.
4. The Central Control Commission shall elect its own Chairman who shall, by right, attend the meeting of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Central Control Commission shall by right attend the meetings of the National Council.
5. The Central Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat;
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State or Provincial Executive Committee or the State or Provincial Council;
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned;
 - (d) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the State or Provincial Control Commission and rejected.
6. The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The Central Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, who shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision.
7. In all cases there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII

Provincial Control Commissions

1. There shall be a State or Provincial Control Commission elected by the State or Provincial Conference. The number of members for the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be decided by the Provincial Conference.
2. The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central Control Commission.
3. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall elect its Chairman who shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Executive Committee. All members of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Council.
4. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee or its Secretariat.
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken up by the District Committee or the District Council.
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned.
5. The decisions of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The State or Provincial Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of the decision of the State or Provincial Control Commission and shall refer it immediately to the Central Control Commission or to the State or Provincial Council.

ARTICLE XXIX

Party Discipline

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggles and actions, discharge its responsibility towards them.

2. Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the Programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3. Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions.

4. The disciplinary actions are:

- (a) Warning;
- (b) Censure;
- (c) Public censure;
- (d) Removal from the post held in the Party;
- (e) Suspension from full Party membership for any period but not exceeding one year;
- (f) Removal from the Party rolls;
- (g) Expulsion.

5. Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods, including methods of persuasion, have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure of protect the interests of the Party or its prestige, the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6. Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgement.

7. No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party Member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of suspension or expulsion, the penalised Party Member shall, however, be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

8. The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations, charges and

other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party Unit in which his or her case is discussed.

9. Party members found to be strike-breakers, habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of financial irregularities, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be dealt with by the Party Units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action.

10. There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

11. The State or Provincial Council or in their absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee has the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decisions and policy, serious factionalism, or a breach of Party discipline is involved.

ARTICLE XXX

Party Members in Elected Public Bodies

1. Party Members elected to Parliament, the State Legislature or Administrative Council shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party Committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party, its policies and directives.

2. The Communist legislators shall unswervingly defend the interests of the people. Their work in the Legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party.

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations.

3. The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses, keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice.

4. The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity, lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people.

5. Communist legislators shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party Committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.

6. Party Members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party Committee or Party Branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.

7. All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Nominations of Party candidates to the State Legislatures or the Councils of Centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by State or Provincial Councils, or in their absence by the State or Provincial Executive Committees.

ARTICLE XXXI

Inner-Party Discussions

1. To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2. Inner-Party discussion shall be organised —

- (a) On important questions of all-India or State or Provincial importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the Central or the State or Provincial organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken;
- (b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the National Council or in the State or the Provincial Council;
- (c) When an inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of State or Provincial organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership or at the Provincial level by District organisations representing the same proportion of the total membership of the State or Province concerned.

3. Inner-Party discussion shall be conducted under the guidance of the National or the State or Provincial Council which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party Committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

ARTICLE XXXII

Discussion Preparatory to Party Congresses and Conferences

1. Two months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions, will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee to be assorted and placed before the Party Congress.
2. The meeting of the National Council which circulates documents for the Party Congress will take place after the Provincial Conferences are over.
3. At each level, the Conference shall take place on the basis of reports and resolutions submitted by the respective committees.

ARTICLE XXXIII

Party Members Working in Mass Organisations

1. Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall work in an organised manner under the guidance of the appropriate Party Committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass-basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned.

ARTICLE XXXIV

Bye-laws

The National Council may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it. Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the State or Provincial Councils subject to confirmation by the National Council.

ARTICLE XXXV

Amendment

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress or in cases of emergency by the National Council by its two-thirds majority. In either case the notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress or National Council meets.

TO MEET

Mr. E.M.S. NAMBOODRIPAD, Chief Minister, Kerala State and
Mr. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary and other leaders
of the Communist Party of India,

The President and members of the Textile Manufacturers'
Association, Amritsar request the pleasure of

Shri K. G. Srivastava's company

AT DINNER

on Wednesday the 9th April, 1958 at 8-30 p.m. at the
Lumsden Club (Rambagh Gardens), Amritsar.

R. S. V. P.

Diwan C. Mehra,
Hony. General Secretary.

SPECIAL CONGRESS
OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, AMRITSAR
(April 6 to 13, 1958)

To All Delegates

AMRITSAR
April 6, 1958

Document No.3

DRAFT

P O L I T I C A L
R E S O L U T I O N

Since the Palghat Congress of the Communist Party of India held two years ago, important developments have taken place in world affairs as well as in our national-political life.

ADVANCE OF THE FORCES OF WORLD PEACE

The forces of peace, national independence and socialism have grown more powerful than ever before and have been able decisively to halt again and again the most sinister and dangerous conspiracies of the imperialist Powers. The epoch-making scientific advances in the Soviet Union, symbolised in the launching of the sputniks, combined with the resolute policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Government, of which the latest expression is the historic declaration on unilateral halting of nuclear tests, have thrown the imperialists into panic.

The growth of the world peace movement is evident in the increased strength of the existing movements and the fact that new organisations and movements have arisen challenging the policies of war and colonial enslavement. Several governments, particularly in Asia and Africa, have thrown themselves more and more resolutely on to the side of peace and independence.

The forces of peace, the people's movements and the peace-loving States, particularly the Soviet Union, combined to support the Egyptian people in repulsing the imperialist aggression against Egypt. Within one year, the same forces of peace had grown still more powerful and were able to prevent a similar conspiracy to commit aggression against Syria even before the aggression was started. The emergence of the United Arab Republic stands ~~as~~ as a milestone in the advance of Arab nationalism. The Eisenhower doctrine has met with fiasco.

Asian-African solidarity has become a factor of vital significance in world affairs. The Cairo Conference was a landmark in the struggle for peace and national independence. A people's movement for Afro-Asian solidarity has developed embracing millions in both the continents and enjoying the support of a number of Governments.

..... The liberation struggles of

The liberation struggles of the enslaved peoples have grown rapidly in intensity and volume. More countries - Malaya, Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia have won their political independence. The national liberation struggle in Algeria is shaking French imperialism to its foundations.

All these developments have immensely aggravated the crisis of the colonial system which is rapidly collapsing.

The unity of the socialist camp which is of vital importance for the struggle for world peace and for safeguarding national freedom, has grown stronger. The bonds of solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism have been further cemented. The Moscow Declaration of the 12 Communist Parties as well as the Peace Manifesto of the Parties of 64 countries of the world testify to this.

But the forces of war and colonial enslavement have not reconciled themselves to these defeats. They still pursue their policies of "position of strength" and military alignments, or provocations and aggression.

The imperialist powers are now engaged in the most dangerous preparations for nuclear war.

Refusing to respond to the Soviet challenge and halt nuclear tests, the NATO powers, led by the USA, are completing plans for the setting up of nuclear bases all over the world. Asia and Africa are being drawn into these sinister plans through the recent Baghdad Pact and SEATO meetings, and the linking of these two pacts with the NATO. In every country the U.S. imperialists link themselves up with the most reactionary elements.

The latest example of imperialism's attempt to reimpose colonial rule is to be seen in Indonesia. American imperialists are openly instigating and helping with arms and otherwise the rebels ~~in~~ in Sumatra against the Indonesian Republic.

Our country has played a positive and vital role in changing the world alignment of forces. Together with the socialist countries and the independent Asian-African countries, we have denounced the policy of military alliances and called for ban on nuclear weapons. We have supported and further strengthened the Soviet initiative for the Summit Conference. We have strengthened and enlarged economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries. We have pursued the policy of Afro-Asian solidarity and gave Egypt and Algeria our support in their struggle for independence.

This independent foreign policy of India has aroused the hostility of the imperialists and set them to conspire against our country. The Baghdad Pact and SEATO constitute a threat alike to India and to all free nations of Asia. U.S. dumping of arms in Pakistan is meant to intensify Indo-Pak tension causing diversion of resources from nation-building to defence. They resort to provocations in respect of Kashmir. Portugal continues to remain in Goa with terror and brutal repression of the people simply because of the encouragement it receives from the imperialists.

While continuing these measures of military Pacts and military aids, U.S. imperialism has recently decided upon large-scale financial "aid" to India in an attempt to create a favourable atmosphere for their machinations and to put a brake on India's foreign policy.

The Communist Party supports the foreign policy of the Indian Government and consistently works for strengthening it.

. . . . The new imperialist

The new imperialist manoeuvres against our independent foreign policy and the activities of pro-imperialist Right reaction within our country demand that these imperialist manoeuvres are ruthlessly exposed and people mobilised against them.

At this moment, when imperialist war preparations are at their height and when the forces of peace are stronger than ever before, India can and must play a key role in the struggle for the early calling of a Summit Conference, for forging closer bonds of Afro-Asian solidarity through the holding of the Second Bandung Conference; for the halting of nuclear tests; for the ending of colonialism in all its shapes and forms and the defence of the national sovereignty of all peoples.

It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not come out in condemnation of U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia and instigation of and aid to the rebels. So also there is hesitation to work for another Bandung Conference.

The sweep of the popular movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity must help to remove these hesitations so that India may play an even greater role than today in world affairs.

The safety and security of our nation and the plans for the welfare of the people depend on the fate of the world struggle for peace. In this world struggle, significant as has been the contribution of the people and Government of India, they can make still greater and more important contribution. Despite the growth of the peace movement, despite the growth of the sentiments of peace and solidarity with the Asian-African peoples struggling for independence against imperialism, the peace movement has not unfolded the full possibilities that exist. The Party's activities in the struggle for peace have been weak. This grave weakness must be rapidly overcome and the Party units and members must exert their best endeavours in mobilising the mass organisations and the broad masses of the people on all issues of peace and thus help in building a strong, powerful and widespread and united movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity.

II. FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The events that have taken place in our country since the Palghat Congress of our Party have on the whole confirmed the correctness of the analysis made by the Communist Party, as well as the line worked out by it.

The developments in Kerala where the democratic forces made a breach in the Congress monopoly of governmental power and established a Government led by the Communist Party have attracted worldwide attention and constitute the single biggest event in our national-political life. But Kerala was no isolated incident. It marked the highest level reached by the democratic movement in the recent years, a movement which scored impressive successes in many parts of the country during the second general elections - as demonstrated in the victories of the Communist Party candidates from the major industrial areas, the serious weakening in the position of the Congress in a number of its former strongholds, such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujerat and the strengthening of the position of the Left in several State legislatures and in the Parliament. The Communist Party with its 12 million votes has again emerged as the main Opposition Party in the country with added strength.

The process of mass radicalisation which manifested itself powerfully in these events has continued in the post-election period. Mass distress has intensified and not one problem faced by the people has been solved or even seriously tackled by the Government.

. . . . The solemn pledges given

The solemn pledges given in the Election Manifesto of the Congress were cynically violated as soon as the elections were over by the imposition of new and iniquitous burdens of taxation and inflation. With these burdens growing at every level and with steep rise in prices, the condition of the people continues to deteriorate.

The growing radicalisation of the masses was seen in the powerful movement of the Central Government employees, headed by the Post and Telegraph workers which won broad popular support and secured the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the struggle for oil refinery in Assam which united the entire people, and numerous struggles and movements of workers, peasants, teachers, students, office employees and others, many of which have won important successes. It is seen in the emergence of the AITUC as the single biggest force in the organised trade union movement and in the increasing united actions of the workers and office employees. The country-wide demonstrations of the working class on March 27, 1958, jointly organised by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC and other all-India Federations symbolised the new advance in the struggle for trade union unity. It is seen in the growing support to the Communist Party throughout the country. It is seen in the results of a number of bye-elections in municipalities and local bodies. It is also seen in the widespread support, often transcending party divisions, for the Kerala Government whose measures have won it the goodwill of the common people in every State.

III. DECLINE OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress still wields very big influence in all States. But its hold on the people is weakening, its mass base is shrinking. The revelations in the Mundhra enquiry, dealing a heavy blow at the prestige of the Government, have shaken the confidence of even many Congressmen in the professions of some of their leaders. Increasingly isolated from the advanced democratic masses, corroded from within by dissensions and factional squabbles, the Congress is in a state of political and moral decline, in a state of chronic crisis which has deepened after the general elections. In several States, these dissensions were especially acute, affecting even the Ministries. Conflicts sharpen inside the organisation; progressive-minded Congressmen, expressing their disapproval of many governmental policies and measures, more sharply than ever before, sometimes even in legislative assemblies and in the Parliament.

IV. GROWTH OF REACTIONARY & DISRUPTIVE FORCES AND TENDENCIES

It would be incorrect, however, to focus attention on these events alone. It is necessary to note that the growth of the Communist Party, of the Left forces and of the democratic movement as a whole lags behind the growth of popular discontent against the Government. Parties of communal and feudal reaction, like the Jan Sangh and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, as well as separatist parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamilnad are utilising this situation to consolidate their position and further their own disruptive aims. As the popularity of the Congress is waning, many Congressmen as well as many opposing the Congress, increasingly resort, during elections, to appeals based on caste and community which tend to divide the people along disruptive lines. These developments constitute a menace to democracy, secularism and Indian unity.

V. CRISIS OF THE PLAN

The political situation in the country is closely related to and arises, to a considerable extent, from the prevailing economic conditions. This is the third year of the Second Five Year Plan whose aims and objects were welcomed by wide sections of our people

. and by our Party.

and by our Party. While rejecting the demagogic claim that the Plan would build socialism, we supported its progressive features such as the emphasis on heavy industries, the extension of the State sector, greater stress on land reforms and increased expenditure on social welfare. In our opinion, the attainment of the targets of the Plan would strengthen national economy and national independence. We have also laid bare the grave defects of the Plan, namely, unwarranted and harmful concessions to Big Business, the excessive reliance on foreign capital, the method of raising resources by increasing the burden on the common people through iniquitous taxation and heavy resort to deficit financing, the dependence on the bureaucratic machinery. We warned all these would "endanger the realisation of even the existing targets and make the future of the Plan uncertain." (Palghat Resolution)

Our warnings went unheeded. But they have proved correct. In the third year of the Plan, the tempo of development, instead of increasing, has tended to slow down. The Government has not only failed to carry out radical land reforms but have allowed mass scale evictions to take place. Food deficit has grown, giving rise to acute shortage in many areas, compelling more and more imports. ~~Now~~ Nor is the situation on the industrial sector reassuring. "Despite sizeable additions to installed capacity in a larger number of industries," as the Government itself admits, "the rate of growth of industrial production has tended to slow down" in the second year of the Plan. In a number of consumer goods industries, production has actually declined. In the textile industry, our premier organised industry, many units have closed down, throwing thousands of workers on the streets, due to lack of purchasing power in the hands of the people who are fleeced by heavy burdens of taxation and mounting prices. Mobilisation of the internal resources lags far behind the targets while reckless imports in the interests of the private sector has intensified the foreign exchange crisis. The private sector has reaped fabulous profits and made big investment, while many States have been forced to curtail and "re-phase" their plans under pressure from the Central Government.

VI. ACTIVITIES OF RIGHT REACTION

Seizing upon the difficulties in which the Plan has landed and frightened by the growth of the democratic movement and the Communist Party, extreme reactionary forces have intensified their activities. They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this a "suitable climate" must be created.

These people have been carrying on vicious attacks against the public sector, demanding still greater concessions to the monopolists, both Indian and foreign. They are openly advocating almost an open door policy for penetration of foreign capital, particularly from the USA, while striving to sabotage trade with the USSR and other socialist countries. They demand the curtailment of social service measures under the Plan, while trying to blackmail the Government to change its fiscal and economic measures still more to their advantage and to the detriment of the common people. They demand modification of the existing labour laws to suit their interests. These people openly express their hostility to radical land reforms.

The present crisis of the Second Five Year Plan which has resulted from the policies and methods of the Government, are being exploited by these reactionary elements not only to sabotage the good features of the Plan, but also to strengthen their position and secure changes in the political and economic life of the country in an anti-national and anti-democratic direction.

VII. THEIR RELIANCE ON AMERICA

An important development in respect of the Plan of Big Business is the heavy reliance they place on U.S. economic assistance which is generally accompanied by designs and terms detrimental to the interests of our economy. This is an extremely dangerous tendency, considering the role American imperialism is playing throughout the world. The American imperialists constitute the most aggressive force in the world, making despicable efforts to expand at the expense of weaker nations. In Asia, especially, the American imperialists are attempting to replace the old imperialism and attack the freedom and liberty of Asian nations. It interferes with the internal affairs of Asian countries and attempts to establish reactionary regimes suited to its own interests. Its role in relation to the liberation of Goa and Kashmir is seen by all. It has waged a persistent propaganda warfare against India's foreign policy. It demands the abandonment of the State sector and other progressive measures of the Indian Government before opening its purse-strings. Acceptance of American assistance under these conditions will only give it an economic hold over our economy and compromise national independence.

The present American recession with its big setback to production throwing millions out of employment comes as a warning against one-sided reliance of our national economy on the economies of imperialist countries. The recession affects the economies of all countries dependent on America and makes them unstable and insecure. India's national advance cannot be secure and smooth if it is subject to the ups and downs of American economy which, with its preponderance of production for war, undergoes violent fluctuations.

The anti-national line of these forces could be seen in the utterances and activities of the former Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari, then the Report of the Birla Mission, the recent resolution of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The line advocated by them spells disaster to the nation and its future. It would reduce our country to the position of dependence on the imperialists abroad and monopolists at home, add to the privations and miseries of the people, and facilitate suppression of democratic rights and liberties. Thus they are endeavouring to turn the wheel of Indian history back.

These reactionary forces hold a strong position in our economic life. They have powerful supporters and representatives not only outside but also inside the Congress leadership and Congress Governments. They have close links with many higher officials in all spheres. They control many of the largest newspapers in the country. Their capacity for mischief should not, therefore, be minimised.

In the interest of the defence of national independence, national economy and democracy, the Communist Party will, therefore, relentlessly expose these forces and combat their manoeuvres. The Party shall educate and rouse the people about the dangerous character of the activities of these forces. It shall strive to range patriotic elements in every party and the entire people against their policies. It shall support every step taken by the Government that weakens these forces.

VIII. INTENSIFY STRUGGLE FOR PROGRESSIVE POLICIES

At the same time, it has to be remembered that these reactionary elements outside the Congress lack popular mass base except what they are able to secure through reactionary parties by whipping up communal passions and backward sentiments. Their real strength lies in their links with the reactionary elements inside the

. . . . Congress itself, which

Congress itself, which is securing increasing grip over the Congress organisation. Further, they have attained their present strength and dare to launch attack on the progressive features of the Second Plan because of the support and encouragement from the weak and reactionary policies of the Government itself such as the concession to private capital in the Plan, the heavy dependence on foreign capital; the encouragement to seek agreement with foreign financiers and the monopolists; the delay in the implementation of agrarian reforms and the loopholes left for their sabotage.

It is precisely these policies of the Government that have strengthened the position of these anti-national forces in our economic and political life and offered them opportunities to build their links with foreign monopolists and to resort to tactics of blackmail and pressure. The extreme Right, therefore, cannot be defeated without a simultaneous battle, waged with determination and vigour, to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government. Without such a two-sided battle, it is impossible either to defeat Right-wing reaction or realise the targets of the Plan.

Experience of the past two years has further shown that the policies and methods of the Government cannot ensure the balanced economic development of the country and uninterrupted national reconstruction. They prevent mobilisation of popular cooperation for the implementation of the Plan. They have failed even to guarantee the realisation of the inadequate Plan targets. They constantly give rise to dislocations and crises. They create apathy and indifference among the people about the fate of the Plan.

The Communist Party stands for the realisation of the targets of the Second Plan without curtailment. It considers development of heavy industry in the State sector under the Plan to be of vital importance for the future and freedom of the country. The targets of industrial and agricultural production as well as the provision for welfare projects and schemes far from being ambitious are inadequate. The Party, therefore, demands their fulfilment.

The concrete proposals on the basis of which the struggle has to be conducted to realise these objectives have been formulated in the Palghat Resolution. The Party reiterates these proposals. In the industrial sector, while fighting for the rapid expansion of the State sector, the Party shall demand its efficient and democratic management, with effective participation of the workers. In this connection, the nationalisation of scheduled banks acquires great importance as well as the nationalisation of coal and foreign plantations, of individual concerns like Jessops and TELCO, as also the expansion of State trading; the Party stands for further strengthening of economic cooperation between India and the Socialist countries in mutual interests. This becomes all the more urgent today in view of the U.S. recession.

IX. ISSUES OF NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

While reiterating the programme given at the Palghat Congress, the Communist Party stresses the following important issues for immediate national campaigning:

- 1) Realisation of the targets of the Plan in a democratic way;
- 2) Exposure of the plans of Right reaction.
- 3) Opposition to penetration of American capital.
- 4) Nationalisation of big banks, wholesale trade in food-grains, expansion of State trading, establish national

. . . control over British

control over British and Indian monopolies. Ceilings on profits of British and Indian monopolies and effective State control over them in national interest.

- 5) Food crisis and the Party's proposals for its solution.
- 6) Against increased taxation and high prices.
- 7) Language question on the basis of the C.C. resolution of October, 1957.
- 8) The demands put forward by the National Rally of March 27, 1958, by the Trade Union Centres and campaign for realising collective agreements on its basis.
- 9) Against corruption.
- 10) For Summit Conference, A Second Bandung Conference, ending Nuclear Tests, and solidarity with Indonesia and Algeria.

X. MASS STRUGGLES AND ALL-SIDED ACTIVITIES

Waging the battle for the rebuilding of our country, the Communist Party bases itself on the urges and aspirations that have grown among the people for the betterment of their conditions and all-sided national advance. Conducting a sustained campaign for progressive policies and measures, our Party will boldly lead the struggles of workers, peasants, middle-classes and all sections of people against the ever-growing attacks on their standards of life by the vested interests and the Government and for immediate improvement in their living conditions. As before, such campaigns and struggles continue to be tasks of great importance. Their importance will grow even more in the coming period. More and more struggles will have to be waged not only locally but also on a national plane. The struggles for agrarian reforms and for the immediate demands of the peasantry are of great importance in view of the critical food situation.

The organised working class, particularly in the public sector, while fighting for its just demands, should play an important role in combating corruption, bureaucracy and waste, as well as fulfil efficiently agreed norms of production.

We shall strive to ensure the active participation of the peoples in the projects and schemes of the Plan so that they are implemented in a democratic manner, corruption and waste are combatted and maximum benefit is secured for the people. We shall strive to give concrete form to the urge for national reconstruction in every sphere - education, culture, health and so on.

In this connection, the importance of our work in local boards, municipalities and cooperatives has acquired a special significance. We shall strive to make them centres of popular service and democratise their administration. They can bring a change in the consciousness of the people and their attitude towards us.

To achieve this, it is necessary to build broad popular unity, develop the initiative of the masses. Every Party unit and Party member must acquire a comprehensive and all-sided concept of mass work, of defence of mass interests and they must abandon that narrow, and incorrect outlook which hampered the unfolding of multifarious mass activity in the past and which still persists in many areas. In this connection, the importance of Party's effective participation in the social welfare boards, as well as of its work in Mahila and Youth organisations under the NES needs to be fully grasped.

. . . . As an essential part of

As an essential part of such activity, our Party will mobilise the peasantry to make full use of every facility to increase the production of food which has become an urgent national task.

XI. BUILD MASS KISAN SABHAS

All campaigns, struggles and activities have to be conducted so that the broadest possible unity of the patriotic and democratic forces is forged and mass organisations get built. Unless this is done, the tremendous mass awakening and mass radicalisation cannot be consolidated and made the basis for further advance.

Of decisive importance in this connection is the building of kisan sabhas, firmly established in rural areas all over the country. The failure to organise and develop kisan sabha and agricultural labourers' unions, in spite of most favourable situations constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement. Without resolute measures to overcome this weakness, the democratic movement will not get built and the Party will fail to become a decisive force in the political life of the country.

This must be made a part of the consciousness of the entire Party and the tendency to look upon work among the peasantry and agricultural labourers as the specific job of only a few cadres, the tendency to look upon the peasant work as a work of a particular "front" and not the most important mass task of the Party should be resolutely overcome.

XII. STRUGGLE FOR SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA AND MAHA GUJERAT

The refusal of the Government to grant the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat, in spite of the clearly expressed verdict of the people in the elections to legislatures and local bodies, shows that the powers-that-be will not change their decision unless compelled by popular pressure. The obstinate attitude of the Government is adding to popular discontent. Our Party, while campaigning for this just and democratic demand, should stress the importance of unity and cooperation between the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujerat Parishad. Basing itself on the unity of the two movements, our Party should, in cooperation with others, take initiative in forging mass sanctions to secure the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujerat. As hitherto, Party units in Gujerat and Maharashtra have to play a big part in this campaign.

XIII. KERALA SHOWS THE WAY

The most outstanding event in recent years, as has already been pointed out, has been the formation of a Communist-led Government in Kerala. It has given confidence to the people that the Congress can be defeated and a Government representing the interests of the toiling people and pledged to serve them can be formed. The policies enacted by the Kerala Government and the measures introduced during the one year that it has been in office have created profound impression on the people of the whole country, won the sympathy of vast number of people in every State and emboldened certain sections of Congressmen to become critical of reactionary policies of the Government.

Precisely because of this, every effort is being made to dislodge the Kerala Government from office. Every possible tactic, provocation, attempt at bribery, campaign of lies and slanders, instigation of clashes and even murder. They have not refrained from joining hands with foreign plantation owners and the dark forces of Catholic reaction, in spite of their protestations of secularism. In its blind anti-Communism and abandoning all principles which it once professed, the State PSP, with the blessings of the all-India PSP leadership, has joined this unholy alliance.

. . . Under pressure of the

Under pressure of these forces, the Central Government also has, on a number of occasions, adopted discriminatory measures against Kerala, as for example, the reference of the Education Bill to the Supreme Court.

Kerala evokes hatred and fear among forces of reaction, but it has come to symbolise the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people.

Kerala experience has also shown that the verdict of the ballot box in favour of popular forces is not necessarily respected by the vested interests. It has to be defended by mass actions.

This imposes heavy responsibility on our Party in Kerala, responsibilities that have to be carried out in a very difficult situation and within the framework of the present Constitution. By seeking to implement the Plan in a popular way, by unleashing the creative labour of the people to increase the production of food and industrial goods, by giving relief to the people to the maximum possible extent, by bringing the administration close to the people, by combatting corruption, nepotism and bureaucratic high-handedness, it has to demonstrate over and over again the correctness of our policies and prove that a Government led by the Communist Party is the most effective instrument to carry on the task of national reconstruction. The Party has no doubt that the Kerala Government will prove equal to the task.

Our Ministry in Kerala have, by their action, inspired confidence among the mass of people outside Kerala. The Government's declaration that the police will not be used against the people struggling for their legitimate rights and demands, against the freedom for peaceful actions; the Education Bill; the measures to distribute Government land and the Agrarian Bill; fixation of minimum wages for agricultural labourers; settlement of hundreds of industrial disputes by direct Government intervention; the rise in the salaries of low-paid Government employees, like village officials and teachers; the minimum salaries drawn by the Ministers - all these have profoundly impressed public opinion in other States.

The Party will step up the campaign to popularise the achievements of the Kerala Government. The advance in Kerala can be made the basis for the general advance of the democratic movement.

XIV. STRENGTHEN UNITED FRONT

With the position that the Party and the Left forces have won in the Legislatures and among the masses, with the urge for united action getting demonstrated in practice in many places, with the growth of democratic forces inside the Congress, possibilities for democratic advance and popular victories in many spheres have increased immensely.

This necessitates the development of united mass movement, extensive and powerful, through campaigns, struggles and activities, covering every area and firmly based on strong mass organisations. Only such a movement can defeat the plans of Right reaction, bring about desired changes in Government's policies, attain the aims and objectives of the Plan and ensure all-sided national advance.

Striving to build such a movement, the Communist Party will intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in all parties. Of particular importance in this context is the coming together of Left Parties and also progressive independents.

The Communist Party and democratic forces, if they unite and undertake their mass tasks seriously right from now, can certainly expect to effect further breaches in the Congress monopoly of...

monopoly of power. The process begun in Kerala can be carried forward towards the establishment of alternative democratic Governments in some other States. The possibility exists and we must strive to translate it into reality.

The building of the unity of the Left forces is not an easy task. The dominant leadership of the PSP and Socialist Party continue to pursue their policy of keeping the masses divided. They strive to keep their cadres away from any united mass activity. Thereby they not only prevent effective mobilisation against the policies of the Government and consolidation of mass radicalisation, but also help the growth of feudal and communal reaction in several areas where all the Left parties are individually weak. In Orissa, the PSP allies itself with the Ganatantra Parishad, the reactionary party of ex-Rajahs. In Kerala, it has resorted to the vilest slander and calumny against the Ministry led by the Communist Party and joins hands with the dark forces of Roman Catholic oligarchy, landlords and the Muslim League in a desperate bid to uproot the Ministry. It is to be noted that this attitude of the leadership has deepened the crisis in the organisations and increasing sections are opposing this disruptive line and even breaking away. In contrast, wherever they have carried on united front activities, as in West Bengal and in Maharashtra, the democratic movement has been strengthened.

This serious obstacle has to be overcome by combining firm ideological political struggles against such parties, while developing common actions with these parties and their followers. Life has proved that such united common actions are not only desirable but have become a reality in many fields of mass activity.

But important though the united front of Left Parties is, we cannot today confine ourselves to the efforts to build such united front alone. In many areas, independent progressives, many of whom are former Congressmen, wield considerable influence. The Party has to draw them into united activity, not merely during election and such other work, but also into the work of mass organisations.

There is common ground for united activity between the masses following the Congress and our Party for defending and popularising India's foreign policy, realising the aims and targets of the Five Year Plan and ensuring that maximum benefits are secured for the people under the schemes and projects of the Plan.

The growing radicalisation of our people could not but have its own impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress who sabotage all agrarian reforms, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values and morals which once the Congress cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people by the Congress Ministries, the never-ending wrangles over offices and patronage - all these combined with the impact of the mass movement and the electoral victories of the Left give rise to disillusionment and facilitate political differentiation inside the Congress. The progressives inside the Congress are worried by the crisis of the Plan and the attack upon it from the Right. They are getting apprehensive of the rise of the parties of communal and feudal reaction, which they know are growing at the cost of the Congress in some areas.

Our Party welcomes the growth of these democratic forces in the Congress. Adopting a friendly and fraternal attitude towards them, it will seek their cooperation in the interests of the people and the country.

XV. IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Of the millions of people who are entering the arena of struggle for a ...

for a better life, a big majority is under the influence of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies. The dominant leadership of the Congress tells them that merely building certain industries in the State sector will abolish capitalism and along with welfare schemes will advance towards socialism and that socialism can be attained without a mass movement leading to the attainment of power by the working people. The masses are told that the struggle for improvement of their living standards and democratic rights are anti-national and disruptive of national economy. They are told that the reforms necessary for national advance can be achieved gradually by governmental action alone, aided by such campaigns as Bhoodan and Gramdan. They are told that Marxism is out-moded and class struggle alien to Indian traditions.

Some of the Left Parties scoff at the movement for peace, spread slanders against the Soviet Union and attempt to create distrust in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Forces are active which utilise the waning influence of the Congress and its ideology for caste and communal consolidation, often giving the popular urge for development a distorted and disruptive direction. The Dravida Munetra Kazhagam in Madras State openly preaches separation from India on the basis of a false race theory. The discontent created by the policies of the Government in respect of language and linguistic States is used by interested elements to whip up chauvinism and provincialism.

These developments underline the importance of sustained systematic and all-sided ideological struggle by the Communist Party, a struggle conducted on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and its application to every sphere. This has become imperative in order to consolidate and strengthen the democratic movement, bring it increasingly under the leadership of the working class and maintain the unity of India without which no progress is possible.

XVI. MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

The fulfilment of these democratic tasks and the cause of national advance depend on the emergence of the Communist Party as a mass political force - a party which will unite and rally the popular masses by its initiative in every sphere of national life and by its resolute leadership of the mass struggles.

The Special Congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon every unit and Party member and all friends of the Party to exert their best endeavour to build up such a mass Communist Party, all the time expanding to ever new areas and acquiring new strength from the people. The members of the Party must come out as the staunchest defenders of the interests of the people and the country. They must prove by their selfless work, initiative and sacrifice that the Communist Party is the most uncompromising fighter for world peace and defender of our national independence, the builder of the unity of the entire nation and the organiser of the masses in their onward march to socialism and joyous and prosperous life.

EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS
of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
AMRITSAR, APRIL 6 TO 13, 1958

To

ALL DELEGATES

Amritsar,
April 5, 1958.

PROGRAMME FOR THE CONGRESS
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- 6th April: ... (1) Placing of wreath at Jallianwala Bagh
- 11 a.m.
- (2) Flag hoisting.
- (3) Congress starts at 2 p.m. and ends at
6 p.m. on first day.
- * Internationale and Jana Gana Mana
 - * Election of Presidium
 - * Resolutions on - martyrs, Maulana Azad,
Vallathol, Vasakha Singh,
Marcel Cachin.
 - * Announcement of composition of Steering
Committee
 - * Procedure of Congress (order in which items
will be taken up and time allotted).
- (1) Constitution - 3 days
(2) Organisational Report - 1½ days
(3) Political Resolution - 1½ days
(4) Election of National Council
- Every day Congress meets from 12 noon to
8 p.m. with one hour recess.
- * Report on Moscow Conference - Ajoy
 - * Reception by Amritsar Party.
- 7th April: ... - Resolution on Soviet decision re. thermo-
nuclear tests.
- Constitution - introductory speech by
Adhikari and discussion.
- 8th & 9th April: - Discussion on Constitution
- Report on Kerala by EMS - 2 hours.
- 10th April: ... - Organisational Report
- Resolution on Indonesia
- 11th April: ... - Organisational Report upto recess
- Resolution on Algeria.
- After Recess - Introduce Political Resolution.
- 12th April: ... - Discussion on Political Resolution to be
concluded.
- Election of National Council (Night Session)
- 13th April: ... - Election by National Council of CEC, Secre-
tariat and General Secretary.
- Procession and Rally.

SPECIAL CONGRESS
of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA .

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AMRITSAR, APRIL 6 - 13, 1958.
*

To
All Delegates

Amritsar,
April 6, 1958.

Document No. 2

D R A F T
ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

We meet today in a situation which in many respects is different from the situation that prevailed two years ago when we met at Palghat.

Developments of far-reaching significance have taken place in these two years.

Two years ago, the leaders of the Congress and the Government, on the basis of some improvements in certain aspects of Indian economy and relying on the promises of the Second Five-Year Plan and the slogan of socialistic pattern of society, declared that they would sweep the polls in the general elections. Parties of feudal and communal reaction hoped that they would substantially improve their position. One factor which gave the Congress as well as them added confidence was the disunity among the democratic forces and the condition of our own Party.

Acute political differences had developed in our Party before the Congress. These differences and the manner in which those differences had been fought had led to weakening of the unity of the Party. Organised functioning had been paralysed in many areas. Our mass work, especially among the peasantry, had suffered seriously as a consequence.

It was in this situation that we had to make preparations for the second general elections.

The great merit of the Palghat Congress lay in the fact that it took a big step towards the overcoming of these political differences. Correcting Left-Sectarian mistakes and decisively rejecting an (alternative) line, the Congress made a new and realistic appraisal of the Indian situation. It worked out the tactical line of the Party and formulated policies for the big political battle which the Party was about to enter - the second general elections.

It is evident today that but for the line evolved at Palghat, but for the agitation carried on on the basis of that line, but for the united front tactics that followed from that line, our electoral successes would have been inconceivable.

The Congress also decided that within 6 months a Special Plenum would be convened to discuss the organisational situation in the Party. It was found impossible, however, to give effect to this decision due to the preoccupation of Party Committees with the general elections. Almost all major State Committees requested postponement of the Plenum. The Central Committee, therefore, decided that the extended Plenum would be convened after the general elections were over. Later, in view of the

changes proposed . . .

changes proposed in the Constitution, the Central Committee decided to convene this Special Party Congress.

In the General Elections, we suffered serious defeats in Andhra and Tamilnad. Reactionary parties won local successes in some States. But in their totality, the elections belied the expectations of the Congress, as well as of parties of feudal and communal reaction.

Parties, groups and individuals opposing the Congress from the Left, have considerably improved their position in several States Legislatures. And among these parties our Party has registered the most impressive victories.

By polling 12 million votes, we have become the second party in the country not merely in terms of seats won but also in terms of votes secured. We have doubled our votes since 1951-52.

We won the majority of seats in the industrial areas and proved ourselves to be the single biggest force in the working class.

We retain our position as the major party of opposition in the Indian Parliament and in the State Legislatures of West Bengal and Andhra.

We won seats in every State Assembly in the country. But for the undemocratic electoral system which denies a party seats in the legislature in proportion to the votes polled by it, our gains would have been much greater in the majority of States.

Above all, we have succeeded in establishing a government led by the Communist Party in the State of Kerala. The breach in the Congress monopoly of Governmental power is a phenomenon of the greatest importance for the whole country.

Our opponents who are never tired of repeating that Marxism-Leninism has no validity for India and that the history of the Communist Party of India is a history of mistakes, have been baffled by these results.

An important result of the elections was that it gave the entire Party a better and more unified understanding of the political situation in the country, narrowed down differences and contributed to the strengthening of the unity of the Party. The elections proved once again that live experience of the mass movement, acquired in the course of mass activity often resolves controversies which prolonged discussions fail to resolve.

The Communist Party has emerged from the elections with heightened prestige, enhanced influence and greater strength.

Election figures of 1951-52 and 1957 indicate in a broad general way the way we have extended our influence in the country during the last five years.

Refer to Table VII from NEW AGE (Monthly) of May 1957, page 24, and also the Election Review, page 12.

In the general elections of 1951-52, we failed to win a single seat in Bihar, U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Today, we have representatives in every State Legislature.

In the general elections of 1951-52, out of 62 lakh votes polled by us, Andhra and Telangana alone contributed 23 lakhs. In every other State, we polled less than 10 lakh votes.

This time we . . .

This time we have polled 23 lakh votes in Kerala, 19 lakh in West Bengal, 25 lakhs in Andhra and over 10 lakhs in Punjab. Our votes in States where we were a negligible force has gone up considerably.

The general trend of the masses to the Left and towards our Party that was revealed in the general elections continues.

The unions affiliated to the AITUC have grown considerably in membership and influence. Of great significance is the growth of the Mazdoor Union of Jamshedpur, the Steel City of India.

The growing influence of the Party is seen in the big response to the call for two-lakh fund given by our Party in West Bengal for Swadhinata, as well as in the collections in Andhra and Tamilnad, the growth of mass organisations in Kerala and the growing impact of Kerala on the whole country. It is also seen in the successes won by the Party in the local elections in Andhra, Maharashtra, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi.

In U.P., and Madhya Pradesh where we have been traditionally weak, the recent civic elections have shown improvement in our position. In U.P., we have won majority of seats in 14 Town Area Committees whereas we had no such majority in the past in any single area. In Madhya Pradesh, we have won majority in one municipality and acquired strong positions in several others.

Commenting on the results of the civic elections in U.P., the Barraras daily described the Communist Party as "the political party which is in the forefront challenging the power of the Congress."

Dr. Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, addressing a meeting of the Congress workers recently warned them of the "growing influence of the Communists in the State."

These are developments of great importance.

As already stated, we entered the elections with serious handicaps. Our opponents and even many of our friends thought we would lose heavily. These hopes and fears were belied because of factors which have been narrated in the Election Review. Some of the most important of them may be mentioned here.

We based ourselves on the growing radicalisation of the people, their mounting discontent against the policies of the Government, their urge for a better life and conducted numerous struggles in all parts of the country on local, sectional economic issues as well as mass campaigns on broad political issues, such as the liberation of Goa, the achievement of linguistic States, defence of civil liberties, etc.

Our agitation was far more effective than that of any other party in the country.

We gave expression to the peoples' desire to weaken the monopoly of power of the Congress, form alternative governments where possible, strengthen the democratic opposition all over the country and for this purpose strove to build the unity of the Left forces.

Despite the differences that had prevailed in our Party, we went unitedly into the election battle. Practically in every part of the country our comrades, irrespective of the views which they had held earlier, threw themselves heart and soul into the

election

election campaign and strove their utmost to ensure the victory for the Party. Strenuous work was done by a vast number of supporters, sympathisers and friends of the Party - many of whom toiled as hard as the best and most tested cadres of the Party.

It is also necessary to realise that the successes that we have won are not due to the work done by us in the last few years alone. Our successes are due to the entire work carried on by the Party ever since it appeared on the Indian political scene - the causes it has championed, the struggles it has led, the organisations it has built, the activity it has conducted, the links it has forged with the masses by many years of hard patient and self-sacrificing work. It is the totality of work that has been carried on by the Party, by its cadres and leaders for over three decades in every sphere that has given our Party its present position in the political life of the country.

2. RESULT OF THE ENROLMENT CAMPAIGN

The successes we have won have to be made the basis of further advance of the democratic movement. This needs, above all, the building up of a mass Communist Party. The political tasks that have to be carried out in order that we may grow into such a Party, have been formulated in the Resolution which has been placed before this Congress and need no repetition here.

It is necessary to recognise, however, that taking the country as a whole our Party is not yet a sufficiently powerful force. Its influence is marked by great unevenness from State to State and from area to area.

India has fourteen States. Only in three Kerala, Andhra, and West Bengal - which have a combined population of 72 millions or 20 per cent of India's total population, we are a powerful force. We are weak in all the other States, as seen in the election figures. Our weakness is especially marked in the big compact bloc of Hindi-speaking areas where live nearly 150 million or over 40 per cent of our people - Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Haryana areas of Punjab. Not merely is the Congress still immensely powerful there, but also the ominous fact has to be noted that feudal and communal parties have been able, to a considerable extent in some of these areas, to strengthen their own position at the cost of the Congress. Same is the position in Orissa where the Ganatantra Parishad has won a strong position. In Madras State, the DMK with its separatist slogan has emerged as a powerful force.

Further, even in States where we are stronger and where the forces of feudal-communal reaction weak, our influence varies considerably from area to area. In West Bengal, for example, where we are a strong force, our effective strength is confined to some districts. In other districts, influence is still meagre.

Attention has been drawn in the Political Resolution to our weakness among the peasantry in most of the States.

Above all, it has to be recognised that the organised strength of the Party and of the movement lags far behind the growth of our influence.

Our Party membership is too small when compared to our influence. At the time of the Palghat Congress it was only one hundred thousand - which means that for every 120 votes polled in our favour we had only one Party member. In no country does such a situation exist.

The smallness

The smallness of our membership is not a new phenomenon. Attention to this was drawn even in the review made by the Central Committee after the first general elections and directives were given to enrol more members into the Party. But we failed to take any concrete and effective steps to recruit new members, educate them and transform them into cadres of the Party. The lag between our influence and our organised strength not merely continued but steadily grew in the period between the first and the second general elections.

With a view to strengthen the Party, the Central Committee after the Second General Elections gave the slogan of doubling the membership of the Party before the end of 1957. This slogan has been implemented in most States. Our membership has registered an appreciable increase in the recent months.

Our membership before the enrolment campaign stood at 1.25 lakhs. It has now reached the figure of 218,532.

The Party Centre sought from State Committee detailed information about the State of Party organisation - number of districts in the State, number of district Committees of the Party, number of town and village units, number of branches, how many of the old members renewed their membership and how many did not, number of wholetimers and the wages paid to them, the income and expenditure of the PCs and DCs, etc. Such information has not been obtained yet from a number of State units. They will be incorporated in the Report when we get them.

3. THE NEED FOR EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP AT ALL LEVELS

Our membership has increased. But the building of a mass Party involves something more than mere increase in membership. It involves the raising of the ideological-political level of Party members. It involves the welding of the entire membership into an organised and disciplined force, with a common outlook and unity of will and action. It involves, the building, at all levels of effective leadership, entrenched in the masses, able to lead them into action.

In all these respects, the situation today is far from what is needed.

Our movement has grown. Our responsibilities have grown. But our leadership at all levels has not grown correspondingly in maturity and capacity. Everywhere we find it difficult to cope with our responsibilities. There is lack of effective leadership and also dearth of effective cadres. This weakness is reflected in all our work, though not to the same extent everywhere. The overcoming of this weakness is a task of decisive importance.

In this, the Central leadership has to play a pivotal role. How this has to be done needs careful consideration by the Party Congress. To facilitate this, we shall give a brief review of the work of the Centre and also point out its main shortcomings.

4. STATE OF THE PARTY CENTRE

After the Falghat Congress, the immediate and most important task before the Party was effective participation in the general elections. It was decided that election work should be given priority by the Central Committee.

A number of CC members, including the General Secretary, attended several State Committee meetings, explaining the Falghat resolution and helping preparation for the elections.

In June 1956, the Central Committee worked out the united front tactics for the elections in conformity with the line of the Falghat Resolution - tactics of united front with Left parties and groups and elements. Discussions took place at this meeting and decisions were taken and in a subsequent meeting of the CC on united front tactics in Maharashtra, Gujerat and Rajasthan, in consultation with the PCs concerned.

A Plan was drawn up for publication of a number of election pamphlets. But it could be only partially implemented due to the failure of comrades who undertook to write them. The publication of pamphlets was carried out mainly with the help of comrades working in the FPH.

In November 1956, the Central Committee discussed the points for the election manifesto which was subsequently prepared by the PB members. The NEW AGE Weekly was conducted in such a way as to help the election campaign. A number of press conferences were held explaining the electoral slogans of the Party. On the whole, our election agitation was sustained, effective and on a high political level.

The General Secretary visited a large number of States during the election campaign. Com. Bhupesh also covered a number of States. Other members of the PB campaigned mainly in the States where they were working. Central help to States through speakers could not be organised on a bigger scale because, despite the directive sent by the PB, all States said that they were unable to spare their prominent leaders for work in other States. This had adverse effect on the elections especially in States where the Party is weak.

After the elections a meeting of the PB was held in Kerala to work out broad directives for the Communist-led Ministry.

The Central Committee discussed the lessons of the general elections and on this basis the Election Review was prepared.

During this period, the Party was confronted with a number of ideological issues on an extremely important nature. Our intervention on many of these issues was neither firm nor prompt. Nevertheless, we did adopt a resolution on the struggle against the cult of personality which found general support inside the Party, we took a correct stand in the Parliament on the developments in Hungary after the initial confusion had been cleared up. We also gave an effective reply to the letter written by Sri Jai Prakash Narain.

When an article appeared in a journal published outside India giving an incorrect estimation of the Indian situation and of India's path of development towards socialism, the PB openly criticised that article setting forth the Party's point of view. It rejected the proposal made by some comrades to make the article the basis for inner-Party discussion.

Guidance was given by the PB to the Parliamentary Fraction on the stand to be taken on the Five-Year Plan.

We held a meeting of representatives of Party journals and publishing houses before the general elections. Various

problems were . . .

problems were discussed and broad directives were given as to how the journals should be conducted. A number of recommendations were made but these could be implemented only if the State Committees took them up seriously. This was lacking.

After the Palghat Congress, some comrades in Malabar felt that only those who had supported the line of the Central Committee earlier, should be in leading positions. The P.B. intervened, pointing out that such an understanding was wrong.

Help was given by the Party Centre in the unification of the Party in Andhra, the evolving of line on the Regional formula and the language question in Punjab, in the working out of a correct line in Orissa. The State Committees of Bihar, Rajasthan and Kerala also were rendered help to improve their work.

The Party Centre held meetings of leading cadres of the student, youth and women's movements. A resolution was adopted on work among students which was sent to the State Committees.

One of the important issues the Central Committee has tackled in recent months was the language question. It worked out a line which, on the whole, has been well-received in the country. Our resolutions on the utterances and doings of Mr. T.T.Krishnamachari were also widely welcomed.

We sent delegations to the Congress of the Communist Party of China and the French Communist Party as well as participated in the 40th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The General Secretary attended the meeting at Prague which decided on the publication of an international journal.

Steps have been taken to effect economy in the Central Office and the funds of the Parliamentary Office and the C.C. have been integrated.

We have prepared the draft of a new Constitution which is being placed before the Congress.

Nevertheless, taken in its totality, the amount of work done by the Central leadership of the Party in the task of ideological-political leadership of the Party, guidance to mass activity and activity in the Parliament, help to PCs has been extremely meagre. What is this due to?

FIRSTLY - the number of comrades available for Central work is too small. It should be noted that except for a short period after Palghat and till the end of the general elections, only two comrades have devoted their whole-time to Central Party work - the General Secretary and Com. Bhupesh Gupta. After the elections, Com. Ahmad came to work at the Centre and has helped Central work to a considerable extent.

SECONDLY - the non-functioning of the P.B. In this respect there has been no improvement since Palghat. Majority of P.B. members, as before devote themselves exclusively to work in their own States.

THIRDLY - the failure of Central Committee members to look upon central work as part of their responsibility. Some instances may be cited: They do not write for the Party journal despite repeated requests. They pay scant attention to circulars of the Centre; they do not ensure that PCs send reports of the activity of the Party in the State and so on.

Fourthly -

FOURTHLY - The failure of even the few comrades who work at the Centre to organise their own activity so that they may function collectively. Their work is on an individual basis, in their own "sphere of activity". And there is complete absence of any check-up.

FIFTHLY - Inadequate contact between the Party Centre and the State Committees. The only form of contact, apart from meetings of the Central Committee, is the visit of the General Secretary and some IB members to States. This, as already pointed out, has been done to some extent. But those visits have been of very short duration, actual problems have not been studied. Many States have not been visited at all. With an extremely superficial knowledge of the position in the States and of the problems of the mass movement, the Centre finds it impossible to give concrete guidance.

All this has meant absence of a real Party Centre which can cope with the immense tasks.

Attention to this weakness was drawn by every comrade who spoke at Palghat on the organisational question. Everyone felt that without tackling this task, no improvement in the work of the Party was possible. Assurance was given by the Central Committee that this task would no longer be neglected. But that assurance has not been kept.

The absence of a functioning centre has seriously damaged the work of the Party in every sphere.

Our growing influence and increasing spheres of activity have brought to the fore the need for competent cadres. In every State, this has become the most acute problem. Evidently, without a large number of cadres educated in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the art of applying it to practical tasks, not one of the numerous problems that face us can be tackled. Hence the supreme importance of Party education. But no steps have been taken to carry out this task.

Most of the meetings of the Central Committee have been badly prepared - without proper drafts and without prepared agenda. Many of the urgent problems of the mass movement have not been discussed by the Central Committee. On a number of matters the decisions taken by the Central Committee have not been implemented.

After the general elections we have not been able to conduct any campaign in an effective manner, on an all-India plane.

Trade Union activity has increased but collective guidance to the comrades working on the trade union front by Party Committee is lacking either at the all-India level or in the majority of States. The Central Committee has not even discussed the problems of the working class movement. As for the Kisan Sabha, the Party Centre has done nothing to solve the problems that have arisen. Even the decisions taken for improvement of the work on the kisan front in July 1956 have remained on paper. The kisan sabha as an organisation has weakened in most States.

Although we have a fairly large number of competent comrades in the Parliament, our Parliament work, apart from

a few effective

a few effective speeches has not improved. There is lack of team work, lack of self-study, absence of collective leadership.

We run two journals from the Party Centre - the NEW AGE Weekly and NEW AGE Monthly. Their circulation is low. Their quality needs radical improvement. Party leaders seldom write articles in the Central journals despite repeated requests. The journals have become the responsibility of those comrades who run them - mostly junior comrades. The Central Committee and the PB never discuss the journals nor make any effort to improve their quality.

Apart from the pamphlets produced for and during the general elections, very few publications have been brought out by the Party Centre.

Despite the economy effected, the Party Centre is not able to meet its minimum requirements. It is completely dependent on the levy collected from members of the Parliament and from a handful of donors. Even the ring of donors has not been expanding, which means that the same persons have to contribute continually year after year. Inevitably our collections from donations have gone down considerably. They stood at Rs. 4,000 in July, 1956; now they have reached Rs. 2,000. As for the levy from the members of Parliament, the collections in the two years since Palghat should have been Rs. _____. The actual sum collected was only Rs. _____.

It is difficult in this report to give an adequate picture of the situation in the States because proper reports have not been received from most States and also because conditions differ very much from State to State. Against heavy odds and in face of overwhelming difficulties, the State Committees organised the election campaigns. They are running several journals whose circulation has increased and have conducted many struggles and activities. Our influence in every State has grown. Broad political issues are taken up by the Party more than before and our Party occupies an important position in the political life of many States.

But in some places, while the Party's general influence has grown by its taking up such issues, there has been utter negligence of Party building, work in mass organisations and Party paper and Party's independent mass activity, under the banner and in the name of the Party. This is a serious deviation which needs be corrected.

Generally speaking, the State Committees also suffer from many of the same weaknesses that mark the work of the Party Centre - though not to the same extent. Meetings of State Committees are not adequately prepared for. Inevitably discussions become prolonged, desolatory and chaotic and lead to little results. Many current problems are not tackled and the campaigns and activities are not reviewed. Many of the decisions taken remain on paper, because organisational guarantees for implementing them are lacking. Links of the State Committees with districts are weak. The PC centre does not concretely study the problems of the districts and help them. Personal contacts between leaders of the PC and lower units is often lacking.

Moreover, collective functioning, combined with division of responsibility and collective check-up is absent almost in every PC. Not merely PC but even most secretariat members do no

provincial

provincial work. Too many jobs have to be done by too few comrades and that too is done in a planless manner and mostly on an individual basis.

Many issues are not tackled at all, for instance, our work in the local bodies which has acquired great importance.

The growing influence of the Party should have found its reflection in increased collection of Party funds through mass campaign. This has not been done adequately. As a result, all levels and in all units of the Party, Party finances are in a critical condition. It is becoming increasingly difficult to expand and even maintain our activities at the present level.

Not merely the Centre but the State Committees also have paid very little attention to the task of Party education. The ideological-political level of new Party members remains at a low level. Also, education to develop cadres for mass activity is absent.

A large percentage of our Party members come from the working class and peasantry. Many of them are illiterate. Many others who are barely literate need general education in order that they may actively participate in the political life of the Party and develop into effective cadres. In the absence of this, in the absence of steps to liquidate illiteracy in the Party and raise the cultural level of the mass of Party members, not merely our mass work suffers but also inner-Party democracy remains formal.

WEAKNESSES OF THE PARTY

It is also necessary to draw attention to some of our basic shortcomings. The most important of them is the inadequate state of unification of the Party - ideological, tactical and organisational.

The main strength of a Communist Party is its ideological homogeneity. This has been seriously weakened in recent years - largely due to the failure of the Central Committee to conduct a serious inner-Party campaign on ideological questions agitating the mind of the comrades. A Report was made at Palghat by the General Secretary on the decisions of the 20th Congress. Party Committees were asked, in a resolution of the Congress, to study the documents of the Congress and organise discussion with the help of the General Secretary's Report. This could be done only if the CC took further steps in the matter and the members of the Central Committee themselves took the initiative to organise such discussion through the State Committees in the States where they worked. This was not done. Subsequently, the Central Committee adopted a resolution on the struggle against the cult of personality. This too was hardly discussed in Party units and for the same reason.

Divergent and conflicting ideas have grown among different comrades about the decisions of the 20th Congress, about the implications of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. After the general elections, the Kerala State Committee adopted a resolution trying to link our successes in Kerala and the formation of a Communist Government there with the broader issue of peaceful transition. Some CC members thought the document to be wrong. Some agreed with it. But the Central Committee did not even discuss it.

These, however, . . .

These, however, are not the only instances. An attitude of utter indifference towards basic ideological issues has grown inside the Party. Some comrades even dispute such basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism as the dictatorship of the proletariat being essential for the building of socialism.

Such extreme manifestations of anti-Marxist idea is certainly not a common phenomenon in our Party. But it has to be noted that it exists. Revisionist ideas in various forms have penetrated the Party. Side by side, there also exists dogmatism - reiteration of certain fundamentals and fear of recognising changes in the situation and adopting flexible tactics on the plea that this will breed "reformism".

Ideological work on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism occupies a position of decisive importance in the activity of every Communist Party. The masses and even Party members are constantly subjected to ideological propaganda carried on by the bourgeois press and bourgeois political leaders. We all know how the bourgeois propaganda about the effects of the Five-Year Plan influenced even the Central Committee in its estimation of the political situation before the elections. Moreover, in our country sentiments of caste, religion as well as reactionary concepts of various types are deep-rooted and extremely widespread. The attitude adopted by the Central Government on the issue of languages and linguistic States has been utilised by separatist and chauvinist elements to strengthen their own position, preach disruptive ideas and slogans. Parties of the petty-bourgeoisie, mouthing radical phrases, slander the Soviet Union, ridicule the peace movement, spread lies about our Party.

Our Party, therefore, faces tremendous and ever-growing tasks in the ideological sphere, tasks without fulfilling which we cannot unite the masses and win their leadership, tasks the neglecting of which inevitably results in the penetration of alien ideas among the masses who follow us and even inside our own Party. These tasks demand the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist consciousness of our cadres, preparation of theoretical and educational material on all subjects agitating the mind of our people, education. Too little has been done by us in all these respects. While the influence of the Party has expanded, Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the Party membership has registered decline.

There has been a weakening of the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the entire Party - which expresses itself most sharply in the meagre activity carried on by the Party in the struggle for peace, for strengthening of the bond of friendship with the U.S.S.R. and China and other socialist States, for Afro-Asian solidarity.

A considerable amount of political unification on the tactical line has been achieved in the last two years but it is still not firm enough.

There is lack of clarity and unified understanding in the Party on the perspective before us, on the implications of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, on tactics of united front as well as on many burning problems of the movement. This is primarily due to the failure of the Central Committee to seriously discuss these issues and evolve a unified understanding.

Political unification of the Party is not something which can be achieved once and for all, on the basis of a general political resolution as we adopted at Palghat. The unification even on the basis of a correct line cannot but be partial. The line has to be applied, concretised, developed. Unless the general line of the Party is constantly and continuously applied to current problems, unless the line is concretised in terms of tasks among the working class, peasantry and others, unless the line is developed and enriched on the basis of study and assimilation of the actual experience of the mass movement, divergent understanding is bound to grow weakening the unity of the Party, crystallising differences, giving rise to groups inside the Party, on the basis of trends and on basis of different interpretations of the Party line.

Hence it is that reporting from above and from below, close contact with the masses on the part of leading committees, constant review of struggles, campaigns and activities of the Party, prompt tackling of mass problems and generalisation of experience occupy such a vital position in the unification of the Party.

In all these respects what has been done is too little compared to what should have been done. Hence, the extent of political unification of the Party is only partial.

Nor is the state of organisational unification satisfactory. This has already been dealt with in a general way in dealing with the work of the Party Centre and State Committees. Some features, however, need special stressing.

* Growth of fissiparous tendencies like "frontism", federalism, localism.

* Bureaucratic indifference to suggestions and criticism from below has become a characteristic feature of our Party life.

* Groups get formed on the basis of trends and even personal friendship - though this phenomenon is less today than it was two years ago.

* Above all, individualism is rampant, discipline is slack, the worst offenders in several cases being leading comrades who hold responsible positions.

Our membership is small. But even of this small membership, a big part is inactive except during such campaigns as elections and preparation for a conference. We have not been able to organise our mass work in such a way that comrades who are in various professions are able to play their role in the work of the Party and actively participate in Party life. In normal periods, practically all our Party work is carried on by whole-timer cadres, which divides the Party membership into two categories - active whole-timers and passive-part-timers. Further, some comrades have become chronically inactive, refusing to do any Party work - claiming all rights of Party members but refusing to discharge any Party responsibility, indulging in negative criticism and even slanders against the Party.

Our old pattern of work, based mainly on whole-timers, has to be radically changed so that more and more work gets done by the mass comrades. At the same time, a Party with growing

influence,

influence, a Party with expanding spheres of activity needs an increasing number of whole-timers. But the number of our whole-time cadres has registered hardly any increase in recent years. In many States, the number of whole-timers has actually declined. Many of them have been forced to give up Party work and seek jobs due to the Party's inability to provide their minimum needs. This, besides serious damage to work, has also meant the frittering away of the most precious assets of the Party - its cadres and their experience acquired in the course of many years of activity.

It is not surprising that in this background of ideological confusion, inadequate Marxist-Leninist consciousness, political and organisational weaknesses - ideas, practices and habits of alien classes have made heavy inroads into our Party and are weakening its moral fabric.

The wrong manner in which the inner-Party struggle was carried on by us for many years is one important factor in accentuating these weaknesses.

Despite some improvement during the last one year, the atmosphere that prevails in many units of the Party, especially several leading units is far from healthy. Some comrades resent criticism from those with whom they differed in the past even though the particular criticism may be valid, and adopt an excessively critical attitude towards their failings. Simultaneously, they betray an attitude of liberalism towards the failings of other comrades.

BASIS FOR OVERCOMING THEM

These shortcomings have been discussed in several State Conferences. What is needed, however, today is not a mere narration of these shortcomings but the taking of effective steps to overcome them. It is a gigantic task which will take considerable time. But a beginning has to be made immediately.

Without this we cannot fulfil the historic responsibilities towards our country and our people. Without this we cannot consolidate the successes we have achieved and lead the people in the struggle for the completion of the unfinished tasks of the democratic revolution and socialism. Without this, we cannot grow into a mass Party of working class.

In many respects, the situation today is favourable for overcoming these shortcomings.

The profound analysis of the world situation made in the historic Declaration of 12-Parties clears the confusion on many fundamental issues and arms the Communist Party of every country to wage a determined struggle against tendencies of revisionism and dogmatism.

Our position in the working class and among the broad masses is stronger than ever in our history. Our prestige is high among the people, our influence is wide and expanding.

There has been improvement in several respects in the inner-Party situation also.

Our successes in the elections and our growing influence vindicating the political line of the Party, have resolved many

of the political . . .

of the political controversies of the past and created conditions for political unification.

Consciousness has grown inside the entire Party that the position that we have won among the masses places heavy responsibilities on us and that in order to carry out these responsibilities the Party must be strengthened. Our cadres, the best that any Party in the country has, fervently desire and would welcome measures to rid the Party of the weaknesses that have accumulated and put it in proper shape.

All these are favourable factors whose significance has to be grasped and which should be made the basis for advance.

TOWARDS A MASS PARTY

With its growing influence in all parts of the country, with its increased strength in the Parliament and most State Legislatures as well as in many local bodies, with its leadership of the Government in the State of Kerala, with its powerful position in the working class and among the toiling masses in general, our Party is called upon to play an increasingly important role in every sphere.

To do this, it has to fully unify itself - ideologically, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and determined struggle against bourgeois ideas; politically on the basis of the tactical line worked out at this Congress and its further development; organisationally on the basis of strict adherence to our new Party Constitution and establishment of comradely atmosphere in all units of the Party.

In all this the Central leadership of the Party has to play a decisive role. It has to rouse and inspire the Party to overcome the weaknesses. It has to lead the Party politically. It has to develop as the national-political centre of the Party.

The general tasks of the Party Centre have been stated many a time. But it is impossible at this stage to undertake all these tasks. Attempt to do that would mean doing none of them satisfactorily. Certain tasks have to be given priority.

1) The most important of these is Party Education, so that unity of outlook and action develops in the higher and middle leadership of the Party and a beginning is made in the direction of development of cadres. The Centre has to prepare a syllabus and also help to organise Party schools in States and zones.

2) The Monthly NEW AGE can play an important role in raising the ideological-political level of the Party, if it gives studied articles on economic and political developments, on lessons and experiences of the mass movement, and Party building, on theoretical matters, i.e., if it becomes a proper journal. This needs to be done.

The Central leadership has to take steps to improve the Weekly NEW AGE.

It has to plan out publications on current matters and on major problems.

Guidance by

3) Guidance by the Party on current issues has to be ensured by well-prepared meetings of the National Council and regular Central Executive committee meetings.

4) On major political issues, the Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat will guide the Parliamentary Executive Committee, which shall be responsible for all parliamentary work, including discipline of MPs.

5) A sub-committee of leading comrades on the T.U. Front has to be formed.

6) In view of the decisive importance of work among the peasantry and agricultural labour and in view of the neglect of this work by the Party for a long time, a sub-committee of leading comrades on the kisan front has to be formed and the party centre has to pay special attention to the task of rebuilding the kisan sabha.

7) Effective measures have to be taken to overcome the neglect of the struggle for peace by the Party.

8) As regards the work among women, students and youths, they have to be conducted by the State committees. In order to help work, Party centre will convene occasional meetings of leading comrades working on these fronts.

9) The need for strengthening the contact between the Centre and the States is great. At the same time, only certain steps in this direction can be taken immediately such as, periodic visits to the States by the General Secretary and other Secretariat and CEC members, studying of reports sent by State committees, prompt reply to their queries, intervention when big problems arise and central guidance is needed.

Special attention needs to be paid by the Centre to the Hindi-speaking areas where our movement is weak. The Centre has to take steps to start Hindi and Urdu weeklies.

The Secretariat should plan out a programme of convening meetings of the State Secretariats to discuss the major problems of the State and help in solving them.

10) We have been without a Party programme for several years - a document which integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation can arm the entire Party with a clear perspective. This has intensified ideological confusion. A draft Programme has to be prepared which the National Council will circulate for discussion in the entire party.

11) We have no unified understanding about the achievements and mistakes of our own Party since its inception. Comrades joining the Party in different periods hold divergent views about how the Party grew, what it achieved, what it failed to achieve in each period. Distorted ideas, based on lies and half-truths, on the role of the Communist Party in the national movement, prevail not merely in the ranks of our sympathisers and supporters but also inside the Party. The broad general statement made earlier, viz., that the present status of our Party is the result of the cumulative work of the Party carried on during its entire history -- this statement alone is not enough. What is needed is a unified understanding of the history of our party, of its work. Such a task has become

very necessary....

very necessary now. It is a difficult task and will take considerable time for completion. But a beginning should be made as soon as possible by collection of documents and discussions among leading comrades who played important part in different periods of Party history.

12) The Party Centre has to organise proper Party life for cadres working in the Central office and in various departments of Central work and decide about the form of organisation at the P H Q.

The sub-committees formed by the Party Centre will not replace the committees of the mass organisations, nor issue directions to similar sub-committees in the State. Their function is to help the Party Centre to study problems and enable the Party Centre to give guidance which should be through the State Committees.

The members of the Central Secretariat will divide up work among themselves, on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility for implementation of decisions and regular collective check-up. The present practice of individual functioning, of no check up has got to go.

Each member of the Secretariat will be in charge of a specific department or departments of the Central Executive Committee and be personally responsible for its functioning, for regular report to the Secretariat, as well as implementation of the decisions.

The members of the Secretariat will devote themselves entirely to Central work. But they will be few in number and cannot, by themselves, carry out all the Central tasks. Central work has to be done not merely by the members of the Central Secretariat but also by other members of the National Council, above all, by members of the Central Executive Committee. Members of the Central Executive are not just State committee functionaries who attend the CEC meeting when they can "afford", as several of our present PB members do. CEC members elected by the National Council are responsible to the National Council to see that the work of the Centre is properly carried on. They have beside state, Central responsibilities and they have to carry them out when called upon by the CEC to do so - e.g. visit certain States, conduct Party schools, prepare study and other material, write articles in the Central journal, etc. They have to ensure that decisions of the National Council and CEC are implemented by the State Committees.

After each meeting of the CEC a report of the decisions, and their explanation will have to be sent to members of the National Council.

Comrades will ask: what guarantee is there that all this will be done? Especially when, despite assurances, despite all the experience of the past which shows how the entire work of the Party suffers in the absence of a functioning Party Centre, such a Centre has not come into existence?

The only guarantee can be that the National Council which will be elected by this Party Congress deems it to be its duty to ensure that such a Centre comes into existence not only by electing a proper and competent Central Executive Committee and a Secretariat, but by effective control over their work, by suggestions and criticism, not hesitating to remove those members of these bodies who fail to carry out their responsibilities and replace.....

and replace them by others.

Further, it has to be made a principle that the job which each comrade of Central Executive and Secretariat has to do, the place where he is to work, is to be decided neither by the lower unit to which also the comrade may belong, nor by the comrade himself - though certainly they will have their say, but by the higher body.

2. STATE COMMITTEES.

The State committees have also to reorganise their work. There too a functioning Secretariat occupies a position of key importance. But conditions in different States differ so much that it is not possible in this Report to deal with their functioning and the manner in which it has to be done concretely. Nevertheless, certain general observations may be made.

- In most States, the real State leadership of the Party has come to mean two or three comrades only which means excessive Centralisation, leading to anarchy in practice and accentuation of the trend towards bureaucratism. It also prevents development of cadres. This needs to be remedied. No comrade should be given more functions, more responsibility than what he can effectively discharge. Responsibility for State work has to be divided up among all State committee members.

- The function of each Secretariat member, including the Secretary, should be clearly defined on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility and collective check-up.

- Meetings of the State Committee should be properly prepared for, so that decisions may be promptly taken and who is to do what is also decided upon.

- Each meeting of the Secretariat, State Committee and State Council should start with reading out of the decisions of the previous meeting and a report as to how and to what extent these decisions have been implemented.

- Report of each meeting of the State Executive Committee and of the Council should be sent to the Party Centre.

- Party journals should be regularly reviewed, discussion initiated in the entire Party as to how to improve their contents, increase their circulation to every area and place them on sound financial basis. Publications should be planned. The sale of Party literature must become a normal and essential part of the activity of every unit.

- The work done by the Party in the State Legislature, in district and local bodies should be regularly reviewed and circulated in the entire Party.

- Above all, it is necessary to strengthen the contact between the State Executive Committee and the district committees. This requires the initiation and development of state-wide campaigns in absence of which even intensive work would remain on a local and economic plane and fail to make an impact on the life of the State. The running of the journal in such a way that it reflects the growing movement of the State and of all its areas. Regular visit to districts not only for mass meetings but also to discuss the concrete problems with district and local committees and their functionaries. Development of close personal.....

close personal and human contact with cadres in the districts. Convening of special meetings to discuss problems of work in local boards, municipalities, panchayats.

- In planning out work, priorities have to be given, keeping in mind not only the various problems but also the organisational strength of the Party. The practice of making big plans and afterwards quietly dropping them, should go.

For all this, functioning Secretariats of the State Executive Committees are essential but it should be evident that Secretariat members alone cannot do all these jobs. The responsibility for State work has to be borne not only by the Secretariat members but by all the State Executive Committee members as well.

3. COLLECTIVE FUNCTIONING, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHECK-UP

In every unit of the Party, first of all, in the Secretariats of the Central, State and district leadership, we have to organise work on the basis of collective functioning, individual responsibility and check-up.

This is lacking today. Collective functioning has come to mean interminable meetings. Individual responsibility has come to mean "autonomy" and "non-interference". As for check-up, it is mostly absent. Such pattern of Party functioning can never lead to real improvement.

Every unit of the Party is collectively responsible for implementation of decisions both to the higher committee and to the lower committees as well as mass of members. But inside the committee, inside the Secretariat, the principle has to be applied of individual responsibility on the basis of collective decisions and collective check-up. This alone will make possible the implementation of decisions.

4. ACTIVISATION OF THE ENTIRE PARTY WORK FOR ALL COMRADES, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF WHOLE-TIMERS

Radical changes are needed in the pattern of mass activity and style of mass work, so that the basic units of the Party, the branches, become the leader of the people in their struggles for a better life and in all their activities.

Despite the position which our Party has come to occupy there has been little change in our pattern of activity. Our practical activities are mostly confined to elections, conferences and local struggles, together with occasional campaigns. The normal work of the Party is carried on almost exclusively by whole-timers. Dearth of cadres on one hand and chronic inactivity on the part of the vast majority of members has become a characteristic feature of our Party life.

Exclusive reliance on whole-timers, many of whom get progressively divorced from the life of the people, also accentuates tendencies of subjectivism, dogmatism and sectarianism inside the Party. It creates two categories of Party members - active and passive.

The Political Resolution has stressed the need for all-sided mass work. This is essential in order to consolidate the mass movement and strengthen the base of the Party. Guided by the Resolution,.....

the Resolution, the Party has to unfold sustained activity in every sphere so that for every job there are comrades and for every comrade there is a job. This requires careful study of the local needs, the concrete working of the schemes of the Five-Year Plan and the development programme of the Government and active participation in them so as to ensure that the interests of the people are served. Without this, it is impossible even to build mass organisations. Many a time this has been emphasised and some advance has undoubtedly been made but as yet it is too meagre. An attitude of narrowness and sectarianism still dominates the outlook of the leading committees and cadres with regard to such work.

Emphasis on the activation of the entire Party and of organising work for all its members does not mean minimisation of the importance of whole-timers. In an expanding party, we need increasingly the number of whole-timers, but precisely for this, it is necessary to ensure that their minimum needs are met, that they do not have to depend for their bare existence on friends and sympathisers. Adequate wages have to be paid to the whole-timers regularly.

Every State Committee should immediately undertake a comprehensive review of the position of the whole-timers in the Party, the nature of the work they do, the wages paid to them either by the party or the mass organisations, and evolve a policy on this important question.

5. PARTY FUNDS

The critical financial position of Party units at all levels is not due to the unwillingness of the masses to contribute to the party. It is due to the practice of not approaching the masses in a planned manner. Wherever such approach has been made, as in recent months in several States, funds have been collected. At least for two months every year, a mass drive for Party funds has to be organised by State Committees on a State-wide plane, the entire Party mobilised for this purpose and every Party leader, especially those who wield wide influence, must personally and directly participate in the campaign.

An important source of the income of the Central and State Committees is the levy collected from members of the Parliament and Assembly. In this respect, the situation today is highly unsatisfactory. A large number of MPs do not pay their dues regularly. Some of them advance the plea that State and district committees made exorbitant demands on them. As for Assembly members, in several States many of them too are in arrears. Such conduct on the part of several MPs and MLAs whose election was ensured by the devoted work of Party cadres and through the influence of the Party not merely intensifies the financial difficulties but also exercises a demoralising influence on the entire Party.

We must lay it down that every Communist MP must pay a monthly levy of Rs.300 per month to the Party. Of this, the Central Committee will get Rs.100, the State Committee Rs.100, the District Committee, Rs.100. No further demands should be made on the MP's income by any other unit or comrade. Failure on the part of any MP to pay these levies will be treated as serious breach of Party discipline. Any modification in this rule can be made only by the Central Executive Committee, in consultation with the State Committee. Modification will be made taking into consideration the fact as to whether the MP concerned was a whole-time Party cadre before being elected to the Parliament and other factors. As for the levy on the Assembly members,
it is necessary

it is necessary to bring about some sort of uniformity, taking into account the salaries and allowances in different State assemblies and the minimum sum needed by the MLAs for efficient functioning.

The State Committees should also progressively introduce the system of a levy on a graduated scale on the income of other Party members.

Besides this, it is necessary to centralise the funds of the Party units, putting an end to the practice of individual spending. All funds collected by everyone for the Party, have to be handed over to the treasurer of the unit, and spent in accordance with the decisions of the unit.

6. PARTY EDUCATION

The need to organise education needs no stressing. Reference has already been made about Educational Department to be organised by the Central Executive Committee and preparation of educational material by it. With this as basis, short-term Party schools - about seven to ten days - have to be organised in States. But though essential, this is not enough. Education also involves the production of popular literature and the running of schools specifically for cadres of each mass organisation - especially trade unions and kisan sabhas, and also such things as generalisation of the experience of working local bodies, cooperatives, social welfare centres, development boards, etc.

Party education must also have one of its objectives the strengthening of all-India consciousness of our cadres, consciousness which has grown less and less in recent years. Comrades of one State know little about what is happening in other States. We have to organise regular visits by Party leaders of one State to another, to report before State Committees and cadres. State Committees should translate their important documents and send them to the Centre so that the Centre may circulate them among all State Committees.

A large number of Party members, coming from the working class and peasantry, need to be made literate and imparted general education. We must ensure that such education is organised by all units as an essential Party task.

Sufficient knowledge should be imparted to all Party members within a year so that they are able to read and understand Party journal in the State and current national and international developments.

7. EXPANSION OF THE PARTY

Notwithstanding its growth, our Party even now is too small. Moreover, in most areas, it does not even exist. Even in States where the Party is strong - in many areas its organisation is extremely weak. Quite often, in one village we have a powerful base but in the adjoining village which falls in the same constituency, we have little following. This not only hampers the growth of the movement, but weakens the prospect of the Party in elections which have become an extremely important part of our political and mass work.

The State Committees have to study the position concretely and undertake planned extension of the Party into new areas, planned extension of circulation of our papers, planned extension of Party activity. The difficulty in the way of such expansion is the unwillingness of local units to part with cadres as well as unwillingness...

unwillingness of cadres to go to new areas. This has to be overcome.

Enrolment of new members into the Party has to be a part of the normal activity of the Party, as also of educating them. Special emphasis has to be given to the task of enrolment of members from the working class, poor peasantry and agricultural workers. It has to be noted that even though our activity in the working class has increased considerably, the number of workers in our Party, even in big industrial areas is relatively small. Further, there is no systematic effort to train them, so as to develop them into cadres and leaders of mass activity, to promote them. The composition of our higher Party committees remains essentially non-proletarian which has intensified many of our weaknesses. Expansion of the Party must mean simultaneously conscious effort to overcome this weakness.

8. AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

As early as June 1954, that is, nearly four years ago, the Central Committee in its Organisational Resolution, stressed the importance of improving the quality of our agitation. Considerable improvement has taken place since then but the defects pointed out then have not been completely eliminated even now. Speeches are not carefully prepared, not only speeches in mass meetings but sometimes even speeches in Parliament and Assemblies. They are often marked by diffusedness, repetitiousness and hurling of slogans instead of explaining them, vehemence instead of logic and careful presentation of facts, stereotypedness and generalities which do not take into account the heightened political consciousness of the people. Explanatory work through individual verbal propaganda by all Party members, in the course of day-to-day contact with non-Party masses is mostly absent.

Moreover the style of writing in several of our papers is jargonous and not lively, presentation of facts not adequate, insufficient attention to issues which agitate the mind of the people. Sometimes, the tendency is to fill up columns with full speeches and statements of Party leaders which could be easily condensed. Party leaders seldom write for our newspapers and expect that their speeches, often delivered without preparation, are adequate for the purpose.

Our resolutions suffer from many defects of the same type. Quite often, they are long, attempt to cover so many points, verbose, lack precision and not written in a popular way.

Serious attention has to be paid to these defects and steps taken to remedy them. We have to speak and write with the consciousness that we are growing into a mass party, a Party to which millions of people look for guidance, a Party the majority of whose members come from the working class and peasantry.

9. MASS ORGANISATIONS

A mass Party is inconceivable without serious sustained and determined efforts to build mass organisations, among all sections of people especially among the working class and the peasantry. Without such organisation, the influence of the Party remains vague and diffused. Without such organisations, the united front cannot develop. Without such organisations, cadres of the Party remain isolated from the people despite intensive

activity and.....

activity and become "general" political leaders of bourgeois type and not grow into Communist leaders. Without such organisations which develop the self-activity of the masses, develop leaders from among them - not one problem which faces us can be solved. Nor the mass movement extended and raised to a higher level.

Hence it is that all the work of the Party, the many activities referred to earlier, has to be directed towards the building of the mass organisations. Every Party member, unless specifically exempted, should join a mass organisation.

Big developments are taking place on the working class front but many Party Committees pay insufficient attention to them. The amount of political work among workers is meagre. Also there is shortage of cadres for trade union work as well as for the undertaking of educational and other activities in working class areas. Party Committees in cities have to inspire an increasing number of comrades to devote, at least part of their time, to work among the proletariat.

As the Political Resolution has pointed out, of decisive importance is the need to overcome the weakness of the Party among the peasantry and to build up powerful Kisan Sabha. Every State Committee has to give most serious attention to this task, turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry, delegate sufficient number of cadres for it, arrange for their training and maintenance. Without this, the whole democratic movement will remain weak.

Within a year, the membership of the Kisan Sabha should be raised to 20 lakhs.

10. TARGETS AND SLOGANS FOR ONE YEAR

Each State Committee after this Congress has to work out a concrete plan of action for the State and place it before the State Council for discussion and adoption. The plan should include:

- Doubling of the circulation of newspapers - Central and State within a year.
- A target of enrolment into trade unions and kisan sabhas.
- Expansion of the Party into areas where it is weak.
- Collection of fund for specific purposes such as a proper press, building for Party Office, etc.
- Wiping out illiteracy from inside the Party within one year.
- The number and titles of publications for the next one year.

On the basis of the plan and targets for the next one year, each district should plan out its own work.

The progress made in the attainment of the targets to be reviewed periodically.

DEVELOP PROPER LEADERSHIP

We have formulated the immediate organisational tasks before the Party. But past experience should teach us that all this will remain on paper unless a conscious and determined effort is made

. . . to bring about change in

to bring about change in practice. This has to start from above, from the Central and State leadership. It is these Committees and their members who have to raise their own consciousness, overcome the divergence between decisions and their implementation, between profession and practice, and set in every respect a model before lower units of the Party as a whole - modesty, tolerance, comradely behaviour, attention to criticism, and above all, discipline without which not one of the tasks can be carried out. It is with strengthening of discipline that the whole work of remoulding of the Party has to be started and discipline is to be strengthened, primarily, by example from above.

It has been pointed out earlier that taking the Party as a whole, our leadership has not grown in maturity and ability as fast as the growth of the movement. This creates big difficulties for the Party. Proper methods of functioning of Committees can help to overcome this difficulty to a limited extent - but only to a limited extent. The leaders of the Party at all levels, especially in the Central and State leadership have to increase their individual efficiency through self-study, specialisation, and proper organisation of their own work.

CONCLUSION

The shortcomings from which we suffer have been narrated. They are serious. Nevertheless, if despite them we have steadily grown, it is because of the very character of our Party.

Our Party has won its present position because ever since its formation it has been guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has won its present position because we have based ourselves on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Working out our policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, our Party has striven to learn from the rich experience of the international Communist movement extending over a hundred years. We are a part of the great world movement, which has already triumphed over one-third of the world and which leads humanity's battle for peace, democracy, socialism and a new life.

Our Party has won its present position because it has fearlessly championed the cause of the people, led their struggles, built their organisations.

Our Party has won its present position because it has based itself primarily and above all, on the basic masses - the working class and peasantry.

Our Party has won its present position because it has been organised on the principles of democratic centralism and continues to be, despite many weaknesses, the most disciplined Party in our country.

Our successes are not fortuitous. Nor are they to be ascribed to any single factor.

Our successes are the successes of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism on which our Party bases itself. Our successes are due to our participation in and leadership of mass struggles and fearless defence of popular causes and base in the working class and peasantry. Our successes are the product of the united effort of all our comrades and of the vast number of friends, sympathisers and supporters of the Party in all areas and among all sections of people. Our successes are the outcome of the

. . . . cumulative work carried on

cumulative work carried on by generations of Communists who have toiled, suffered, sacrificed and thousands of whom laid down their lives in the cause of the Party.

On the basis of all this, we have won an important position in the life of our country. Many of the slogans that the Party gave have become the slogans of the entire democratic movement. Millions of people look to us for leadership, look upon us as the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations..

Never were we such a big force as we are today. Never also did the fate of the democratic movement and our country depend so decisively on our Party's role.

It is this consciousness that must guide us in our endeavour to build a mass Party of the working class, a mass Communist Party, a Party unswervingly loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, deep-rooted in the people, and capable of leading their movement to victory.

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V/A/VH/6.4

April 11, 1958

A M E N D M E N T S

TO ORGANISATIONAL RESOLUTION

1. Page 14, clause (1) of the chapter "Towards a Mass Party", add the following: "In order to achieve this, the Central Executive Committee shall depute one comrade as in-charge of an Education Sub-Committee, composed of comrades who can devote their major time to the work of Party education."
- Ali Ashraf (Bihar)
2. Page 15, para 6, - change the para to read like this: "The work among women, students and youth have to be vigorously organised. In order to help work, Party Centre will convene meetings of leading comrades working on these fronts and wherever necessary form separate sub-committees for each of these fronts."
- Krishna Chandra Choudhary, Bihar
3. Page 15, para 8, change the last sentence to read: "Hindi and Urdu weekly organs of the Party should be brought out from the Centre. The Central Executive Committee should undertake the responsibility for this."
- Ali Amjad, Bihar
4. Page 19, Art.4, at the end of 2nd para add: "Special attention is to be paid to wholetimers specially in rural areas and similar peripheral units; and that these wages for wholetimers will be considered one of the primary liabilities of the Party. Medical aids will also be attended to as far as practicable."
- Narayan Ray, W.Bengal
5. ADD to the organisational resolution:

"The extraordinary Congress of the CPI considers that the present organisational weaknesses of the Party cannot be overcome merely by certain procedural steps or by fixing up too many targets. The state of the Party - in spite of impressive advance in its influence and prestige - has not registered any improvement because of the failure at all levels of the Party to observe norms of Party behaviour; failure to practice in our work, life and mutual relations the basic ideals of Communism and the fundamental principles of Party organisation. Unless the present situation is seen essentially as the product of serious ideological shortcomings, even the first steps towards improvement cannot be taken. The primary responsibility of taking the Party forward is that of the Central Party leadership, particularly in view of the ever-increasing national political responsibilities that the Party is being called upon to shoulder.

"This Party Congress, therefore, resolves to enjoin the National Council to immediately take up the following tasks:

(a) To conduct a campaign which should, to begin with be confined to the National Council of self-improvement through a process of study, criticism, self-criticism. This campaign should be directed primarily towards overcoming individualism, bridging the gulf between word and deed and overcoming lack of mutual trust and cooperation.

. . . (b) To conduct within

foundations of our ideology.

(c) To set up the appropriate machinery so that by the next Party Congress a well-grounded economic programme of the Party is available.

(d) To prepare within a year drafts of documents on the problems and line of activity in the trade unions and kisan sabhas which will help to evolve a common understanding of the entire Party about the tasks on these two key fronts.

(e) To set up an effective Party Centre with a core of leadership and strengthening of the present staff with some members of the National Council and other experienced comrades from the States."

- PHQ delegation

6. The operative part of the resolution should begin as below:

"This Congress lays down the following as the five main tasks in relation to organisation. The Congress directs the National Council to take immediate steps for their implementation:

(1) All out efforts to improve the ideological, political and cultural level of Party members and to train cadres in order to overcome the acute shortage of effective cadres which exists today.

Along with the other measures to be taken by the National Council and the CEC for the realization of this slogan, the National Council and CEC must take immediate steps to ensure effective work among students and youth of the country.

(2) National Council and the CEC must initiate immediately beginning with themselves and the MPs, an inner-Party Rectification Campaign with a view to ruthlessly overcome anti-Party tendencies including such tendencies in personal life as lack of modesty, intolerance, covetting for offices and desire for easy life. Such a campaign should be so organised that first and foremost, the leading units and their members become models of communist living and behaviour, thereby helping in strengthening the unity of the Party and tightening discipline at all levels.

(3) Build a strong functioning all-India Centre, based on best available talent, collectively helping, guiding and providing effective leadership for the entire party and all mass fronts. Immediate practical steps must be taken by the National Council and the CEC in this direction. Actual implementation of the steps decided upon must be checked up in the next National Council meeting.

(4) Take immediate steps to further strengthen the trade unions and evolve correct mass line and take organisational steps to rebuild a powerful AIKS, strong agricultural labour organisations and powerful women and students movements. Within a year, i.e., by May Day 1959, membership of the AIKS be raised to 20 lakhs.

(5) Effect radical changes in the style of work so that for every job, there are comrades, and for every comrade there is a job; so that it becomes possible that no comrade should be given more responsibility than what he can effectively discharge and so that experienced cadres can be and are actually spared for work in new areas."

- Punjab Delegates.

10th April 1958

5.15 pm.

Con: Prog:

→ Crisis of leadership.

- Reasons: - (i) Meeting in which this Party Project was conducted.
- (ii) Assimilation of the experience in various states - at central - and org collection of leaders though it is also necessary.
- (iii) Shunning of responsibility.
- (iv) Branch of discipline
- (v) Broken standards

Bani, ... - clear composition of our party - widespread recruitment - training

Key Notes - (1) Active discipline + rigid individualism

(2) Example to be set up for others

- Stealing the Party
- A discipline to be made
- Various kinds (inward) and this - one which is dominant which is to be fought.
- Mass infiltration and class of opportunism.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(As Adopted by the Central Committee in its Session from 6th to 11th February, 1958.)

PREAMBLE

THE Communist Party ^{of India} is the political party of the Indian working class, its highest class organisation. It is a voluntary organisation of workers, peasants and of toiling people in general, devoted to the cause of Socialism. ^{Communism}

The Communist Party of India arose in the course of our liberation struggle as a result of the efforts of Indian revolutionaries who under the inspiration of the Great October Revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence. It was one of the first organised forces to put before our people the aim of complete independence from British imperialism. It was the first party to raise the banner of Socialism in our country. It tirelessly strove to make our emancipation struggle all-embracing by giving it a correct social and economic programme. For consistent championing of the cause of Indian freedom, for leading the innumerable battles of the workers and peasants against exploitation, for carrying the message of Socialism to the working class and the people, the founders and members of the Party had to undergo long terms of imprisonment. Many had to lay down their lives for daring to serve the people. By its courage and self-sacrificing spirit, the Party attracted to its banner the best sons of the working class and the peasantry, steeled in the struggle of the toiling millions, and the best elements from the intelligentsia.

Steadfastly serving the masses, courageously championing the cause of Socialism, freedom and independence, the Party has grown to its present strength.

The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people, the establishment of

Ambedkar No. 3 accepted

People's Democracy led by the working class and the realisation of Socialism and Communism.

5 In furtherance of these aims and taking into account the immediate tasks confronting our people, the Communist Party of India strives to unite and lead all patriotic and democratic forces in the country in the struggle for defence and consolidation of national freedom, strengthening of national economy, all-sided expansion of democracy and liquidation of feudal survivals and the evil heritage of foreign rule in the economic, cultural and social spheres.

The Communist Party of India defends the vital interests of the masses, fights for steady improvement in their living conditions and struggles against social and economic inequalities. It fights against all obscurantist conceptions and practices such as communalism, caste, untouchability and the denial of equal rights to women.

The Communist Party of India is pledged to defend the unity and solidarity of India and its people forged in the fire of our freedom struggle. Fighting against all disruptionist trends and movements, the Communist Party struggles for equality and equal treatment for the peoples of all linguistic regions as a sure foundation of Indian unity.

The Communist Party of India fights for peace and peaceful cooperation between all States on the basis of full freedom and equality of all peoples and nations.

In the struggle for its immediate, as well as ultimate objectives, the Communist Party of India is guided by the philosophy and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show the toiling masses the correct way to put an end to domination of class by class and the establishment of a Socialist society. It combats tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in all their manifestations.

Del. L the application

by applying integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation, with the experience of India's history, with the traditions of the Indian people, with India's national peculiarities. It formulates its policies and determines its line of action in accordance with the interests and needs of the people and is responsible to them for its decisions.

take up with account Indian history, bring the peculiarities and traditions of the people.

11 Working out its policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, the Communist Party draws on the rich experience of the International Working Class Movement extending over more than a hundred years, on the experience of the Soviet Union, China and all countries of People's Democracy, as well as of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. It bases itself on the principle of proletarian internationalism and stands for fraternal relations and cooperation among the workers and peoples of the world, for the unity of the organised Communist movement, in the common struggle for peace and against war, for the liberation of subject peoples from the yoke of imperialism, for establishment of democracy and Socialism all over the world. The Party believes that cooperation and common understanding between the workers and peoples of Socialist and non-Socialist countries have a vital role to play in achieving the common aim.

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

In cooperation with all forces working for Socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a Socialist society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and association, including the right of political organisation. Socialism alone, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, can create conditions for the full flowering of human personality.

For discharging its ^{200.} political and mass responsibilities effectively and for leading the movement of the people, the Communist Party organises itself in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. The principle of democratic centralism builds the Party as a unified disciplined and militant organisation capable of moving its membership into action in any situation.

16 The correct observance of democratic methods and practice, the initiation and encouragement of organised discussion in the Party on current and important questions, the ascertainment of the freely expressed opinions of Party Members, is a vital responsibility of the leading organs of the Party.

Proper practice of democracy in the Party strengthens centralism which is essential in order that the Party may conduct the people's movement in a vigorous and unified manner.

The strength of the Communist Party lies in its ideological purity and homogeneity, in its firm links with the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections of the people, in its unity of will and action. It is the paramount duty of every member of the Communist Party to strengthen this unity continuously and at all times and on all occasions.

The Communist Party of India enjoins on all its members to place the interests of the Party above their personal interests, observe strict discipline and loyally serve the great people of our land. They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, establish People's Democracy and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous Socialist India.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

ARTICLE II

Emblem

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white: "Communist Party of India."

ARTICLE III

Flag

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

1. Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party Membership Fees and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

2. New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party Branch on the recommendation of two Party Members. Party Committees at District, Provincial and Central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party Members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility.

3. The General Body meeting of the Party Branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a Candidate Member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission.

4. If a leading member of another political party, who is of local, district or provincial standing seeks admission to the Party, it will be necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee before such applicant is admitted to the Party.

5. Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party Committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee.

6. Candidate Members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

7. The Party Branch or the Party Committee admitting Candidate Members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, Constitution and the current policies of the Party and observe their development.

8. By the end of the period of candidature, the Party Branch

or Party Committee concerned shall discuss whether the Candidate Member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party Branch or the Committee concerned may admit Candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a Candidate Member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee may cancel his or her candidate membership. A report of recruitment of Candidates and of admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the Branch or the Party Committee concerned to the next higher Party Committee.

9. The higher committee may, on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the Branch or the Party Committee which has submitted the report. The District and Provincial Committee will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of Candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

10. A Party Member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the District or Province, approval by the District or the Provincial Committee concerned shall be necessary.

ARTICLE V

Party Pledge

All Candidates as well as full Party Members shall sign the Party Pledge. This Pledge shall be:

“I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party.

“I shall strive to live up to the ideals of Communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests.”

ARTICLE VI

Party Membership Cards

1. On admission to full membership, every Party Member shall be issued a Party Membership Card.
2. Party Cards shall be uniform through the country and shall be issued by the Provincial Committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Renewal of Membership Card

1. There shall be an annual renewal of Party Membership Cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the Party Member belongs. No Party Card shall be renewed in the case of any Party Member who, for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party Membership Fees.
2. A report on such renewal of Party Cards by a Branch or a Party Committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.

ARTICLE VIII

Resignation from Party Membership

1. A Party Member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party Branch concerned, which by a decision of its General Body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.
2. The Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party Member to revoke his or her wish to resign.
3. In the case where a Party Member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion

and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

4. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsions shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party Committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

ARTICLE IX

Membership Fees

All Party Members, full as well as Candidates, shall pay a Party Membership Fee of one rupee per year. This annual Party Fee shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party Card. (The Party Member's Fees may, if the Provincial Executive Committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments).

ARTICLE X

Distribution of Party Fees

Party Fees collected from Party Members by Party Branches or Units shall be distributed as follows:

- Ten per cent for the National Council;
- Forty per cent for the State or Provincial Council; and
- The remaining fifty per cent shall be divided among the District Council, the Party Branch and the Local Committee where it exists, in such proportions as decided by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

ARTICLE XI

Party Levy

The State or Provincial Executive Committees and the Central Executive Committee may fix levies on the Party Members in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the National Council.

ARTICLE XII

Duties of Party Members

1. The duties of the Party Members are as follows:
 - (a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organ-

isation to which they belong and to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party;

- (b) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding;
- (c) To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications;
- (d) To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism;
- (e) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests;
- (f) To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party;
- (g) To cultivate comradesly relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party;
- (h) To practise criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work;
- (i) To be frank, honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party;
- (j) To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the country;
- (k) To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions of the Indian people and their rich cultural heritage.

2. It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party Members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

ARTICLE XIII

Rights of Party Members

1. Rights of the Party Members are as follows:

- (a) To elect Party organs and Party Committees and be elected to them;

- (b) To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;
- (c) To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life;
- (d) To make criticisms about Party Committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;
- (e) To demand to be heard in person when a Party Committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party Member or evaluates the personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed;
- (f) When any Party Member disagrees with any decision of a Party Committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee, including and up to the National Council and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party Member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions;
- (g) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the National Council and the Party Congress.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

ARTICLE XIV

Principles of Democratic Centralism

1. The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) All leading organisations of the Party Committees from top to bottom shall be elected;

- (b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority; the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs or committees; the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the National Council;
- (c) All Party Committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisation immediately below and all lower Committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees;
- (d) All Party Committees, particularly the leading Party Committees shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank-and-file Party Members;
- (e) All Party Committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility;
- (f) All questions of an all-India character, or questions concerning more than one State or questions requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a State, Provincial or District character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisations. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major Provincial importance, it shall do so after consultation with the Provincial Party organisation concerned. The State or Provincial organisation shall do likewise in relation to Districts;
- (g) On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the Central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the Central leadership.

2. In the sphere of the internal life of the Party, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) Free and frank discussion within the Party Unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work;
- (b) Sustained efforts to activate the Party Members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party;
- (c) When serious differences arise in a Party Committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement;
- (d) Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below;
- (e) Impermissibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form;
- (f) Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of service to the Party.

ARTICLE XV

All-India Party Congress

- I. The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the All-India Party Congress.
 - (a) The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the National Council ordinarily once every two years.
 - (b) An Extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State or Provincial Party organisations representing not less than one-third of the total Party membership.
 - (c) The dates and venue of the Party Congress or of the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

- (d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the State or Provincial Conferences as well as by Conferences of Party Units directly under the all-India Party Centre.
- (e) The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
- (f) The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
- (g) The members of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary. Other members of the National Council shall be entitled to attend the Party Congress as delegates without vote unless elected.
- (h) The number of membership from any State or Province for which the Membership Fees' quota to the National Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from that State or Province at the Party Congress.

2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the National Council;
- (b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;
- (c) To determine the tactical line and the policy of the Party on the current situation;
- (d) To elect the All-India National Council by secret ballot;
- (e) To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals;
- (f) To hear and decide on the report of the Audit Commission;
- (g) To elect the Central Control Commission.

3. The Congress shall elect a Presidium and a Steering Committee for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XVI

National Council

The National Council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 101 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress.

- (a) The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates.
- (b) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all States, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity.
- (c) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names.
- (d) Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.
- (e) The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.

ARTICLE XVII

Right and Responsibilities of the National Council

1. The National Council shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congress.
2. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.
3. The National Council shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The National Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.
4. The National Council shall elect from amongst its members a Central Executive Committee of not more than 25, to carry

on the work of the National Council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the Central Executive Committee the General Secretary and Secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of six to eight to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The National Council elects an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of the Central Party finances and report on the same to the National Council and the Party Congress.

6. The National Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the the Central Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

7. The National Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Central Control Commission.

8. The National Council shall meet at least once every six months or whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.

9. The National Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the Central Executive Committee. The National Council may decide to take up any other proposal or question.

ARTICLE XVIII

Central Executive Committee

1. The Central Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Party during the period between two sessions of the National Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the National Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movements and shall guide the Provincial Committees. It shall submit a report on its work and discussions to the next meeting of the National Council.

2. Carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

(a) To convenue regular sessions of the National Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;

- (b) Guidance and assistance to the Provincial Committees;
- (c) Party press and Party publications;
- (d) Direction of work of the Communist group in Parliament;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in all-India mass organisations (or mass fronts);
- (f) Party education;
- (g) Party finance;
- (h) Relations with fraternal Parties.

3. The Central Executive Committee shall meet at least once every two months.

4. The functions of the General Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Party Centre and shall function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. No member of the Secretariat shall belong to any Provincial or District Party organ. To handle the work of the Party Centre, the Central Executive shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XIX

State or Provincial Party Organs

1. The highest organ in the State or Province shall be the State or Provincial Conference. In the present bilingual State of Bombay, however, the highest organ in Maharashtra shall be the Maharashtra Provincial Conference and in Gujarat the Gujarat Provincial Conference. In the Centrally-administered areas where the Party organisations are of the same Party status as that of a State or Provincial organisation, the highest organ shall be their respective Provincial Conferences.

2. The regular State or Provincial Conference shall be convened by the State or Provincial Council once every two years.

3. An Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be called by the State or Provincial Council at its own discretion,

or when this is demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the Party Membership.

4. A regular State or Provincial Conference shall be composed of delegates elected by District Conferences and by the Conference of Party Units, if any, directly under the Provincial Centre.

5. The basis of representation at State or Provincial Conferences shall be determined by the State or Provincial Council.

6. The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be decided by the State or Provincial Council.

7. Members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee and of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the State or Provincial Conference, whether regular or extraordinary. Members of the State or Provincial Council shall attend the State or Provincial Conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any District for which the Party Membership Fees quota to the State or Provincial Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the District at the State or Provincial Conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular State or Provincial Conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the State or Provincial Council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the State or the Province, in accordance with policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council and to suggest changes in the all-India policies and the general line of the Party;
- (c) To elect delegates to the all-India Party Congress;
- (d) To elect the State or Provincial Council;
- (e) To elect the State or Provincial Control Commission;
- (f) The State or Provincial Conference shall elect a Presidium and a Steering Committee for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XX

The State or Provincial Council

1. The State or Provincial Council which shall be elected by the Party Conference shall consist of not more than 101 members. The exact number shall be determined by the Conference.
2. The outgoing Provincial Council shall propose a panel of candidates.
3. The list of candidates shall be prepared with a view to constitute a leadership to meet the needs of the growing mass movement and Party activity in the State or Province or the Centrally-administered area but bearing in mind the general considerations under Section (b) in Article XVI.
4. The election of the State or Provincial Council at the Conference shall be governed by the same rules and principles as laid down in Sections (c) to (e) in Article XVI
5. The State or Provincial Council shall be the highest authority of the State or Provincial Party organisation between two Party Conferences.
6. The State or Provincial Council shall represent the State or the Provincial Party organisation as a whole and shall be responsible for directing its work between two conferences. The Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on questions of State or Provincial nature but in conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council.
7. The State or Provincial Council shall elect a State or Provincial Executive Committee of not more than 25 from among its members to carry on the work of the State or Provincial council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee a Secretariat of seven or nine including the Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee.
8. The State or Provincial Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in or remove any member from the State or Provincial Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

9. The State or Provincial Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Provincial Control Commission.

10. The State or Provincial Council shall meet at least once in four months or earlier if one-third of its members make a requisition.

11. The State or Provincial Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational reports and other matters placed before it by the State or Provincial Committee. The Council may take up any other matter.

12. The State or Provincial Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of Provincial Party finances and to report on the same to the State or Provincial Council and Conference.

ARTICLE XXI

State or Provincial Executive Committee

1. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall direct the work of the State or Provincial Party organs during the period between two sessions of the State or Provincial Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and the directives of the State or provincial Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movement and shall guide the District Committees and shall report on the same to the Provincial Council.

2. To carry out these responsibilities on behalf of the State or Provincial Council, the State or Provincial Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

- (a) To convene regular meetings of the State or Provincial Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
- (b) Guidance and assistance to the District Committees;
- (c) State or Provincial Party press and Party publications;
- (d) Direction of the work of the members of the State legislature, regional councils, municipalities and other local bodies;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in the mass organisations;

- (f) Party education;
 - (g) Party finance.
3. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall normally meet once every two months.
 4. The functions of the Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under the various heads on behalf of the State or the Provincial Executive Committee; all members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the State or Provincial Party Centre and shall function collectively with specific responsibility assigned to each of them. To handle the work of the State or the Provincial Party Centre, the State or the Provincial Executive Committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.
 5. Some State and Provincial organisations may be exempted by the National Council from forming State or Provincial Councils. In such cases, the State or Provincial Conferences shall elect State or Provincial Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences. The State or Provincial Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work.

ARTICLE XXII

District Party Organs

1. The highest organ in a District shall be the District Party Conference.
2. A District Party Conference shall be convened by the District Council once every two years.
3. An Extraordinary District Conference shall be called by the District Council at its own discretion, or when demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the total membership, subject to the approval of the State or Provincial Executive Committee.
4. A regular District Party Conference shall be composed of

delegates elected by Branch Conferences or by Conferences of the local intermediary units where such units exist.

5. The basis of representation at the District Conference shall be determined by the District Council.

6. The basis or representation and method of electing delegates to the Extraordinary District Conference shall be decided by the District Council.

7. Members of the District Executive Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the District Conference, both regular as well as extraordinary. Members of the District Council shall attend the Conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any Branch or local organisation for which the Party Membership Fees quota to the District Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the Branch or the local unit for the District Conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular District Conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the report of the District Council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the District in conformity with the decisions of the higher Party organs;
- (c) To elect a District Council.

10. The District Council shall be elected by the District Conference. The exact number of members shall be decided by the District Conference.

11. The election to the District Council shall be governed by the same rules as laid down in Sections (c) to (f) of Article XVI.

ARTICLE XXIII

District Council

1. The District Council shall be the highest authority in the District between two District Conferences.

2. The District Council shall represent the District organisation as a whole and direct the entire work of the Party between two District Conferences.
3. The Council shall have the full right to take decisions concerning the work of the District Party organisation but in conformity with the line of the Party and decisions of the higher Party organs.
4. The District Council shall elect a District Executive Committee from among its members, to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the District Council. The number of the District Executive Committee is decided by the District Council. It also elects from among the members of the Executive Committee a Secretariat including a Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee.
5. The District Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the District Executive Committee and to reconstitute the same.
6. The District Council shall meet as frequently as the Council may decide.
7. The District Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the District Executive Committee. The Council may take up any other matter.
8. The District Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of District Party finances and to report on the same to the District Council and Conference.

ARTICLE XXIV

The District Executive Committee

1. The District Executive Committee shall direct the work of the District Party organisation during the period between the two sessions of the District Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the District Council and higher Party organs.
2. It shall decide on political and organisational questions affecting its work within the District and shall guide the lower

committees. The responsibilities of the District Executive Committee shall be discharged in conformity with the decisions of the District Council and higher Party organs.

3. The responsibilities of the District Committee shall include:
 - (a) To convene regular meetings of the District Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
 - (b) To check up the work of the lower units;
 - (c) Guidance and practical assistance to the mass organisations;
 - (d) Circulation of Party journals and Party literature;
 - (e) Direction of Party members' work in the municipalities and local bodies;
 - (f) District finance;
 - (g) Organisation of District Party schools and Party education.
4. The District Secretariat shall be responsible for looking after the work of the District Centre.
5. If any State or Provincial Council or in its absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee so decides, any District organisation may be exempted from forming the District Council. In all such cases the District Conferences shall elect District Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences. The District Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work.

ARTICLE XXV

Intermediate Party Organs

1. Between the Branch and District Committee, there may be formed an intermediary local Party organ such as Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town Committee when the State or Provincial Council so decides.
2. The highest organ of such a local unit or local organ shall be the Local Conference consisting of the delegates elected by the Conferences of the Branches in the area. The members of the Local Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Conference.
3. The Conference of the local Units, in the Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town shall elect a Local Committee and dele-

gates to the District Conference. It shall elect a Taluka, Sub-Division. Tehsil or Town Council if the Provincial Executive Committee so decides.

4. The Local Committee will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the area concerned and for the coordination of the work of the Party Branches directly under it.
5. The Local Committee shall elect its own Secretary, and subject to the decision of the State or Provincial Executive Committee, a Secretariat;
6. The Local Committee will report on its work to the District Executive Committee once every month.
7. The Local Committee will meet at least once a month.
8. The Local Committee shall work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and shall help the District Executive Committee in maintaining close contact with Party Branches.

ARTICLE XXVI

Primary Unit

1. The primary unit of the Party shall be the Party Branch.
2. The highest organ of the primary unit shall be the General Body meeting of the Party Branch.
3. The Party Branch shall be responsible for maintaining direct day-to-day contact with the masses and for organising Party activity in its sphere.
4. The Party Branch shall discuss all questions regarding its work and mass activity and take necessary practical decisions.
5. The membership of a Branch may be divided into Groups of convenient size. Each Group shall have its own convenor.
6. The function of the Group shall be to distribute and check up the work of individuals. Where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the Branch, preliminary discussions may be organised in the Groups.
7. The Party Branch is organised on the basis of the village, panchayat, municipal ward, street, mohalla, industry, individual

factory, occupation and institutions. The maximum membership of the Branch shall be fixed by the State or Provincial Executive Committee.

8. Functions of the Branch are:

- (a) To carry out the directions of the higher committee;
- (b) To win masses in its locality or sphere of activity for the political and organisational decisions of the Party;
- (c) To build up and participate in mass organisations in its locality or sphere of activity.
- (d) Sale of Party journals and publications;
- (e) Collection of Party Membership Fees and Party finances;
- (f) To draw in sympathisers and militants into the Party and educate them and to help illiterate Party Members to become literate;
- (g) To help higher committees in day-to-day organisational and agitational work.

9. The Branch at a General Body meeting shall elect a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary to conduct its current work and, where membership of the Branch exceeds 25 persons, it shall elect a Branch Committee including its Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

10. The General Body of the Branch shall meet at least once a month at which the Branch Committee or the Branch Secretary shall submit a report of the work done and its proposals.

11. The General Body of the Branch shall elect delegates to the Party Conference of the Party organ immediately above.

12. The Secretary of the Branch Committee shall submit to the next higher Committee and to the District Committee every two months a report on the new Candidate and full Members enrolled by it.

13. Where necessary a Party Member, besides being a member of a Branch in his own place of work or residence may also be attached as an associate member to the unit of his place of residence or work as the case may be, without the right to vote.

ARTICLE XXVII

Central Control Commission

1. There shall be a Central Control Commission elected by the Party Congress. The number of members of the Central Control Commission shall be determined by the Party Congress.
2. The National Council shall propose names for election to the Central Control Commission. In proposing the names for nomination, the Party standing of the candidate, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account.
3. The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the National Council.
4. The Central Control Commission shall elect its own Chairman who shall, by right, attend the meeting of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Central Control Commission shall by right attend the meetings of the National Council.
5. The Central Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat;
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State or Provincial Executive Committee or the State or Provincial Council;
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned;
 - (d) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the State or Provincial Control Commission and rejected.
6. The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ~~ordinarily~~ final. The Central Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, who shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision.
Subject to the approval of the Party Congress
7. In all cases there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII

Provincial Control Commissions

1. There shall be a State or Provincial Control Commission elected by the State or Provincial Conference. The number of members for the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be decided by the Provincial Conference.
2. The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central Control Commission.
3. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall elect its Chairman who shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Executive Committee. All members of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Council.
4. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee or its Secretariat.
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken up by the District Committee or the District Council.
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned.
5. The decisions of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The State or Provincial Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of the decision of the State or Provincial Control Commission and shall refer it immediately to the Central Control Commission or to the State or Provincial Council.

ARTICLE XXIX

Party Discipline

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggles and actions, discharge its responsibility towards them.

2. Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the Programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3. Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions.

4. The disciplinary actions are:

- (a) Warning;
- (b) Censure;
- (c) Public censure;
- (d) Removal from the post held in the Party;
- (e) Suspension from full Party membership for any period but not exceeding one year;
- (f) Removal from the Party rolls;
- (g) Expulsion.

5. Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods, including methods of persuasion, have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure of protect the interests of the Party or its prestige, the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6. Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgement.

7. No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party Member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of suspension or expulsion, the penalised Party Member shall, however, be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

8. The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations, charges and

other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party Unit in which his or her case is discussed.

9. Party members found to be strike-breakers, habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of financial irregularities, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be dealt with by the Party Units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action.

10. There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

11. The State or Provincial Council or in their absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee has the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decisions and policy, serious factionalism, or a breach of Party discipline is involved.

ARTICLE XXX

Party Members in Elected Public Bodies

1. Party Members elected to Parliament, the State Legislature or Administrative Council shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party Committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party, its policies and directives.

2. The Communist legislators shall unswervingly defend the interests of the people. Their work in the Legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party.

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations.

3. The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses, keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice.

4. The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity, lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people.
5. Communist legislators shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party Committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.
6. Party Members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party Committee or Party Branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.
7. All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Nominations of Party candidates to the State Legislatures or the Councils of Centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by State or Provincial Councils, or in their absence by the State or Provincial Executive Committees.

ARTICLE XXXI

Inner-Party Discussions

1. To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2. Inner-Party discussion shall be organised --

- (a) On important questions of all-India or State or Provincial importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the Central or the State or Provincial organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken;
- (b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the National Council or in the State or the Provincial Council;
- (c) When an inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of State or Provincial organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership or at the Provincial level by District organisations representing the same proportion of the total membership of the State or Province concerned.

3. Inner-Party discussion shall be conducted under the guidance of the National or the State or Provincial Council which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party Committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

ARTICLE XXXII

Discussion Preparatory to Party Congresses and Conferences

1. Two months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions, will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee to be assorted and placed before the Party Congress.

2. The meeting of the National Council which circulates documents for the Party Congress will take place after the Provincial Conferences are over.

3. At each level, the Conference shall take place on the basis of reports and resolutions submitted by the respective committees.

ARTICLE XXXIII

Party Members Working in Mass Organisations

1. Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall work in an organised manner under the guidance of the appropriate Party Committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass-basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned.

ARTICLE XXXIV

Bye-laws

The National Council may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it. Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the State or Provincial Councils subject to confirmation by the National Council.

ARTICLE XXXV

Amendment

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress or in cases of emergency by the National Council by its two-thirds majority. In either case the notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress or National Council meets.

**Welcome address of Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjit
on behalf of the reception committee Special Congress
of the Communist Party of India, April 6-13 at Amritsar.**

Dear Comrades, Representatives of our beloved Communist Party

It is my proud privilege today to welcome you all to this historic and heroic City Amritsar for the Special Congress of our Party.

Welcome to the Delegates.

It is a matter of great honour for members of the Communist Party in Punjab, for all citizens of Amritsar, of whole of Punjab, indeed, that we find here in our midst today the best sons and daughters of our great Indian people, the most outstanding representatives of our glorious national and revolutionary movement, hailing from all parts of our vast and beautiful land—from Kerala in the deep South where the people have already chosen the Communist Party to govern their State on their behalf, from far off Tripura, from brave Maharashtra, from revolutionary Bengal and Bombay and from sturdy Andhra.

Leadership of the working class.

We are deeply impressed that the entire leadership of the Indian working-class the vanguard of our people—is gathered here today—from Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Coimbatore and scores of other working class centres—the scenes of bitter and heroic struggles and magnificent victories out of which has emerged the class conscious and revolutionary leadership of the working class present here today. We also see today the true and courageous representatives of our militant peasantry, of the middle classes and the enlightened intelligentsia.

May I say that it is through you whom we welcome today that we see with a new and deeper awareness the strength and power of our Communist Party and get fresher inspiration and vigour.

Respects to founders of our Party.

I cannot but pay my humble respects to our veteran revolutionaries—Com. Muzaffar Ahmed, S.V. Ghate and S.A. Dange, the founders of our Party who have taken the trouble to come here to participate in the deliberations of this Congress of our Party and witness the growth of that they founded as a tiny group way back in 1926 into the mighty Party of today.

Welcome to Com. Namboodripad and Mirajkar.

It is with a proud sense of common achievement and as a tribute to our comrades in Kerala that I specially welcome to our Congress Com. E.M.S. Namboodripad, the first Communist Chief Minister in our country, under whose universally acclaimed leadership the first Communist Government during the short period of one year in office, has already given a new direction and strength to the Indian people in their struggle for democracy and socialism in our country. I am also very happy to welcome Com. S. S. Mirajkar, the newly elected Communist Mayor of Bombay the second biggest City and the oldest and most glorious centre of class conscious working class of India.

Fraternal delegates.

I am deeply moved with feelings of gratitude to see here in our midst Comrade Jacques Kahn of the heroic French Communist Party, the first Party of French people and leader of French working class, who has come as a fraternal delegate to our Congress. May I emphasise that his presence adds greatly to our consciousness of proletarian internationalism. I extend our heartiest welcome to him and send our fraternal greetings through him to the French Communist Party, the French working class and the people. I also heartily welcome the delegations from our neighbours—the people of Nepal and Ceylon with whom Indian people have such close and friendly ties.

While I welcome you all on behalf of the Punjab Communists and the people of Punjab in all humility and gratitude I should like to say a few words about ourselves and the Punjabi people.

Glorious heritage and traditions of Punjab.

We are inheritors of a glorious heritage. Our people carry with them great revolutionary traditions. We are justly proud of our old heritage and traditions.

It was as far back as in 1885 that Kuka revolts against the alien rule were seen in Punjab. These were among the first peasant mass actions against imperialism in our country.

Again in 1905-7 during colonisation of vast waste lands our peasants fought for their rights and collided with the British rulers. At the head of this peasant movement stood such famous names in our history as S. Ajit Singh, L. Lajpat Rai, Banke Dayal and other.

Ghaddar heroes.

On the eve of the first imperialist World War the Punjabi

peasants who had been forced to migrate to foreign lands in search of livelihood but who had never forgotten their motherland in bondage organised the Ghaddar Party in 1913 and came back to India in hundreds to organise armed revolt against the alien rule. Every Indian recalls with pride the Kama Ghata Maru incident, the self sacrifice and courage of these revolutionaries. It was during this movement that young Kartar Singh Saraba was hanged, many others were shot and hundreds were exiled to the Andamans and sent to far off prisons. Even in exile and in the prisons, the Ghaddar heroes kept high their revolutionary spirit and fought imperialism's brutality. This is known vividly to all revolutionaries of those days, some of whom are present even in this Congress of ours. And among us, we have today Baba Sohan Singh Bhakhna, the founder President of the Ghaddar Party, the veteran revolutionary who is a source of such inspiration to us all.

Jallianwala Bagh.

This episode passed and then came to bloody and brutal massacre of Jallianwala Bagh here in this City where we are meeting today. It was then that the people of Amritsar—Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims—shed their blood in common and laid the glorious traditions of communal unity in freedom and revolutionary struggle of which we are the proud inheritors. It was this which shook the entire people of India, roused their consciousness and heightened the fighting spirit. Even today as we laid wreaths at Martyrs Memorial we recalled vividly those days of imperialist brutality and death defying courage and militancy of our people. It was this which gives the sacred name "Shahidon ki Dharti" to this ancient City.

I must not here miss to pay our respects to Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew who were the leaders of our people during these days of anguish and glory for them. Dr. Kitchlew is now associated in the world Peace movement and has played an important role in it.

Martial Law.

Punjab was one of the foremost storm centres of Khilafat-Akali and Congress movements during the twenties and saw the naked and most brutal repression under the Martial Law. Peasantry in large parts of the country had not yet been drawn into the national movement during this period. But the Punjab peasantry was already taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism under whatever

garb it may have broken out.

When the mass upsurge of twenties began to subside and under the impact of unheard of and widespread recession, Babbar Akali movement arose which took to terroristic methods.

Shahid-i-Azam Bhagat Singh.

This was followed by the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh whose courage and patriotism under the very shadow of hangman's noose inspired youth throughout the country and earned for him from our people the title "Shahid-i-Azam."

During the post-second World War upsurge also Punjabi people took foremost part in the struggle for national independence. Both in the INA and the Navy which rebelled, Punjabi youth was in the forefront.

Such have been the glorious traditions of the Punjabi people in the national movement.

At the same time we have traditions of powerful working class and peasant movements in Punjab.

Working class and peasant movements.

The Punjab was kept industrially backward. The numerical strength of our working class has been very weak. But all the same, prolonged and big working class struggles have taken place in our province. It was in 1907-8 that thousands of workers of the North Western Railway fought a bitter strike action and our small working class learnt the lessons of unity, organisation and struggle. This was among the earliest working class struggles of significance in India. The workers of North Western Railway remained at the very head of working class movement in the Punjab and right upto partition a powerful union existed in our Railways.

The peasant movement began to develop and peasants began to be drawn into the struggle for freedom and their own rights as part of the developing national movement. However, in the thirties itself it began to take shape as an independent and organised movement and kisan organisation began to rapidly develop.

Birth of the Communist Party.

It is natural that the Punjab where the national movement and the working class and peasant movements developed to such an extent, should have been among the first of such areas where Communist movement and Communist Party should have come into being and been developed. So it was.

Great October Socialist Revolution had great impact on Punjab and the revolutionary Punjabi youth began to come under the sway of the ideas of the revolution. In twenties

itself Communist circles began to be formed. Ferozeuddin Mansoor and Abdul Majid, unhappily separated from us by cruel partition were among those who were involved in the first Communist Conspiracy Case of 1921 known as the Peshawar case. In 1925 Red Flag was openly hoisted on May Day for the first time in the country in Amritsar.

Revolutionary Rattan Singh.

It is with justifiable pride that I recall the name of Rattan Singh a great revolutionary of Punjab who attended the Third Congress of Congress of the Communist International as the delegate from India. We are paying our humble tribute to his memory and the memory of all the pioneers of the Communist Party who laid its foundations and suffered and sacrificed for it by naming the venue of our Congress as "Rattan Singh Nagar."

Foundation of "The Kirti".

I cannot but also recall another of the outstanding pioneers-Santokh Singh who founded the well-known revolutionary monthly "Kirti" in the beginning of 1926 which played a big part in attracting our youth to the ideas of Communism and towards first steps in the building of Communist organisation. We are deeply moved when we remember that Shahid-i-Azam Bhagat Singh worked on the staff of this among the first Communist journal in our country as a Sub-Editor. Com. Sohan Singh Josh was the Editor.

When the Workers and Peasants Party, which was the forerunner of Communist Party in our country, was formed early in 1927 Punjab was among the three provinces-apart from Bombay and Bengal-where it took birth and developed.

Meerut Conspiracy Case.

Meerut Conspiracy Case has an important place in the history of Communist movement in India. In this connection, I have once again to proudly take the name of Com. Sohan Singh Josh from our State who was one among the accused and who continues to work to this day with such devotion and diligence in our Party.

Following the Meerut Conspiracy Case, the historic and momentous event took place when Communist Party was organised in our country in 1935. Punjab was among the first provinces where the Party came into being.

Our party in the inheritor of best tradition of our people.

It is a fact of gratification for us and of proud and historic

significance that Communist Party here took shape and developed as the inheritor of the best traditions of all our national and revolutionary movements and struggles. The leaders and workers of all the various movements and struggles, learning through their own experience and getting consciousness from revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism have found their way into the Party. We have within the ranks of the Party Ghaddar heroes, comrades of Bhagat Singh like Pt. Kishori Lal, leaders and workers of Akali and Congress movements and workers and peasants struggles. The cadre of our Party—the most precious of our assets—represents the very best and most militant in the whole of our rich national and revolutionary past.

Lag in our movement.

I am conscious that this short account of our movement cannot but leave deep impression on all those who come to know of it. We are all very proud of it. But I am also very conscious and so is everybody here among us in Punjab that this raises another question as well. It must have arisen in your minds also. The question is as to why then the Communist movement in Punjab today is lagging behind the other advanced centres such as Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal.

The Virus of Communalism.

I do not want to give any explanation of this rather painful reality for us. A large part of the responsibility for this must lie with ourselves. There must be many and complex factors and reasons involved. I only want to point to one which among many others has been and continues to be the major factor retarding the growth of democratic movement in our area and that is communalism.

Baneful influence of Communalism.

From the very earliest times, the national movement in our State developed under various religious garbs, whereas all of these made great positive contributions and are part of our heritage they also left their negative impress on the development of our democratic movement. We on our part, it must be admitted, failed to consistently and vigorously fight against these negative influences. These ideological basis of communal politics thus became deep seated and communalism developed as a poisonous and corroding factor in our national life. Even today as you know it is exercising its baneful influence. On every issue even such unifying issues as the language and demarcation of the boundaries of our

State, it is able to divide our people and create a vicious and dangerous Situation. In this situation, the Congress which so loudly proclaims secularism, not only does not vigorously fight against communalism but actually compromises with and gives concessions to its forces which only encourages them and strengthens them.

Pledge to fight against Communalism.

It is a great misfortune for our people and a matter of deep shame for us. We can only assure you that we are fully conscious of our responsibilities in this regard. We assure you and our people that we are pledged to fight with all our strength and capacity against communalism in all its forms. We are determined to remove all our weaknesses whatever they may be so that we can carry out this most important of our tasks. We are conscious that the democratic and socialist movement can never grow with the same rapid strides which the situation demands and for which countrywide possibilities are so great and promising so long as we are not able to come to grip with this vicious and poisonous weed in our State and remove it from its very roots.

People's hopes lie with our Party.

We are already doing our utmost in this regard. Even during the darkest periods of communal frenzy and when communal leaders are able to infect large sections with the virus of communalism, our Party has stood like a rock for secularism and unity of the peoples and has played magnificent role in frustrating the designs of communal forces. That is why our Party is even now looked upon by the people as the consistent Party of secularism and unity. They look to us to fight for secularism and unity all the more vigorously and powerfully. I need not repeat that we are pledged to do so.

Our State is a border State. We are conscious that the frontiers of our State lie with those of Pakistan, the hot bed of American intrigues against our country and Kashmir which is being made a target of American conspiracies.

Consciousness of our national duty.

Our Party and in fact all our people are fully aware of their responsibilities as inhabitants of the border State and custodians of the frontiers of our country. It is this awareness that has led our people on every occasion of danger to our motherland—when Pak-U. S. Pact was made, when conspiracies are made against Kashmir and Indian security—to forget all their other difference and raise their united voices of

protest against imperialist designs and demonstrate our united determination to defend our national security. I once again pledge before you, Comrades, on behalf of the Punjab Communists and the people of Punjab that nothing will stand in the way of carrying out of our national duty by our motherland.

Allow me, dear comrades, to close now. During the next seven days you will be engaged in serious deliberations of great importance for our people for peace, democracy and socialism. These deliberations will be watched with keen interest by all.

We have tried to do our best to make your stay here comfortable so that you can carry out your deliberations. In the making of these arrangements we had magnificent support from our people, from Amritsar working class and peasantry. Over Rs. 50,000 have been collected, out of which Rs. 5,000 have been contributed by workers of Amritsar City and Rs. 25,000 by the rural areas of Amritsar. I must also acknowledge the help and cooperation extended to us by the Amritsar Municipal Committee, various departments of Government and Public organisations. This greatly facilitated our work and I thank them for it. I must finally thank the volunteers from Amritsar and outside who put so much hard work with such devotion, zeal, sense of duty and responsibility. But for them, all these arrangements would have been impossible.

I am conscious that many must be the weaknesses and shortcomings in these arrangements, that we have made. But we are sure that you, in your large-heartedness will excuse us. It is with the traditional hospitality characteristic of our people and moved by affection, love and respect for you that we took upon ourselves the onerous duties of being hosts to this Congress. You will, I am certain, look to these feelings that move us so deeply and ignore all or any defects that may actually be there in our poor arrangements.

I once again thank you all and welcome you !



ARTICLE XX

1. Para 7, line 5 - Add "The Chairman and" after the words "Secretariat of seven or nine including".

S. Shanmugam, Tamilnad

2. Change 'State' or 'Provincial Council' by 'State or Provincial Committee' wherever it appears in this article.

Promode Das Gupta, W. Bengal

3. Section 7 - Change the whole section by the following: "The State or Provincial Committee shall elect a State or Provincial Executive Committee of not more than 21 from among its members to carry on the work of the State or Provincial Committee in between its two sessions. It also elects a Secretariat of five (where there is an Executive) or seven (where there is no executive) including the Secretary to carry on the current work of the State or Provincial Committee and the Executive Committee. The members of the Secretariat shall also be the members of the Executive Committee where it exists. In case where the number of members of the State or Provincial Committee is less than 35, there shall be no Executive Committee."

5 Promode Das Gupta, W. Bengal

4. Section 11 - In 1st sentence change the word "act" by take "decisions". In the same sentence, add the word "executive" before "committee".

5 - Shiva Varma, U.P.

5. Section 10 - substitute the word "six" for the word "four" in this section.

- Kolla Venkaiah, Andhra

6. Clause 7 - After the words "It also elects from among the members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee a secretariat of seven or nine including" add before the words "the Secretary", insert the words "the Chairman."

- Mohan Kumaramangalam (Tamilnad)

7. Clause 6: Add at the end of the para after the words "and the National Council", the following words: "and in that respect shall be the highest authority of the State between two party conferences."

- R. Umanath (Tamilnad)

8. Clause 5: Delete clause 5 beginning from "The State or Provincial Councilbetween two party conferences."

- R. Umanath (Tamilnad)

9. Clause 7: Line 2, after "not more than 25" add "the Secretary".

- M. M. Abdul Khader (Kerala)

10. Delete clauses 2 and 3 and in clause 4, delete the words "in sections (c) to (e)".

- G. Samuel (Tamilnad)

11. Clause 1 - In the second line for '101', substitute ~~1~~ '100'.

- G. Samuel, Tamilnad

.....for clause 7 substitute the

12. For clause 7, substitute the following: "The State or Provincial Council shall elect a State or Provincial Executive Committee of 25 members including the Secretary to carry on the work of the State or Provincial Council between two of its sessions. It shall also elect a secretariat of 7 members including the Secretary to carry on the day to day work of the Executive Committee."

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

13. Clause 12: In line 2 for the words "supervise over the disbursement of" substitute "audit the accounts of".

- G.Samuel, (Tamilnad)

14. Add the following clause: "The State or Provincial Council shall elect a Chairman who shall be the convener of the Council and shall normally preside over its meetings."

- G.Samuel, Tamilnad

15. Clause 7 - sixth line, in place of "seven or nine" put the words "five to nine".

- Biresh Misra (Assam)

16. After clause 12, add the following: "13. The State or Provincial Council shall submit the political and organisational report and the report of its Audit Commission before the State or Provincial Conference whenever it is convened."

- Biresh Misra (Assam)

17. Clause 7 - After the word "Secretary", add the following words: "a President or a Chairman whose function will be to preside over the meetings of the State Council and State Committee."

- K.Muthiah (Tamilnad)

18. Substitute the headline "The State or Provincial Council" by "The State or Provincial Committee." Also in this article substitute the words "Provincial Council" by the words "Provincial Committee".

- Provash Roy, Bengal

19. Para 1 - substitute the figure "101" by the figure "51".

- Provash Roy, Bengal

ARTICLE XXI

1. In Section 7 add after the words " assigned to each of them" in line 7 the following separate sentence- " The members of the State or Provincial Secretariat shall not be members of any other lower Party Committee."
- S. A. Thanga Rajan(Tamilnad)
2. Section 2(d) add - " and also regularly review their work". The election of the office-bearers of the Communist Group in legislatures has to be confirmed by the State Executive Committee.
- Nikhil Chakravarty(PHQ)
3. Section 4-
 - (1) Substitute the words "Provincial Executive Committee" for the word "Secretariat" in line 4 of the Section.
 - (2) Substitute the words "Provincial Executive" for the words Provincial Party Centre" in line 5 of the Section.
- Kolla Venkiah(Andhra)
4. Section 1, in line 6 after the words " and organisational question" the following " in accordance with the policies laid down by State or Provincial Councils." -V. D. Chopra & ors.
(Punjab)
5. Section 1, after the words " on the problems of mass movement" in line 7 ,delete " and" and substitute - " in accordance with these decisions and directives. "
- Mohan Kumar Mangalam & ors.(Tamilnad)
6. Section 4, first line 1, after the words " The functions of" and before the words " the Secretary" insert the words "the Chairman".
- Mohan Kumarmangalam & ors.(Tamilnad)
7. Change "State or Provincial Council" by "State or Provincial Committee" wherever it appears in this article.
- Promode DasGupta(W.Bengal)
8. Section 2(d) delete " ... municipalities and other local bodies." -
Assam Delegation
9. Section 2, after sub-clause (g) add another sub-clause "(g) Relations with fraternal parties of a provincial nature."
S. A. Muruganatham (Tamilnad)
10. Section 4, at the end add - " The Secretariat shall report on its discussions and work to the Executive Committee in between its two meetings." - M. Narasimha Rao & another(Andhra)
11. Section 2, substitute for sub-clause (a) " To prepare reports and resolutions for the State or Provincial Council."
- G. Samuel(Tamilnad)
12. Section 2- add the following sub-clauses -
"(h) Building and development of mass organisations on a Provincial level.
(i) Party Press and publications."
- G. Samuel (Tamilnad)
13. Add new Sections 6 and 7 as follows:
" 6. The State or Provincial Council may constitute from amongst its members zonal committees, where necessary.
" 7. The zonal committee will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the zone concerned and for the coordination of the work of the District Councils directly under it."
- Shiv Kumar Mishra(U.P.)

14. Section 2 (b) after the words "District Committee" add the following:

" by frequent attendance in the District Committee meetings and physical participation in a broad district-wise movement or any extensive campaign or movement of a national character in the District."

Explanation: The expression guidance and assistance will remain formal and dogmatic if it is not followed with specific formulation and explanation.

- Ajit Kumar Ganguli(W.Bengal)

ARTICLE XXII

1. Section 9, clause (b) at the end " To suggest change in the All-India policies and general line of the Party."

- Jolly Kaul(W.Bengal)

in Section 9

2. Add a sub-clause " to examine audit report."

"Members of the Provincial Council and District Council may attend special conferences as delegates with right to vote."

- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)

3. Section 7 be deleted and in its place following be substituted: " Members of the District Council shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the District Conference, both regular as well as extraordinary."

- N. Sankariah(Tamilnad)

4. Section 8 be changed as follows: " Number of delegates from the Branch or local unit for the District Conference should be on the basis of number of fully-paid full members."

Section 9, add sub-section(d) " To elect delegates to the State or Provincial Conference."

Section 11, change 'f' by 'e'.

- Promode DasGupta(W.Bengal)

5. Delete clause 8. - S.A.Muruganantham(Tamilnad)

6. Section 2, change the term " District Council" by the word " District Committee" and everywhere it appears in the Draft Constitution.

- Gopal Basu (W.Bengal)

6. Section 11, delete the words " Section (c) to (f)."

ARTICLE XXIII

1. At the end of Section 6 add "but not less than once in four months."

- S.Mohankumaramangalam & ors.(Tamilnad)

2. Section 4, after the words "District Executive Committee" in line 2, add " a Secretary". - M.M.Abdulkhader(Kerala)

3. Section 8 at the end add another clause as follows:

" 9. The District Council shall place the report of its

activities and organisation along with the report of the District Audit Commission before the District Conference whenever it is convened." - Biresh Mishra (Assam)

4. Clause 8, for the words "supervise over the disbursement of" substitute "audit the accounts of". - G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

5. Add the following Section: "The District Council shall elect a Chairman who shall be its convener and shall normally preside over its meetings." - G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

ARTICLE XXIV

1. Section 3(d) add "also arrange for the despatch of regular reports to Party journals." - Nikhil Chakravarty (PHQ)

2. Section 5 be deleted.

Change "District Council" by "District Committee" wherever it appears in this article.

- Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

3. Section 3, add the following sub-clause - "(h) Party journals, if any." - G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

ARTICLE XXV

1. Sections 1, 3, and 5- in these sections substitute the words "State or Provincial" by the word "District". - Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

2. Change "Council" by "Committee" wherever it appears in this article.

In Section 3 - delete the last sentence "It shall elect.... so decides." - Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

and 4

3. In Section 3, line 2, after the word "Tehsil" add another word "Thana" - Saroj Mukherjee (W.Bengal)

4. Section 5- instead of "State or Provincial Executive" put "District". - Mohan Singh & others (Punjab)

5. Section 1- instead of "an" write "one or two";
(b) instead of "organ" write "organs";
(c) after "taluka" and before "sub-division", write "area";
(d) Instead of "when the State or Provincial Council so decides" write "when the District Council so decides."

- Consequent changes to be made in other sections.

- Chopra & others (Punjab)

6. Instead of "Provincial Executive Committee" in Section 4, write "District Executive Committee."

- Satpal Dang & others (Punjab)

7. Section 1, at the end of para add the following sentence "Under very special circumstances one more intermediary committee may also be formed as extraordinary cases with special sanction of the State or Provincial Committee"
Gopal Basu (West Bengal)

8. Section 1, line 1, substitute the word " may" by the word "shall".
- Provash Roy(Bengal)

9. Sections (new) 9, 10 and 11 be added at the end.as follows:

(9) The District Council or local committee may constitute from amongst its members more intermediary committees to work as sub-committees of the constituting committee.

(10) The task of such intermediary committees will be to coordinate the work of committees directly under them.

(11) No such sub-committees will be constituted without the previous sanction of the State Executive."

- Shiv Kumar Mishra & others
(U.P.)

ARTICLE XXVI...

 ARTICLE XXVI

1. Clause 8, add a new section - "To help individual Party members in taking up self-education".
 - Nikhil Chakravarty (PHQ)
2. Between Section (b) and (c) insert a new section to read as follows: "To pay constant heed to the sentiments and demands of the masses and report them to higher Party organisations. To organise to study Marxism-Leninism. To promote criticism and self-criticism and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes."
 -Niranjan Sen & others (W.Bengal)
3. After Article XXVI a new article should be incorporated dealing with the formation and structure of Young Communist League through out the country.
 - Hiren Das Gupta, Narayan Choubey (W. Bengal)
4. Insert a new para after para 13 as follows: "The Central Committee and the Provincial Committees will organize cells as lowest units wherever necessary".
 - Narayan Chobey, Hiren Das Gupta (W.Bengal)
5. One new para should be added as follows: "Though ordinarily the Party Branch shall be the primary unit of the Party, the Central Committee or the Provincial Committees may form cells as primary unit where necessary".
 - Narayan Choubey (W.Bengal)
6. Section 5: Change 'convenor' by 'leader'.
 Section 8: Change the sub-section (e) by the following:-
 "(e) to collect membership dues from the Party members and candidate members and Party finances regularly."
 Section 13: Delete 'where necessary'.
 - Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)
7. Clause 13: For the words "without the right to vote", substitute, "and when the same question is to be decided in both the branches, he shall have no vote in the Branch where he is an associate member".
 - G.Samuel (Tamilnad)
8. Clause 7: Delete clause 7 and substitute: "The Party Branch shall be organised on the basis of the village, panchayat, municipal ward, street or mohalla. Branches on the basis of factory, occupation or institutions may be organised wherever necessary but only with the sanction of the next higher committee."
 - Mohan Kumaramangalam, R.Umanath, K.M.Hari Bhatt, A.N.Govindarajan (Tamilnad)
9. Clause 7: Add "generally" after the words "is organised" and add "and wherever necessary on the basis of" after the word "mohalla".
 - N.Sankaraiah (Tamilnad)
10. Section 8: In the functions of the Branch the first function should be: "To study principles of Marxism-Leninism, raise ideological standard of all members, apply Marxism-Leninism on every-day life and activities; To propagate Party Programme, policies of the Party and also our ideology among the masses, and raise the level of the masses through various kinds of activities, viz. Mass organisations, cultural and educational activities day-to-day mass contact, etc."
 - M.A.Potkar (Rajasthan)
11. Section 5: Change the word "convenor" by the word "leader and a deputy leader".
 - Gopal Basu (W.Bengal)
12. Section 13: Delete the words "where necessary".
 - Gopal Basu (W.Bengal)

13. Insert a new para in this Article as follows: "Where necessary the primary Party units shall be organised into cells by the appropriate Party Committee".

- Narayan Choubey (W.Bengal)

ARTICLE XXVII

1. Add to Article XXVII, clause 5: "(e) 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".

- Nikhil & others (P.H.Q.)

2. Replace Clause 6 by the following: "The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be final subject to appeal to the Party Congress".

Clause 7 may consequentially be deleted.

Amend clauses to Provincial Control Commissions to bring them in line with the amendments to the clauses relating to the Central Control Commission.

- Nikhil Chakravarty & others (PHQ)

3. Clause 5, after (d) add "(e) The Central Control Commission may also investigate any reported breach of the Constitution even though no action has been taken by the State or Provincial Committee and no appeal has been made to the Control Commission".

- Hajrah Begum.

4. Change 'council' by 'committee' wherever it appears in this article.

Section 2. Rewrite the first sentence by the following:- "The Central Committee shall propose the names of the Central Control Commission for election to the Party Congress."

-Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)

5. Add the following:- "and no member of the Central Secretariat shall be a member of the Central Control Commission".

- Srinibas Misra (Orissa)

6. Section 1: Substitute the words "elected by the Party Congress" with the words "elected by the National Council".

- Babu Khan, Gur Prasad, Harish Tiwary (U.P.)

7. Section 2: delete the word "personal integrity".

- M.Narasimha Rao, Vanka Satyanarayana (Andhra)

8. Section 5 (c) - Add after the words "Comrade concerned", the following words:- "after exhausting the ways open to him to appeal to the other leading organs of the Party upto and including the Provincial Control Commission".

- N.Sankaraiah (Tamilnad)

ARTICLE XXVIII

1. Change 'council' by 'committee' wherever it appears in this article.

- Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)

2. Section 1: Add the following: "and no member of the Provincial Secretariat shall be a member of the Provincial Control Commission."

- Srinibas Misra (Orissa)

...../.....

3. Clause 2: After the word "proposing" add the words "and electing".
- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

4. Section 4 -(c) - Add after the words "comrade concerned", the following:- "after exhausting the ways open to him to appeal to the other leading organs of the Party upto and including the District Committee",

-N.Sankariah (Tamilnad)

5. After Article XXVII, add the following new Article XXVIII and renumber the other articles accordingly:

"Article XXVIII - Central Audit Commission

i) There shall be a Central Audit Commission elected by the Party Congress whose number will be determined by the Party Congress.

ii) The method of election of the Audit Commission will be the same as for Central Control Commission.

iii) The Central Audit Commission shall elect its own Chairman who shall by right attend the meetings of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Central Audit Commission shall by right attend the meetings of the National Council.

iv) 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.

v) The Central Audit Commission will also prepare an audit statements of accounts of the Party Centre for the period following the previous Party Congress and upto 3 months preceeding the date of the Party Congress and place it before every Party Congress for discussion and adoption.

vi) It shall be the duty of the Secretariat and the Central Executive Committee to place or cause to be placed before the Commission all relevent facts about the financial transactions for the scrutiny by the Commission and explains to the full satisfaction of the Commission all cases of improper or 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.

(Similar provisions may be made for Provincial Audit Commissions also).

- K.P.S.Menon & others (P.H.Q.)

6. After Article XXVIII add another article entitled "District Control Commissions" consisting of the following sections:

i) In districts where the membership exceeds one thousand there shall be a District Control Commission elected by the District Conference. The number of members for the district Control Commission shall be decided by the District Conference.

ii) The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central or Provincial Control Commissions except that Party members of five-years standing shall be eligible for election as members of the District Control Commission.

Section 3: "The rules of functioning of the Provincial Control Commission shall apply mutatis mutandis to the District Control Commission".

- Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

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ARTICLE XXIX

1. sub-clause 11 - a provision should be there for taking disciplinary action against a provincial committee too if such an occasion arises.
- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)
2. clause 11 - Add the following clause; after clause No.11: "12. The Committee against whom disciplinary action is proposed to be taken or which is proposed to be dissolved shall be fully informed of the allegation, charges and other relevant facts against it. It shall have the right to submit a reply to these allegations and the same shall be considered before this matter is decided."
- Satyapal Dang, V.D.Chopra (Punjab)
3. Change 'Council' by 'Committee' wherever it appears in this article.
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
4. Section 7 - Change the first sentence by the following: "Disciplinary measures, involving expulsion or suspension of a Party member taken by any Party unit other than State or Provincial Committee, shall come into effect after the confirmation by the next higher Committee."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
5. Change the heading. It should be "Appreciation and Party Discipline".
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
6. Add the following para before sec.1 of this article: "Any Party member or Party organisation may receive appreciation for displaying unlimited loyalty to the interest of the people in practical activities, for being a model in the question of fidelity to Party discipline and the discipline of mass organisations, for showing exceptional initiative in implementing the policies and programme of the Party and the decisions of the higher Party organisation."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
7. Section 7 - ChangeHigher Committee.
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
8. Insert a new section between Section 9 and 10: "If any charges are made against the members of higher committees, by any comrade of lower committee or the Committee itself, that should be paid immediate attention; necessary action should be taken and informed to the comrade or committee concerned."
- Ram Sumar Yadav (Uttar Pradesh)
9. Clause 4 - Delete sub-clause (f)
- G.Samucl (Tamilnad)
10. Section 8 - Add the following sentence at the end of Section 8: "Disciplinary action against a comrade, who is member of more than one committee, can be taken by the higher committee of which he is a member."
- Ram Sumar Yadav (Uttar Pradesh)
11. Clause 9: After the words "habitual drunkards", put the words: "habitual 'ganja'-smokers and opium eaters".
- Biresh Mishra, Assam
12. Para 11: Delete the words beginning from "The State or Provincial Council" upto "Executive Committee has" and substitute the following: "Councils or Committees at all levels have the right."
- N.Sankariah, Tamilnad.
13. Clause 10: Add: "The Party organ to which the appeal is addressed would do of the same within a period of three months."
Darshan Singh & Ors (Punjab)

ARTICLE XXX

1. Para 4 - after the words "with the people" add "and place party above self".
- K.T.K.Tangamani (Tamilnad)
2. Section 4 to be replaced by the following: "Communist legislators must not crave for personal enjoyment and seek after fame and position. Their standard of living should not be much higher than any ordinary wholetime Party member. They must maintain a high standard of personal integrity and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
3. Section 5: Change the section by the following: "The income of every legislator put up by the Party is the income of the Party. Every legislator shall hand over his or her entire income to the Party, and he or she shall get a wage from the Party according to his or her needs and responsibilities."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
4. Section 7: Add after the second para the following para: "All candidates finally approved shall have to sign a Party plodge, prepared by the Central Committee, before submitting their nomination to the Returning Officer. Allocation of Party symbol to the candidates will depend on signing the Party Pledge."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
5. Last para: Change the 'Council' by 'Committee' in the last para and add the following after it: "Selection of candidates of the Party units concerned and to be finalised by the DC. The State or Provincial Committees may be consulted if necessary."
- Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal
6. Clause 5: Change it as follows: "All earnings earned by a Communist member of a legislature or other public body shall be deemed as belonging not to the individual member personally but to the Party, and as such shall go to the Party fund. The member concerned is entitled to get whatever amount is granted to him by the Party out of those of his earnings."
- M.A.RASOOL, W.Bengal
7. Clause 7, paras 1 and 2, should be rewritten as follows: "All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the National Council or in its absence by the Central Executive Committee. Nominations of Party candidates to the State Legislatures or the Councils of centrally administered area shall be finalised and announced by the State or the Provincial Council concerned or in their absence by the State or Provincial Executive Committees."
- C.Vasudova Rao, Y.Balaramamoorthy (Andhra)
8. Para 6 - Add "as a party group" after the words "and gram panchayats" in line 2 of the para.
- N.Sankariah, Tamilnad
9. Clause 5: Substitute the clause by the following: "The earnings of Communist legislators shall be treated as earnings of the Party and comrades concerned shall deposit the money to the appropriate Party Committees. The Party Committees shall pay necessary wage and allowances to the comrades. In fixing such wages and allowances, the necessity of the comrades in discharging their duties as legislators shall be considered by the Committees."
- Hare Krishna Konar & Ors, W.Bengal
10. Section 5: Rewrite the section as follows: "All the income of a Communist legislator shall be treated as the income of the Party. Every Communist legislator shall hand over his or her income as legislator to the Party. The Party shall pay him or her a monthly wage taking into consideration his or her needs and responsibilities."
- Gopal Bose, W.Bengal.
11. Para 5 - Delete the para and replace it as follows: "Communist legislators shall deposit their whole earnings from legislatures to the appropriate Party Committees as such earnings actually belong to the Party. The appropriate Party Committee on their part shall give to the Communist legislators that money as will be regarded necessary by them for the Communist legislators."
- Narayan Chobey, W.Bengal
12. Clause 7, para 3: Replace "by State or Provincial Councils....Committees" with "by district committees or councils."
- Karnataka delegates.

 ARTICLE XXXI

1. Section 1, after the first para add another section as follows:

" Such discussions may take the form of organised discussions in extended meetings specially called for the purpose, discussions through inner-Party forums or discussions in the columns of the Party press to be decided upon by the Party Committee concerned."
 - Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

 ARTICLE XXXII

1. Delete Section 1 and substitute the following:

" 1. Three months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Within 2 months after such release, the amendments will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee will assort the same and communicate the assorted amendments to the delegates 15 days before the Party Congress." - K.T.K.Thangamani (Tamilnad)

2. Section 1, delete the word " two" and substitute it with the word " three" in the first line. -S.A.Muruganatham(Tamilnad)

3. Section 1 be substituted by the following:

" On the eve of Party Congress or Conference, the Councils of each corresponding level should circulate amongst its ranks, all the discussion materials.

The Conferences of each level should discuss and record the number of votes cast by its delegates on each of the amendments suggested on the discussion materials.

The Executive Committee of the corresponding level should assort it and forward it to the Executive Committee of the level which issued it to be assorted and distributed amongst the delegates, before the Congress or conference as the case may be."

- B.Mishra(Orissa)

4. After Section 3, add the following:

" 4. Reports and documents to be discussed in the Party Congress other than the Draft Political Resolution, shall be circulated by the National Council among the delegates to the Party Congress at least a week before the beginning of the session through the medium of the respective State or Provincial Council or Committee. In case of the delegates to the Provincial or State Conferences, such documents prepared for discussion in the Conference shall be circulated at least five days before the beginning of the session of the State or Provincial Conferences." - B.Mishra(Assam)

 ARTICLE XXXIII

1. After the words " Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall" add the words "constitue a fraction and..." - Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

2. After "organised manner" add " as a fraction of the Party".
 - N.Sankariah(Tamilnad)

3. Similar amendment from Gopal Basu re. Fraction.

4. ...

4. Add the following section:

" Mass organisations such as trade unions, kisan sabhas, associations of middle class employees, teachers, etc.; refugee, bustee, club, etc. where there are 3 or more Party members holding important positions, a Party fraction shall be formed.

" The task of the Party fraction is to lead the Party members in the leading body of the organisation concerned, to expand the Party and implement Party policy.

" A Party fraction shall have a Secretary. A Party fraction with more than 10 members shall have a working committee to carry out day-to-day work. The secretary and the members of the working committee shall be elected by the fraction meeting and must be endorsed by the Party branch at the same level. There shall be no fraction below the district level.

- Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

5. Add the following Article after XXXV with the heading "Young Communist League of India".

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF INDIA

Section 1. Young Communists between 14 and 18 years of age shall be organised in separate unit. The activities of the Young Communist League (YCL) are directed and controlled by the appropriate Party unit. The Central Committee of the YCL as its leading body is subordinate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.

Section 2. The YCL is an active assistant of the Party in its day-to-day work and mass movements. It should render effective help to the Party in carrying out its policy and have the duty to make suggestions to the Party.

Section 3. Party organisation, at all levels, must take a deep interest in the YCL's ideological and organisational work.

Section 4. Members of the YCL shall withdraw from the League when they have been admitted to the Party and have become full Party members provided they do not hold leading post in the League.

- Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

6. After Article XXXIII insert a new Article:

L A N G U A G E

" The C.C. will use Hindi language for all its purposes such as inter-State correspondence, sending circulars to lower units, preparing documents for Conferences, etc.

If necessary, documents or circulars can be sent in various State or regional languages or in English and non-Hindi speaking delegates may be permitted to speak in their own regional language or in English, in case they are unable to speak in Hindi."

- Chandra Singh Garhwali(U.P.)

ARTICLE XXXV

1. Delete the words " In either case" in the 3rd line and also delete the words " or National Council meets" in the last line.

- N. Sankariah (Tamilnad)

contd.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. In Articles XXXI to XXXV - change the word "Council" by "Committee" wherever it appears. -Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

ADDENDUM

ARTICLE XVI

1. At the end of sub-clause (b) add " and all the States must be represented."

(e) delete "and by the method of single distributive vote."

- Nekkalapudi Rama Rao (Andhra)

ARTICLE XXIII

Change District Council by District Committee wherever it appears in this article.

Section 4. Re-write the section in the following way:

" The District Committee shall elect a District Executive Committee from among its members, only when the number of members is more than 30, to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the District Committee. The number of members of the District Executive Committee is decided by the District Committee. It also elects from among the members of the District Committee, or from among the members of the Executive Committee where there is an Executive Committee, a Secretariat including a Secretary to carry on the current work of the District Committee. "

- Promode DasGupta (W.Bengal)

2. In the title substitute the words "District Committee" in place of "District Council." - Provash Roy (W.Bengal)

3. Section 1, substitute the words "District Council" by the words "District Committee". - Provash Roy (W.Bengal)

P.H.Q. 5

SPECIAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Amritsar

- 1) Name of Centre *Amritsar, C.C. or P.C., C.C. or P.B.* April 9, 1958
2) Chairman
3) Election method
4) *Members to be allowed to work in State Committees.*

AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES XV TO XXXV

ARTICLE XV

1. In ~~Clause~~ 1 on All India Party Congress, sub-clause (b) add in the end "one one-third of the provincial Committees".

In clause (g) add "other members of the National Council may attend special conferences only as delegates with powers to vote."

T.R. Ganesan (Tamilnad)

2. Clause 2; Sub-Section (a) - instead of "All-India National Council" substitute the words "Central Committee".

After Section (g) add "(h) To Elect Central Audit Commission."

Dr. Narayan Chandra Ray (W. Bengal)

3. In Clause 1 from (a) to (h) delete the words "National Council" and insert words "Central Committee."

Narayan Choubey (W. Bengal)

4. Clause 1(a) Instead of 2 years, make it 3 years.

Clause 1(c) - Delete "at a meeting especially called for the purpose."

- Orissa Delegation

Clause 2- Add another section (h) providing as follows:

(h) To discuss and decide any other matter.

- Orissa Delegation

5. Clause 2(g) delete "To elect the Central Control Commission."

- Harish Tewari & others (UP)

Deleted 6. At the end of Section 1 (h) add - "Any request from one more State or Provincial Party organisations to convene an extraordinary Party Congress shall be circulated to all the State or Provincial Party organisations to seek their opinion."

- Gur Pershad & another (U.P.)

7. Section 1(a) - In place of "National Council" substitute "National Committee."

- Gopal Acharya (W. Bengal)

8. After Section 1(h) add another sub-clause - "The number of visitors to Party Congress from each Province or State will be decided by the National Council. They will not have the right to vote but can participate in the discussions."

- N. Narsimha Rao & another (Andhra)

9. Section , delete sub-clause (h) beginning "The number of ..."

- S.A.Muruganantham(Tamilnad)

10. Section 2- add at the another sub-clause after (g)-

"(h) To hear the self-critical report of the Central Committee."

- S.A.Muruganantham(Tamilnad)

11. Section 1, sub-clause (h) delete the whole and substitute the following:

"(h) The basis for calculating the number of delegates for a State or Province at the Party Congress shall be the fully-paid membership of that State or Province."

- R.Umanath Rao & ors.(Tamilnad)

X12. Section 2- add at the end sub-clause"(h) To elect the Central Audit Commission."

- Menon & others(PHQ)

X13. Section 1(g) be deleted and in its place the following be substituted:

"The members of the National Council and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary."

- N.Sankariah(Tamilnad)

14. Section 1, clause (f) after the words "National Council" add " Provided the number of delegation to the Special Congress is not less than two-third of the delegates elected to the previous regular Party Congress." -

- A.K.Poduval & another(Kerala)

15. Section 1, the words " Party Congress" should be replaced by the words " National Conference" wherever it appears.

- Ali Amjad(Bihar)

16. Section 1, clause (a) change the term "National Council" into "Central Committee" and similar amendment be made wherever the word "National Council" appears in other places in the Constitution.

- Gopal Basu (W.Bengal)

17. Section 1(b) substitute the following in place of the original "An extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion; or when it is demanded by a State or Provincial Party organisation provided, on a reference to all State or Provincial Party organisations of the demand with the reasons therefor, it is supported by State or Provincial Party organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership."

-G.Samuel(Tamilnad)

18. Section 2, clause (d) - in place of "All-India National Council" insert " Central Committee"

Note: In place of "National Council" the words "Central Committee" should be inserted in other Sections also.

-Sukumar Sen Gupta & others(W.Bengal)

19. "The National Council which shall be elected by the

ers

19. Section 2- add following in clause (c) "The convocation of a Party Congress and its agenda shall be announced at least 6 weeks before the Congress." - Gujerat Delegation

20. Clause 1(a) line 2 substitute the word "two" by the word "three". - Provash Roy (W.Bengal)

21. Clause 1(b) in line 2 substitute the words "National Council" by the words "Central Committee" and sub substitution should take place everywhere in place of "National Council." - Provash Roy (W.Bengal)

Accepted 22. Section 2 at the end add another sub-clause (h) as follows:
" (h) Any other matter brought by the National Council."
- K.T.K.Thangamani (Tamilnad)

do 23. Section 3 - delete the words " and a Steering Committee."

Article XVI ..

ARTICLE XVI

1. Instead of 'national council', put 'national committee'
Indrajit Gupta (W Bengal)
2. On National council - we suggest that apart from fixing the maximum number of members a minimum number should also be fixed. We suggest 75 as the minimum.

Some comrades have expressed the opinion that panel system should go (sub-clause (b)

T.R. Ganesan (Madras)

3. Wherever the word 'national council' occurs, substitute the word 'central committee'

Narayan Ray (W Bengal)

4. First para of the article should read as follows:
"The CC which shall be elected by the Party Congress shall consist of not more than 51 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress

Muzaffar Ahmed (W Bengal)

5. The words 'national council' be replaced by the words 'central committee, wherever they occur.

Similarly Provincial and district councils be replaced by provincial and district committees.

Narayan Chauby (W Bengal)

6. Replace the words 'national council' by 'central committee'.
Add the following line in sub-section (d) in this article:
".....provided his or her name was proposed without his or her consent, or provided he or she has got any personal difficulties.

Promode Das Gupta (W Bengal)

- Accept 7.
7. Revise the article to provide the guarantee of at least two representations from each State.

Gokulmohan Roy Churamony (Orissa)

8. Delete the words "firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism" and add at the end of the point: "care will be taken to see that every State or province is represented by at least two members."

M Narasimharao, Vanka Satyanarayan
(Andhra)

9. Following should be clarified:

"If the outgoing National Council is not unanimous on the panel to be proposed, will the minority members have the right to raise objections as any other delegate?
In case the answer is in the negative, then, we reserve the right to move amendment. Same is the position with the lower conferences.

Dang and Chopra (Punjab)

10. Substitute the words 'national council' by 'central committee'
In para 1, line 2, substitute the figure '101' by '51'.

Provash Roy (W Bengal)

11. Replace the present article by the following:

"The National Council shall be elected by the Party Congress consisting of not more than 100 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress.

- (a) Every delegate of the Party Congress has got the right to propose one or more names upto the limit of the determined strength of the National council;
- (b) Every delegate has got the right to speak supporting or opposing any candidate who has been proposed.
- (c) Everyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw before the voting commences.
- (d) If there are more candidates than the required number, election shall be held by secret ballot.
- (e) In case election has to be held, every delegate shall have as many votes as the number of members to be elected to the National council.
- (f) No party organ or person in authority shall influence the course of election in any manner.
- (g) The members securing the highest number of votes shall be declared elected.

G. Samuel (Tamil Nad)

12. National council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 151 members or minimum 125 members." Gujarat Delegation.

-----³³
ARTICLE XVII

1. Wherever the word 'national council' occurs, replace it by 'central committee'.

Narayan Ray (W Bengal)

2. sub-clause 8: National council shall meet at least once in six months - six to be amended to read 'three'

T R Ganesan (Tamil Nad)

3. Substitute the word 'polit bureau', wherever the word 'central executive committee occurs'.

Narayan Ray (W Bengal)

4. para 4: add following words after "more than 25", "and a president"

E K Nayanar and K. Chatunni (Kerala)

5. Rewrite para 4 of the article as follows:

"The Central Committee shall elect from amongst its members central executive committee of not more than 15, to carry on the work of the central committee between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the Central Executive Committee the First Secretary and other secretaries. These together shall constitute a secretariat of six to carry on the current work of the CEC.

Para no.8 shall be read as follows:

"The CC shall meet at least once every four months or whenever one-third of its total members make requisition.

Muzaffar Ahmed (W Bengal)

6. Same as number one amendment.

Section 4: change the last sentence by the following: "These together shall constitute a secretariat of five to carry on the current work of the central committee and of the CEC."

Promode Das Gupta (W Bengal)

contd..

7. Add following section after section 9:
"The members of the CEC and Central control commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in party congress, whether regular or extra-ordinary. Members of the National Council shall attend the Congress as delegates without vote unless elected."
Shiv Varma (U P)
8. After section 1, add the following section, as section 2:
"The National Council is responsible for calling regular or special party congress, preparing reports and other documents for the congress and circulating them to lower committees for discussion."
Shiv Verma (U P)
9. Insert a new section after section 4 as follows: The National Council shall elect the Central control commission."
Gur Prasad, Babu Khan and Harish Tewary (U P)
10. Add following to section 6: "Provided that the item of removal of any member or reconstitution shall be circulated to the members in advance and also that for taking such vital decisions, the presence of two-thirds of total membership of the National Council is necessary."
Santosh Kapur and Babu Khan (UP)
11. Section 4: delete the second sentence beginning with "It also elects....central executive committee"
Babu Khan, Gur Prasad and Harish Tewary (UP)
12. section 4: add after "not more than 25", "representing all provincial units"
M. Narsimharao, Vanka Satyanarayana (Andhra)
13. Substitute section 4 by following:
"The National Council shall elect from among its members a central executive committee, consisting of a General Secretary, six Secretaries and not more than eighteen members to carry on the work of the National Council between two of its sessions. The General Secretary and other six Secretaries shall constitute a Secretariat to carry on the day-to-day work of the CEC."
G. Samuel (Tamil Nad)
14. Add to section 3(?): "in conformity with the policy laid down by the Party Congress."
Niranjan Sen & others (W Bengal)
15. Section 4; Add after "it also elects from....executive committee", the words "The chairman, vice-charman"
P.A. John (Kerala)
16. section 4: delete "It also elects....secretary and secretaries" and substitute the following:
"It also elects from among the members of the central executive committee a president, General Secretary and five secretaries".
The same to apply at state and district level.
T. Satyanarayana, Y. Balaramamoorthy (Andhra)

17. section 8: substitute the word 'nine' for the word 'six'
Kolla Venkiah (Andhra)
18. Section 4: delete the sentence "It also elects.....executive committee".
V D Chitale (Maharashtra)
19. Clause 4: read "It also elects from among the members of the Central executive committee, a President, General Secretary and Secretaries."
The same organisational form at all levels.
T.S.S.Namboothiri, K.T.Zacharias and others (Kerala)
20. Section 4: insert the words 'The chairman' before the words 'general secretary'
Mohan Kumarmangalam, R.Umanath and two others (Tamil Nad)
21. Delete clause 5.
PHQ delegation.
22. Section 4, line 5: Add the word 'president' after the words 'executive committee'.
Kallat Krishnan (Kerala)
23. Section 4: After words "not more than 25", add "and the General Secretary and secretaries."
After "not more than 25", add "inclusive of the General Secretary and secretaries who shall be also elected by the National council."
M.M.Abdul Khadar(Kerala)
24. Section 4: Add "president" after words "Executive committee"
S.Kumaran & two others (Kerala)
25. same as above
M.Narsimharao & Vanka Satyanaraya (Andhra)
26. Same as above
S.Shanmugam (Tamil Nad)
27. After the words "General secretary", add following:"President or chairman whose function will be to preside over the meetings of the national council and CEC"
K. Muthaiah (Tamil Nad)
28. Add following clause to section 4: The National Council shall elect a chairman who shall be the convenor of the National council and shall normally preside over its meetings."
G Samuel (Tamil Nad)
Section 5: for words "to supervise over the disbursements of" substitute the words "to audit the accounts of"
G Samuel (Tamil Nad)
29. After section 8 , put the following in a separate clause:
"It will require 40% of total members to form a quorum for the meeting of the National Council".
Bagala Guha & two others(Bengal)
30. Add following new section after nine: "10. The National Council submit its political and organisational report and the report of the Audit Commission before Party Congress, whenever it is convened."
Biresw Misra (Assam)
Article XVII contd...

- Accepted* 31. Section 9: delete the word 'act' and insert 'decide'
K. Muthaiah (Tamil Nad)
- Accepted* 32. Change the title of the section to read: "Functions of the
National council"
K. Muthiah (Tamil Nad)
33. Add after section 3 "except new political line and new
tactical line"
Provash Roy (W Bengal)

Article XVIII contd..

 ARTICLE XVIII

1. Clause (1) line 5, after organisational question, add "on the basis of the decisions and directions of the National Council".

- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)

2. Change 'National Council' by 'Central Committee' wherever it appears in this article.

Section 4: . Add Central Committee before Central Executive Committee in the first sentence in this section.

- Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)

3. Add a separate section before Section 1 and rearrange the numbers. This section should read:- " The Central Executive Committee shall elect among its members the General Secretary and Secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of six to eight to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee".

-Gur Prasad, Harish Tiwari, Babu Khan (U.P.)

4. ✓ Sec.2 (a), after the sentence add and distribute at least one week before the date of the National Council meeting.

✓ Sec. 3, at the end add, "discuss and decide on the report submitted by the Secretariat on its work and discussions in between its two meetings."

- M.Narasimha Rao, Vanka Satyanarayana (Andhra)

5. Substitute "Polit Bureau" in every line where "Central Executive Committee" occurs.

- Narayan Ray (W.Bengal)

6. Add the following after sub-clause 3 as (4): "No member of the Central Executive Committee shall belong to any Provincial or District Part organ".

- G.Yallamananda Reddy, P.Venkata Rao (Andhra)

7. Delete the thirs sentence and inser the following one:(1)" It shall take decisions on political and organisational questions as well as the problems of mass movements that may arise from time to time, not contrary to the decisions of the National Council and shall guide the Provincial Committees."

- C.Vasudeva Rao, D.V.Subba Rao (Andhra)

8. Sec. 4, insert the following between the words "all members of" and "the Secretariat" in the 2nd sentence of the 4th Section: "the Central Executive Committee and "

Substitute the words "Central Executive" for the words "Party Centre" in the 2nd sentence.

Substitute the words "Central Executive Committee" for the word "Secretariat" in sentence No.3, Sect. 4.

- Kolla Venkaiah (Andhra)

10. In Section 2, after sub-section (h), add the following as (i): "Reports and resolutions of the C.E.C. covering political economic, and social problems will normally be made available to all the provincial committees. The C.E.C. can withhold any such report or resolution, from such circulation, if it deems it necessary in the interest of the Party."

- V.D.Chitale (Maharashtra)

11. Sec. 1: After the words "on the problems of mass movement" delete the word "and" and substitute: "in accordance with these decisions and directives. It....."

- Mohan Kumaramangalam, R.Umanath, A.N.Govindaraj
 Kar Hari Bhatt (Tamilnad)

x12. Sec. 2: After sub-sec. (c) add: "(d) Selection of candidates for election to Parliament in consultation with the respective state or Provincial Committees". Renumber the rest of the sub-sections.

Reword the present section (d) as follows: (B)"The political and organisational control and guidance over the life and work of the Communist Members of Parliament".

- Srivastava, Menon, Mohit Sen, P.H.Q.
Nikhil Chakravarty, Ramdsss

13. After clause 3, add a new clause numbering 4: "The President shall preside and conduct meetings of the Executive Committee and the National Council." Then, change the number of Clause into 5.

- Kailat Krishnan (Kerala)

14. In Section 1, insert in line 6 after "movements" in conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council".

- Niranjan Sen & others (W.Bengal)

15. Clause 2: Between the sub-clauses (d) and (e) insert the following sub-clause:- "Directing the building and development of mass organisations on an all India level".

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

15. After Clause 4, add: "No member of the Central Executive Committee shall be a member of his Provincial Secretariat.

- M.Narasimha Rao, Vanka Satyanarayana (Andhra)

16. Clause 1: Instead of the word "guide" substitute the words "help and co-ordinate the work of".

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

17. Clause 2: For sub-clause (a) substitute: "Preparing the reports and resolutions for the National Council".

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

18. Clause 2: At the end of sub-clause (d) add "and coordinating it with mass movements."

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

19. Clause 2: Add the following sub-clause "Planning and directing all India mass movements."

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

20. Clause 1: add after the words "of mass movements"(line 6) "in conformity with the decisions of the National Council."

- V.Madanagopal (Tamilnad)

21. Clause 4: "No member of the Central Executive shall be a member of any Provincial or district Executive."

-T.Satyanarayana (Andhra)

22. After clause 3 add a new clause: 4. "No member of the Central Executive Committee shall hold any secretarian responsibility in a Provincial or District Party organ." The present clause 4 shall then become clause 5.

-Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab)

23. Insert in the following: XVIII A:"1. There shall be, when necessary, a regional/zonal council, between the National Council and the State/Provincial council. The National Council shall decide the composition of the regional/zonal council. 2. The regional/zonal Council shall generally deal with matters of common concern for the constituent States/Provinces, viz. coordinating mass movements, etc. 3. The Central Committee shall guide the activities of the regional/zonal council directly through a member of the Central Committee".

- Bejoy Pal , Subodh Chowdhury (W.Bengal)

ARTICLE XIX

1. Para 1, line 2, the words 'State or Provincial' should be indicated clearly as "Administrative or Party Area". (EXPLANATION: Recently a trend has developed to organise the Party unit on Government administrative area basis. This will create difficulty in maintaining close contact with the masses and giving active and living guidance and leadership to the ranks. Our present structure of organisation should be divided. So there should be Party Districts, Party Provinces, even Party Centres. In order to give it a proper shape, Administrative Centres, Provinces and Districts should be divided into Party Centres, Provinces, etc.

Ajit Kumar Ganguly, W.Bengal

2. Change 'State or Provincial Council' by 'State or Provincial Committee' wherever it appears in this article.

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

3. Section 7, should be rewritten in the following way: "Members of the State or Provincial Committee where there is no Executive and of extraordinary members of the State or Provincial Committee where there is an Executive Committee shall attend.....unless elected."

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

4. Section 8. Change the whole para by the following: "The number of membership from any district or Party unit shall be taken on the basis of fully paid full members; and the number of delegates shall be fixed on this basis."

PROMODE DAS GUPTA, W.Bengal

5. Clause 1 - Make a new para, starting from the 2nd sentence upto the end of clause and put the same in parenthesis so that this portion may be put as a note and not as a part of the main clause.

D.Mohanta, Assam

6. Add the following in section 3: "Any request from one or more District Party organisations to convene an extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be circulated to all the District units to seek their opinion."

Gur Prasad, Santosh Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh)

7. Delete clause 8.

- S.A.Muruganatham, Tamilnad

8. Clause 9, section (b) - Delete the sentence "in accordance with policies laid.....and the National Council."

Dang, Chopra, Mohan Singh, Darshan Singh (Punjab)

9. Clause 8: Delete clause 8 entirely and substitute the following:
"The basis for calculating the number of delegates from a district and at the State or Provincial Conference shall be the fully paid membership of that District."

- R.Umanath, A.M.Govindaraj, S.Mohan Kumaramangalam (Tamilnad)

10. Para 7 - Delete para 7 and substitute the following: "Members of the State or Provincial Council and of the Provincial Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the State or Provincial Conference, whether regular and extraordinary."

- N.Sankaraiah (Tamilnad)

11. Section 2 - Change the term "State or Provincial Council" by the term "State or Provincial Committee" and everywhere it appears in the draft constitution.

- Gopal Basu, W.Bengal

.....for Clause 3, substitute the

12. For clause 3, substitute the following: "An extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be called by the State or Provincial Council at its own discretion, or, when it is demanded by a District Committee provided on a reference of the demand to all the District Committees under it by the Provincial Committee, it is supported by the District Committees representing one third of the total Party membership."

G.Samuel, Tamilnad.

13. Clause 5 - Add: "The number of visitors from each district also shall be determined."

M.Narasimha Rao, Venka Satyanarayana (Andhra)

14. Clause 9(c) - Add after 'delegates', 'visitors'.

M.Narasimha Rao, Venka Satyanarayana, (Andhra)

15. Clause 9: Add the sub-clause: "To discuss and adopt report of the Provincial Audit Commission."

G.Samuel, Tamilnad.

16. Clause 9 - Delete the word "act" and insert "decide" instead.

K.Muthiah, Tamilnad

17. Instead of the words "State or Provincial" occurring in all the clauses, have the word "State" and amend all the articles accordingly.

K.Muthiah, Tamilnad

18. sub-clause (i) - We want clarity on the position of Pondicherry State.

T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)

PH. 5

April 8, 1958

Amendments
DRAFT CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES I to XIV

ARTICLE I (NAME)

Replace by: "The name of the Party shall be the Bharatiya Communist Party."

Ramadeva Sharma (Bihar)

ARTICLE II (EMBLEM)

1. Replace by Article II in the existing Constitution. ("The emblem of the Party shall be a five-pointed red star in the centre of which is placed a crossed hammer and sickle, representing the unity of workers and peasants and with a circular inscription: 'Communist Party of India'.")

M.A.Rasul, W.Bengal
Gopal Basu, W.Bengal

ARTICLE III (FLAG)

1. Second sentence "At the centre of the flag" be changed into "At the top corner near the staff....."

M.A.Rasul, W.Bengal

2. The flag of the Party should remain what it is at present, viz., "The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times in width. In the upper left hand corner, there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white."

Gopal Basu, W.Bengal.

3. Change the last line of this article by the following: "In the upper left-hand corner there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white."

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

ARTICLE IV - MEMBERSHIP

Account 1. Clause 1. Change the word 'fees' with the word 'dues'.

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

2. Clause 2: Add the following line in this section of this article: "The recommender shall be responsible to the Party for the bona fides of the applicant."

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

3. Clause 3: Add the following clause after Clause 3 of this Article:

"A Party member or candidate member who fails to pay

...../.....

membership dues for three consecutive months without sufficient reason is regarded as having automatically ceased to be a member of the Party. The Party unit shall pass a decision to this effect, which shall be endorsed by the district or by a higher committee."

Promode Das Gupta, W.Bengal

*

1. ARTICLE IV: Replace "Provincial Committee" wherever it appears in the Constitution by "State or Provincial Committee."

- PHQ delegation

*

5. Clause 2: After the first sentence "New member.....recommendation of two Party Members" add "of not less than two years standing."

Shiva Varma, U.P.delegation

6. Clause 2: first sentence - Add the word "full" after the word "two" and before the word "Party". - "Two full Party Members" instead of "two Party Members."

Shiva Varma, U.P.delegation

7. Clause 4: Add the following sentence towards the end of the para: "Any suppression of an application of such an applicant shall constitute a violation of the Constitution."

Shiva Varma, U.P.Delegation.

8. Clause 7: Add to the clause - "through providing for their functioning as members of a Party Branch or Unit."

Hajrah Begum,

9. Clause 10 - line 2 - substitute the word "approval" by the word "permission"

Provash Roy, Bengal

10. Clause 10 - in line 4, after the words "wishes to join", add the words "subject to the approval of the next higher committee and district committee should be informed of such transfer."

Provash Roy, Bengal

11. Clause 3 - in line 2, after the words "question of admission" add the following words: "subject to the approval of the next higher committee."

Provash Roy, Bengal

12. Clause 2 - second sentence, add - "Town, Taluq" after "Party Committees at"

N.Sankariah, K.T.K.Tangamani, Tamilnad

13. Clause 10 - Add after the first sentence the following sentence: "All such transfers shall be notified to the next higher party committees by the units which permit the transfer as well as by the units which admit the transferred members."

N.Sankariah, K.T.K.Tangamani, Tamilnad

14. Clause 8 - The last sentence "A report of.....Committee", the beginning should be "A report on and of....."

K.T.K.Tangamani, Tamilnad

...../.....

15. Clause 6 - After the words "be elected" put fullstop and add the following sentence: "But they will have the right to vote on day to day political and tactical affairs."
- Shanti Tyagi, U.P.
16. Clause 1 - In the second line, before "the programme" insert the words "the policy".
- G.Samuel, Tamilnad
17. Clause 2 - In the second line after the word "application" insert the words "in the prescribed form".
- G.Samuel, Tamilnad
18. Clause 7: After the word "education" insert the words "on Marxism-Leninism, and the policy,"
- G.Samuel, Tamilnad
19. Clause 4 & 5 - Clause 4 and 5 should be put before clause 10 and arrange numbers according to new construction.
- Gujerat delegation.
20. Clause 7: After the words "Elementary education on", the following be added: "Basic Principles of Marxism."
- M.A.Potkar, Rajasthan
21. Clause 2: Add the following after words "power to admit new members to the Party" - "in consultation with the Local Committees where the concerned individual is put up."
- S.A.Muruganatham, Tamilnad
- ✓22. Clause 3 - Delete "The general body meeting of the Party Branch" and replace it by "The branch executive".
- S.A.Muruganatham, Tamilnad
23. Clause 3 - Candidate membership period to be made 3 months instead of six months.
- S.A.Muruganatham, Tamilnad
24. Clause 2 - Add at the end - "All applications for party membership must be placed before the appropriate committees within a month of their presentation and recommendation."
- P.K.Tandon, U.P.
25. Clause 1 - After the words "eighteen years of age or above" add the words "irrespective of caste, race or religious belief."
- Jolly Kaul, W.Bengal
26. Clause 2 - After the words "truthful information" delete the rest and insert instead the following: "from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility about the applicant's life and activity both at his place of work and residence."
- JOLLY KAUL, W.Bengal
27. Clause 10 - Rewrite the first sentence as follows: "A party member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another by applying to the party committee immediately above his or her unit. The Party Committee will effect the transfer after consulting the to which the Party member belonged."
- Jolly Kaul, W.Bengal

28. Clause 4 - Replace by the following: "If a leading member from another political party of local, district or provincial level comes over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the local Committee or district or Provincial Committee of the Party, it is necessary to have the sanction of the next higher Committee of the Party before he or she is admitted to membership of the Party."

Biresh Misra, Assam

- ✓29. Clause 1 - Change the word "Party membership fees" with the words "Party membership dues" and wherever it appears in the Constitution.

Gopal Basu, W.Bengal

30. Clause 2 - In third line add "of at least two years standing" after the words "two party members." In the seventh line insert the words "the bona fixes of" after the words "information about."

Gopal Basu, W.Bengal

31. Clause 10 - In the second line, change the word "approval" by the word "permission" and in the third line insert "with the approval of the next higher unit" after the words "transfer is sought". The lines thus amended will then read like this: "A Party member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the permission of the unit from which transfer is sought and with the approval of the next higher unit by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join....."

Gopal Basu, W.Bengal.

32. Clause 3 - Add the following: "In case of persons coming from the exploiting classes, they shall be regarded as candidate member for one year."

Satyapal Dang, Punjab

- ✓33. Clause 8 - Add "recommendations for" between "A report of recruitment of candidate and of" and "admission to full membership."

C.Unniraja, P.K.Vasudevan Nair, Kerala

34. Clause 10 - Change the last sentence to read as follows: "In case of transfer outside the District or Province, a letter of introduction by the District or the Provincial Committee concerned will be necessary and the same will be issued on the recommendation of the unit from which transfer is sought. In case of wholetime functionaries, prior approval of the district or the provincial Committee shall be necessary."

Satyapal Dang, Darshan Singh, Jagjit Singh
Anand, Punjab

35. Clause 2 - After the words "have the power" in 8th line, the following line to be added: "In most special cases only".

EXPLANATION: This is urgent to check the trend of taking undue advantage on the part of some individuals. Also at the same time, to check the trend of higher leading committee to give special privilege to some individuals. Only in the cases of individuals from military, govt departments etc, this power can be used.

Ajit Kumar Ganguly, W.Bengal

ARTICLE V - PARTY PLEDGE

1. Para 3 -, after the words "toiling masses" insert the words "and the country."
Hari Singh, Punjab
2. Para 3 - After the word "masses" insert the words "and the oppressed middle classes."
G.Samuel, Tamilnad
3. Between para 2 & 3, the following para be added: "I shall work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, establish People's Democracy, and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous Socialist India."
M.A.Potkar, Rajasthan
4. Para 2 - 1st line, after the word "aims" add "objectives and means".
Provash Roy, Bengal delegate
5. Add at the end of the Pledge, "I shall always endeavour to uphold the best traditions of the Indian people and so mould my personal life as to be an example to others."
Satyapal Dang, Darshan Singh, Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab)

ARTICLE VI - PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS

1. Para 1 - Add at the end of the para "A different type of card shall be issued to every candidate member."
N.Sankariah, K.T.K.Tangamani (Tamilnad)
2. Para 1 - Delete the word "full".
Satyapal Dang and others, Punjab
3. Para 2 - Instead of "by the Provincial Committees" put "district committee".
Jagjit Singh Anand and others, Punjab

ARTICLE VII - RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP CARD

1. Para 1 - Replace the para with following amendment "..... party member who for a period of more than three months....."
Bordoloi (Assam)
2. Para 1 - Change the word 'fees' by the word 'dues'.
Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)
3. Para 1 - After sentence "there shall be an annual renewal of party membership cards" add the following: "to be conducted as per the directives of the Central Executive".
K.T.K.Tangamani (Tamilnad)
4. Para 1 - Please put "no Party card shall pay Party membership fees" as sub clause (A).
Gujarat Delegation
5. Para 1 - Add the following: "Such members however shall be given an opportunity to explain their position".
- Darshan Singh, Satyapal Dang, Kameshwar Pandit,
Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab)

.../...

6. Para 1 - Last line change the word "or" into "and".
- P.K.Vadudevan Nair (Kerala).

ARTICLE VIII - RESIGNATION FROM PARTY MEMBERSHIP

1. Para 1 - Before the first sentence add another sentence as follows:
"Party members are free to withdraw from the Party".
- Jolly Kaul (West Bengal)
2. Para 1 - Add the following sentence after para 1: "No one is allowed to resign from the Party on grounds of political or organisational difference with the Party."
- Promode Das Gupta (West Bengal)
3. Para 3 - Add the following sentence towards the end of the para:
"All such decisions not arrived at through a proper resolution giving specific charges shall be considered unconstitutional".
- Shiv Varma (U.P.)
4. Para 3 & 4 - Instead of Paras 3 & 4 substitute the following:
"No Party member can resign during the pendency of charges against him. If a Party member so resigns it will be kept pending till the charges are either proved or disproved; in the former case he will be punished as hereinafter provided for, and in the latter case the resignation will be considered and decided upon."
- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)
5. Para 4 - At the end of the para add the following words: "District Committee should be informed of such expulsion".
- Provash Roy (Bengal)
6. Para 4 - Remove the word "immediately" after "expulsion shall be" and replace it by the words "within a period of fifteen days".
Add also at the end of the para the following sentence:
"All such confirmation should be made by the higher committees within a period not exceeding two months."
- S.A.Muruganantham (Tamilnad)

ARTICLE IX - MEMBERSHIP FEES

1. Instead of Re.1/- make it Rs.2/- Delete the portion "(The Party . . . instalments)".
- Benoy Bhushan Chatterjee (Assam)
2. Instead of Re.1/- per year, the Party membership fee shall be 50 naye paise per year.
- S.Davuluri Reddy (Andhra)
3. Delete the sentence in brackets.
- G. Samuel (Tamilnad)
4. This article should be rewritten as follows: "All Party members as well as candidate members shall pay Party membership dues. These dues will be based on the income of the members. The National Council will from time to time fix the percentage of the income to be realised as dues from each members on the basis of a graduated scale for different income groups.
"The District and the Provincial Council will decide whether the dues are to be realised in monthly, quarterly, half-yearly or annual instalments."
- Jolly Kaul (West Bengal)

5. In the second line , in place of "one rupee" put the words "two rupees".

- Biresb Misra (Assam)

6. Last sentence - last but one line, Instead of "decides", write "allows".

- Satyapal Dang, Jagjit Singh Anand, Darshan Singh(Punjab)

7. The whole article should be changed by the following:-

Sec. 1: "The membership dues payable monthly by the Party members and candidates members are as follows:-

<u>Average monthly earnings</u>	<u>Dues</u>
upto Rs. 50/-	$\frac{1}{2}$ %
Rs.51 to Rs.150/-	1 %
Rs.151 to Rs. 250/-	$1\frac{1}{2}$ %
Rs.251 to Rs. 350/-	2 %
Rs.351 to Rs. 450/-	$2\frac{1}{2}$ %
Rs. 451 and above	3 %

Sect. 2: - Candidate members upon admission as full members shall pay an entrance fee amounting to 1 % of their monthly earnings."

- Promode Das Gupta (West Bengal)

8. This article should be amended as follows:- (a) Party membership fee of one rupee per year should be one rupee and annas eight per year. (b) Year should commence from January 1st and end in 31st December. The fees are to be realised on half-yearly instalments from the already enrolled members. But rupee one is to be paid as first instalment by the new members.

- Mohanlal Mukerji (Assam)

.../...

ARTICLE 10

1. Line 4, substitute 'thirty' for 'forty'
G. Samuel, Tamil Nad.
2. Delete last sentence "The remaining 50% shall be....."
and substitute "The remaining 50% shall be for the District
council only"
S.A.Muruganantham, (Tamil Nad)
3. Rewrite the article as follows:
"Higher committees shall fix a levy on the income of
the lower committees in consultation with the lower
committees concerned. This levy shall be the first
charge on their incomes."
Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

ARTICLE 11

1. Add the words "The district and" before "the State or
provincial....."
Shanti Tyagi, Gharam Singh (UP)
2. Article should be rewritten as follows:
"Over and above the dues mentioned in Article IX, Party
units may fix special levies on the income of party
members on special occasions with the approval of the
committee immediately above the unit concerned."
Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)
3. Rewrite the article as follows:
"Party units shall fix levies on the Party members in
accordance with the guiding rules approved by the
National Council and all members shall regularly pay
levies fixed."
Darshan Singh, Satyapal Dang (Punjab)
4. Rewrite the article as follows:
"The Party committee may fix up special levies over
and above the Party dues on the Party members considering
their income and responsibilities."
Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)
5. Delete existing article and substitute the following:
"The Central Executive Committee, the State or the
Provincial executive committee and the District Exe-
cutive committees may fix levies on the Party members
in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the
National Council."
Shiv Varma (U.P)
6. Instead of the words "may fix levies", read "shall fix
levies based on slab system with increased rates on
higher income groups with due regard to their respon-
sibilities."
Narayan Ray (W.Bengal)

article 12.....

ARTICLE 12

1. para 1, sub-para (h), read as follows:
"to practice self-criticism and criticism from below with a view to
i) helping each other and improving individual and collective work;
ii) bringing to light shortcomings in work and eliminate them
iii) combate any anti-party tendency in work or in organisation.
Shiv Verma (U.P)
2. Add the following sub-clause under 'duties of Party members'
i) to defend the party and uphold its cause against the onslaught of the enemies of the Party, the working class and the country."
Bardoloi, Assam.
3. Add the following to 'duties of Party members' in beginning:
a) to safeguard the Party's solidarity and consolidate its unity;
b) to be an active fighter for the implementation of Party decisions. It is not enough for a Party members merely to agree with Party decisions, it is incumbent upon him to strive actively to have them put into effect. A passive and formal attitude on the part of the Communists towards Party decisions undermines the Party's efficiency and is therefore incompatible with Party membership'
Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)
4. After clause (k), add 'l' to read: "to pay regularly the party dues like Party levy"
K.T.K.Thangamani, (Tamil Nad)
5. Add a new sub-section (l) as below: "to pay the party dues and levies regularly and within the prescribed time."
P.K.Tandon (UP)
6. Add to section (h): to report shortcomings and mistakes to leading party bodies.
Niranjan Sen (W.Bengal)
7. In sub-clause (J), after the words 'against the enemies of working class', add 'and the peasantry'
K.M. Haribhat (Tamil Nad)
8. In section 1, add the following sentence: "No Party members shall take any formal or passive attitude towards carrying out the decisions of the party"
Gopal Basu (W Bengal)
9. After clause (d), add "To defend, safeguard, and strengthen national independence of our country."
E.C. Bharathan (Kerala)
10. Add at the end of 1(j): "to fight for the preservation of the ideological and organisational unity of the party"
T.R.Ganesen (Tamil Nad)
article 13....

ARTICLE 13

1. Add following sub-section between (c) and (d): "To demand a resolution evaluating his past work whenever a Party committee or any Party organisation decides to shift him or her from one job to another."

Shiv Varma (U P)

2. Add following clauses to the draft clauses and re-arrange all the clauses in appropriate order:

"To elect and be elected as an office bearer of any party organ or other committees."

"To freely take part in all discussions regarding party policy, programme or any problem before the party in the appropriate organ or other committee"

"To vote at party meetings in which a party member has participated on any question which may have to be decided by taking a vote and to demand a secret ballot if considered necessary."

"To raise any issue or problem for discussion in any party organ or committee."

G. Samuel (Tamil Nad)

3. Add following sub-clause at the end: "To get all documents and circulars for which he is entitled through his party unit"

M T Potkar, Rajasthan

4. After sub-clause (b) of clause 1, add another sub-clause "To make proposals regarding the Party's work and give full play of their creative ability in their work"

Barin Chowdhary (Assam)

5. After clause (c) add another clause as follows:

"To make proposals regarding the party's work and give full play to their creative ability in their work"

After clause (g) add another clause as follows:

"To practice freely philosophic research and scientific, artistic and cultural activities."

Section two should be rewritten as follows:

"Infringement of the above rights of a party member by a party unit or committee or another party member shall constitute a violation of party discipline and such unit, committee or member shall be liable to disciplinary action"

Jolly Kaul (W Bengal)

6. Clause (j) should be made clause (a) and amended in the following manner: After the words "vigilant against", add the following words: "all attempts that undermine its unity or lead to factionalism or groupings inside the party". Delete rest of the sentence.

Clause (f): (i) after the words "report their opinions and demands to the party", add the words "to explain the policy and decisions of the party to the masses."

ii) After the words "under the guidance of the party", add the words "to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the party".

iii) After clause (g), add another clause (1) follows: "To s

- ii) after the words "under the guidance of the party", add the words "to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the party"
- iii) after clause (k) add another clause (l) as follows:
"To set an example in their work and practice, in their every day life and conduct that will educate the masses; to remember always in their behaviour that communism represents the noblest ideals of mankind and carries forward the best traditions of humanism, culture and morality."

Jolly Kaul (W Bengal)

- 7. At the end of clause 2, add the following: "Infringement of these rights constitutes a violation of party discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it"

Biresh Misra (Assam)

- 8. Section 3, second line - after the words "charged with serious", insert the words "deviations of party line and".....

Gopal Basu (W Bengal)

ARTICLE 14

- 1. Replace para 2(a) by following: "Any member of any committee not only has the right to express his individual opinion freely and frankly before his committee, conference or council, it is the duty of every member to participate freely and frankly in the deliberations especially before the Party Congress. If any member of that executive differs from the majority view on main political and organisational question, he has the right to place his viewpoint in the Congress or conference after only informing his viewpoint to his own committee.

Gokulmohan Roy Churamony (Orissa)

- 2. Rewrite sub-clause (c) of section 2 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 differences occur in the national council on vital questions of party policy and if the lack of decisions are likely to lead to the immobilisation of the party, the issue should be referred to Congress as soon as is practically possible. However, if an immediate and firm decision is necessary in the interests of the party and the mass movement, the decision of the majority in a committee should be carried out.

K P S Menon (F H Q)

- 3. Rewrite sub-clause (f) of clause 1 as follows:

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

F H Q unit.

- 4. Delete...

4. Delete 2 (c)

K T K Thangamani (Tamil Nad)

5. Rule (a) before the word 'elected', insert the word 'freely'

G. Samuel (Tamil Nad)

6. After rule (d) add the following clauses:

"Any issue or poblem or criticism raised by any Party member shall be discussed and decided upon by the concerned Party organ and the decision shall be communicated to the concerned member within a reasonable time. "

"Any issue, problem or criticism raised or referred to a higher organ by a lower party unit shall be discussed and decided upon and the decision communicated to the lower party organ within a reasonable time."

G. Samuel (Tamil Nad).

7. Section two, insert new clause 'consistent struggle against bureaucratic tendencies at all levels' as clause 'e'.

Gujerat Delegation.

8. Replace 2(d) by following:

"Apart from self-critifism and criticism being practised in the party committees, on the even of the Congress, conference or councils, the individual members of the executive committee of the corresponding level should submit in writing before their own committees his own self-criticism and his criticism on other members of the same committee. Such self-criticism and criticism should be assorted and placed by the executive committee before the delegates of the Congress, conference or council"

Sadananda Mahanty (Orissaa)

9. After clause (g) of clause 1, add the following clauses:

(h) All party committees shall initiate and encourage organised dis cussion in the party on current and important questions

Party committees shall as far as possible before taking decisions try to ascertain the opinions of party members and consult lower committees.

(i) A higher committee wishing to rescind, remove or substantially amend a decision of a lower committee shall discuss the matter with the lower committee before taking the step."

Jolly Kaul (W Bengal)

10. Clause 2(d), insert "and self-criticism from the top" after the sentence.

Sadananda Mahanty (Orissa)

11. Clause 2(a): After 'affecting the party, its policy,' amend to read "and activity and also their ideological implications."

Clause 1(f): Amend the beginning of the sentence to read:"All questions of international affairs, questions of all-India character" etc.

...../-...

12. After the word 'members' in clause 1(d), add the following "shall organise regularly inner-party discussion for effectively fulfil that objective."
B. Guha (W Bengal)
13. Article 2(f) to be amended as follows: "Correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their isolated mistakes or incidents by taking into account their whole record of service to the party."
Mohanlal Mukherjee (Assam)
14. In clause 2, insert the following as first para: "Pooling experience of entire party membership and popular movement as basis for centralised guidance."
Hari Singh (Punjab)
15. At the end of first para of clause 1, add: "To defend this vital principle of party organisation and functioning, struggle must be conducted against all manifestations of bureaucratism and authoritarianism at one end and ultra-democracy on the other".
Hari Singh (Punjab)
16. Add to section (c): and ask for instructions in good time where it needs decision by the higher committee.
Add to section (d): study their experience and give prompt help to solve their problems.
Niranjana Sen & others (W Bengal)
17. Section 2, sub-section (f): After "....judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents", add the following: "Not on the basis of vague generalisations of past and subjective prejudices".
In the same para, add the word "objectively" after the word "account".
Shiv Verma (U P)
18. section 2(a) to be substituted by the following:
"Any member of any committee not only has the right to express his individual opinion freely and frankly before the committee, congress, conference/council, but it is the duty of every member to participate freely and frankly, especially before the congress, conference/council. The conception that the executive committee (leadership) acting unitedly and jointly, under the general principle of acting on majority view (discipline) during a session of congress, conference/council, is alien and detrimental to party organisation."
Bireswari Misra (Assam)

ADDENDUM

Article 2.

Change the whole article to read as follows: The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against five-pointed Red Star with a circular inscription in white "Communist Party of India".

Promode Das Gupta (W Bengal)

.../...

ARTICLE II

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background set within a circular sheaf of corn.

- C.K.Viswanathan (Kerala)

ARTICLE IV : After clause 1, put the following in a separate clause: "Every Party member must become a member of one basic unit of the Party."

- Bagala Guha, S.Sen Gupta (W.Bengal)

ARTICLE IV: Line 3, insert after the words "Party organisations", the following: "to work in any of the mass organisations".

- A.V.Aryan (Kerala)

ARTICLE IV: After "higher committee" of para 5, add "having due consultation with the concerning Party committees". The amended para will read: "Members once expelled.....or by a higher committee having due consultation with the concerning Party committees".

- Tarun Sen Deka (Assam)

ARTICLE V: Para 3: the word "people" should be placed first and the word "Party" should be placed after it. The line should be read as follows: "placing the interest of the people and the Party above personal interests."

- Mohanlal Mukherjee (Assam)

ARTICLE X: Fees be distributed as follows: 10 n.f. to the National Council; 15 n.f. to the State or Provincial Council; 10 n.f. to the District Council; 10 n.f. to the Local Committee; 5 n.f. to the Party Branch.

- K.Narasimha Reddy (Andhra)

ARTICLE X: 1) "Ten per cent for the National Council" amend it "five percent". 2) The rest of all the paras should be deleted and added the following: "States, District and local Party committees' percentages must be decided in the Provincial Conferences".

- E.K.Nayanar, K.Chathunni (Kerala)

ARTICLE XI: 2nd line: instead of the word "may", put "shall".

- K.Narasimha Reddy (Andhra)

ARTICLE XII: Section 1(A): After "to regularly" add the following words: - "attend the general body meeting of the Party Branch and to".

- Kanai Bhowmick, |
Ananta Majee, | West Bengal.
Sukumar Sen Gupta |

ARTICLE XIII: Section 2: Replace the word "respected" by "observed".

- Gujerat Delegation.

ARTICLE V : Add this para to the Pledge as follows: "In my public and social conduct, I shall strive to set an example of modest behaviour worthy of membership of the great Party of the working class."

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

ARTICLE XII: Add the following: "(1) Every Party member shall strive to so mould his personal life as to be an example for others".

- Satyapal Dang, Darshan Singh (Punjab)

April 7, 1958

A M E N D M E N T S
TO CONSTITUTION (DRAFT)

Com. Santosh Ganguli, Howrah:

1. Instead of a preamble, a general programme be prefixed to the Constitution.

2. The text of the general programme be somewhat like this:

- Add to the para 1 of the adopted Constitution: "the instrument of the dictatorship of the Indian working class. The aim of the Party is to achieve socialism and communism in India."

- In place of paras 2 to 5: Communist Party of India is guided by Marxism-Leninism and by its world-outlook of dialectical and historical materialism. It is Marxism-Leninism which helps us to understand the laws of social development and to chart correct path leading to the achievement of Socialism and Communism. The Communist Party of India upholds the principles of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of India's revolutionary struggle and combats all doctrinaire and empiricist deviations.

- The Communist Party of India shall strive to establish in place of the present Government, a People's Democratic Government which will be led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and accomplish the task of the present stage and lead the country to stage of socialism.

- The Communist Party of India urges upon all its members to understand that the interest of the Party and those of the working class and the peasantry and the peoples are one and the responsibility to the Party and the responsibility to the working class and the peasantry and the people are identical.

- The Communist Party of India urges upon all its members to keep close, constant and extensive touch with the working class, the peasantry and the people; to organise their struggles; consolidate their forces in organisations and help them guide their organisations democratically; to inculcate in them the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the spirit of internationalism and patriotism; to lead and guide them to fulfil their specific role in establishing a people's democratic government and accomplishing the task of the present stage through the instrument of the dictatorship of the Indian working class in alliance with the peasantry and lead the country to the stage of Socialism.

- In order to fulfil the responsibility of leading the working class and the peasantry and the people in their revolutionary struggles to establish a people's democratic government and to accomplish the tasks of the present stage and advance to the stage of socialism, the Communist Party of India must uphold and pursue the organisational principle of democratic centralism, take effective measures to promote inner-party democracy, encourage

. . . the initiative and

the initiative and creative ability of all Party members and of all local party organisations and strengthen the lively contact between the higher and lower party organisations. Democratic centralism demands that every Party organisation should strictly abide by the principle of collective leadership coupled with individual responsibility and that every party member and party organisation should be subject to party supervision from above and from below.

- The Communist Party of India urges upon all its members to educate themselves in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in the lessons derived from the experience of international communist movement and of Socialist governments and learn from the struggles of the masses of our country, fight against all sorts of deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles, from Party programme, Party decisions, Party Constitution, to prevent and resist corrosion by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ways of thinking and styles of work, guard against and defeat any rightist, leftist opportunist deviation inside the Party, preserve solidarity and unity, pursue criticism and self-criticism and in accordance with the principle of centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralised guidance function collectively as modest, diligent and unpretentious Party members.

- The Communist Party of India urges upon all its members to place the Party's interest above their personal interests, to study and work hard, to unite the broad masses of the people and overcome all difficulties in order to build India (Indian Union) into a mighty socialist state and on this basis advance the loftiest ideal of mankind - Communism.

LIST OF AMENDMENTS TO THE PREAMBLE OF THE DRAFT
CONSTITUTION

(Amendment follows the order of paragraphs)

PARA I

Y ✓ 1) Add after "Indian working class" the word "its vanguard".

- Kani Bhowmick, Ananta Majee, Bagala Guha
Sukumar Sen Gupta (West Bengal)

✓ 2) At the end add "It represents interests of the entire nation".

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

3) 4th line, after "opinions of Party Members", insert "the fearless exposure of the mistakes and their timely corrections".

- Assam Delegation.

II ✓ 4) Second sentence should be re-written as follows:

"It is a voluntary organisation of workers, peasants and all other exploited sections of the people in general, devoted to the cause of Socialism".

- C.K.Viswanathan (Kerala)

5) ^{Name} "The name of the Party shall be the Bhartiya Communist Party".

- Ramdeva Sharma (Bihar)

6) 2nd line: After the words "Indian Working class", in place of the words "its highest", put the words, "the highest form of its". The amended part will read like as follows: "the highest form of its class organisation".

- Biresw Misra (Assam)

7) Line 3, after the words "workers, peasants", add: -
"intellectuals"

- Indradeep Sinha (Bihar)

✓ 8) "The instrument of the dictatorship of the Indian working class. The aim of the Party, socialism and communism in India".

- Santosh Ganguly, (W.Bengal)

✓ 9) Change the 1st line by the following: "The Communist Party is the vanguard, organised detachment of the working class and all the toiling masses of Indian Union."

- Promode Das Gupta (W.Bengal)

.../...

Defeated
2/15/75/100.

I 10) Insert the following: "The Communist Party represents the interests of the Indian nation".

- Gujarat Delegation.

✓11) Replace 2nd sentence by the following: "It carries out the leadership of the working class by organising into its fold the workers, peasants and other toiling people of the country devoted to the cause of socialism".

- Shiv Kumar Misra (U.P.)

✓12) Delete last sentence, "It is..... to the cause of socialism".

- Hariish Tiwari, Gur Prasad, R. N. Upadhyaya (U.P.)

13) After "The Communist Party of India.....working class" and before "its highest class organisation", add: "its vanguard and most organised detachment".

take para 5
Add a sentence after the first sentence: "It fulfils the role of leadership of the proletariat and other sections of the people organising them in the struggle for sweeping away the vestiges of colonial order, consolidating national independence and building socialism and communism in India."

In the last sentence after "people in general" rewrite the last clause as follows: "devoted to this cause and ready to fight and sacrifice for it."

- Biswanath Mukherjee (W.Bengal)

14) Rewrite the sentence, "It is a voluntary organisation . . . cause of Socialism", as follows: "The Communist Party acting as the vanguard of the working class stands for ending the rule of capital and the building of socialism by uniting and mobilising the peasants and other toiling people under the leadership of the working class".

- Shanti Vyas (U.P.)

✓15) Rewrite first sentence as follows: "The Communist Party of India is the vanguard of the working class, its organised detachment and highest form of class organisation."

Add at the end of the second sentence the following: "and pledged to fight and sacrifice for it".

- Hare Krishna Konar (West Bengal)

16) Write "It is a revolutionary organisation of workers"

- Shankar Dayal Tiwari (U.P.)

17) Insert the word "vanguard" in the place of "political party" in the 1st sentence and also insert the word "form of" after "highest" in the same sentence.

The sentence will read like this: "The Communist Party of India is the vanguard of the Indian working class, its highest form of class organisation."

- Niranjana Sen Gupta, Niren Ghose, Khagen Rai Chowdhury, Gopal Basu (West Bengal)

II 18) Delete the first para and add the following: * The Communist Party of India is the political party of Indian workers, peasants and toiling people in general, devoted to the cause of socialism".

- N. Gari Prasad, Ch. Laxminarasiah (Andhra)

19) At the end add the following words: "and Communism".

- B.K.Gupta(M.F.), -C.Vasudeva Rao (Andhra)

✓20) Delete the next portion of Para I and insert the following: "It is a voluntary organisation of class-conscious, selfless revolutionaries representing the interests of workers, peasants and of toiling people in general and devoted to the cause of socialism and communism".

- Niranjan Sen Gupta & 2 others(W.Bengal)

✓21) In line 3, delete "toiling". -A.K.Moorthy (Karnataka)

PARA II

1) Add in the second para 3rd line after "Indian revolutionaries who", "were working in trade unions and kisan organisations in different parts of the country and who" and add after Great October Revolution, "accepted Marxism-Leninism as a guide to their action in search of a new path for achieving national independence" and delete "were seeking new paths for achieving national independence," and add further, "and thus the Party came into being as a synthesis of socialism and working class movement of the country".

- Harish Tiwary, Gur Prasad, R.N.Upadhyaya (U.P.)

2) 9th line the sentence beginning "It tirelessly..." to be amended in this way: "It tirelessly strove to make our emancipation struggle all-embracing by giving it a socialist direction."

- B.K.Gupta (Madhya Pradesh).

✓3) In the last line, add "some" before the words "best elements"

- B.K.Gupta (Madhya Pradesh)

✓4) Replace 'liberation struggle' by "Struggle for freedom" throughout.

Add after "workers and peasants" in line 12, "and other sections of the toiling people".

Replace "for daring to serve the people" in line 5 from below, by "in the course of struggle".

Rearrangement suggested that reference to Martyrs should precede reference to imprisonment.

In line 3 from below, replace "the best sons" by "many of the best sons".

- P.H.Q.

5) After "The Communist Party of India arose in liberation struggle" add - "after a working class had come into existence in the arena".

- Assam Delegation.

6) At the end of the Para put: "And in this struggle it desires strength and inspiration from the growing might of the Socialist and democratic camp, it unites with the international proletariat, oppressed peoples and other nations which treat India as equal."

- Nripen Chakravarti, Biren Dutt (Tripura)

.../...

7) Instead of "The great October Revolution" it should be, "the Great October Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917".

Last line before the word "intelligentsia" the following should be added:- "revolutionary".

- M.A.Potkar (Rajasthan)

8) 2nd line: After the words "liberation struggle" and before the words "as a result" put the words: "and heroic battles of our toiling masses against exploitation" and at the end of the same sentence add the words: "social justice."

The amended sentence will read like as follows: "The Communist Party of India arose in the course of our liberation struggle and heroic battles of our toiling masses against exploitation, as a result of the efforts of Indian revolutionaries who under the inspiration of Great October Revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence and social justice."

- Biresh Misra (Assam)

9) Line 17, instead of "best sons", insert "some of the best sons and daughters".

- Hajrah Begum.

✓10) Delete paras 2 and 3.

- T.Nagi Reddy (Andhra)

11) Amend the sentence, "The Communist Party of India arose national independence", as under: "The Communist Party of India arose in the course of innumerable class struggles and the freedom movement of the Indian people as a result of the efforts of worker and peasant leaders and revolutionary patriots who under the inspiration of the Great October Revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence."

- Shanti Tyagi (U.P.)

12) Add after "revolutionaries" in 1st sentence: "and class conscious workers"

- Shiva Kumar Misra (U.P.)

✓13) After "The Communist Party....liberation struggle", add "and in the course of the class struggle of the proletariat". In this sentence itself add after "national independence" - "leading to establishment of socialism in our country".

-Bishwanath Mukherjee (W.Bengal)

14) Line 10: After the sentence ending with "programme" insert the following new sentence: "From its inception it consistently strove to organise the workers, peasants and other toiling people in their class organisations, lead their struggles and raise their class consciousness."

- Hare Krishna Konar (W.Bengal)

✓15) 1st sentence, after the words".... in the course of our", add the word "national".

After the words "liberation struggle", add the words "and the class struggles of the Indian proletariat".

- Indrajit Gupta (W.Bengal)

.../...

PARA III

1) After "serving the masses...." add: "organising them into different class organisation".

- Shiv Kumar Misra (U.P.)

2) Add after "freedom and independence", "learning from its errors".

- S.A.Muruganatham, R.Nallakannu (Tamilnad)

3) Rewrite the para as following: "Serving the masses, by leading the mass struggles, independence and world peace, the Party has grown from a small group to a mass Party."

- K.Narasimha Reddy (Andhra)

4) 1st Line, after the words "serving the masses", add the words "boldly leading their class struggles and".

The amended sentence will read as follows: "Steadfastly serving the masses, boldly leading their class struggles and courageously championing the cause of socialism and independence, the Party has grown to its present strength."

-Biresh Mirsa (Assam)

5) The words "full democracy and socialism" be removed and substituted by the word "socialist democracy".

- Satyanarain Singh (Bihar)

6) Amend the para to 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."

- PHQ Delegation.

PARA IV

1) Amend the para to read "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of political power by the people led by the working class and the realisation of Socialism and Communism."

- PHQ DELEGATION.

2) Change the para to read as follows: "The aim of the C.P.I. is the achievement of power by people, the establishment of People's Democracy, leading the working class as a weapon to complete anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of revolution and effect transition to the goal of socialism and communism, in accordance with the requirements of India's social development and in conformity with the will of people".

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

3) First line, add after "...led by the working class", "and based on the alliance of the working class and peasantry."

- Assam delegation.

4) Amend Para 4 to read : "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achieving of power by the people led by the working class and the realisation of socialism".

- K.Ramdass, K.P.Subramanya Menon, K.G.Srivastava,
Nikhil Chakravarty, Mohit Sen (P.H.Q.)

.../...

5) Delete the para and include the following: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people and the establishment of socialism and communism in the country."

- N.Giri Prasad, Ch.Laxminarasaiah (Andhra).

6) Before the word "realisation" insert the word "ultimate".

- G.Samuel, (Tamilnad)

7) In the last but one line after the word "led by the working class and" add the word "for the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to build up socialism and communism."

- Kanair Bhowmick, Ananta Majee, Bagala Guha, Sukumar Sen Gupta, (West Bengal)

8) Rewrite the para as follows: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people, the establishment of a government based on the alliance of all toiling people led by the working class, and the realisation of socialism and Communism."

- Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab)

9) Para 4 must end with these words: "classless and stateless society". Take this as 2nd para and rearrange.

- Gujerat Delegation.

10) Delete the words "The establishment of peoples' democracy lead by the working class".

- Harbans Singh, Shiv Kumar Misra, Gur Prasad, Pathak, Harish Tiwari (U.P.)

11) 1st line add after, "The Aims of the Communist Party of India is ", "to dislodge the reactionary classes from power" and delete the achievement of power by the working people.

- R.N.Upadhyaya (U.P.)

12) The para should read as follows: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the attainment of the socialism and communism in India by the working people".

* Kumaranand (Rajasthan).

13) Rewrite Para 4 as follows: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the conquest of power by the working people, the establishment of People's Democracy led by the working class, to complete the unfinished tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and then pass on to the realisation of socialism and communism."

- Niranjana Sen Gupta & 2 others (W.Bengal)

.../...

PARA 5

1) After the words "...the Communist Party of India strives to unite and lead," insert the words "on the basis of the working class-peasant alliance led by the working class".

- Sushital Roy Chowdhury (W. Bengal)

2) Line 6, instead of words "of feudal survivals", substitute "of feudalism".

- K.T.K. Thangamani (Tamilnad)

3) Insert the following between the words "freedom" and "strengthening" in line 7, "The completion of the incomplete independence."

- Kolla Venkaiah (Andhra)

4) Substitute the word "development" for the word "strengthening".

- G. Samuel (Tamilnad)

5) Delete the last sentence.

- C. Vasudeva Rao.

6) After the words "strengthening of national economy", add the words "curbing of the powers of the monopolies".

- Jolly Kaul (W. Bengal)

7) After the word "strengthening" and the words "and ~~xx~~ democratising".

- S.V. Parulekar (Maharashtra)

8) Add at the end of the words "strengthening of national economy", the following: "by taking into account its unequal development in the areas of the various national territories of our country and providing for the rapid development of such background areas which has been the base of the British rule and which continues even today."

Add at the end of the following words in the same paragraph "all-sided expansion of democracy" the following words "by decentralisation of power at the centre and vesting more powers in the States".

- K. Muthiaiah, K.T. Raju and 7 others
(Tamilnad)

9) After the words "national economy" add the following words: "improvement in living conditions of the people".

- Hare Krishna Konar (W. Bengal)

10) Rewrite the portion beginning with "strengthening of national economy. . . ." as follows: "removal of the grip of foreign capital in important sectors of our economy and creation of a national economy independent of foreign control, all-sided expansion of democracy and liquidation of feudal interests and the evil heritage of foreign rule in the cultural and social spheres as well".

- Niranjan Sen Gupta and 2 others. (W. Bengal)

11) 6th line, insert the word "curbing of monopoly exploitation" after "liquidation of feudal survivals"....

- Gopal Basu (W. Bengal)

.../...

12) In the last but one line, after the word "economic" insert "administrative".

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

PARA VI

1) After the last sentence add the following: "Communist Party stands for religious freedom".

- E.K.Nayanar, K.Chathunni (Kerala)

2) Replace "vital interests of the masses", by "vital interests of the people".

- P.H.Q. Delegation.

3) After Para VI, Tribal welfare to be added.

- A.K.Moorthy (Karanataka)

4) At the end of the para please add a suitable sentence pledging protection to the minorities.

- Jagjit Singh Anand (Punjab)

PARA VII

1) At the end of the words "equal treatment for the peoples of all linguistic regions" add the following words "protecting the cultural interests of the linguistic minorities".

- K.Muthaiah, K.T.Raju (Tamilnad)

2) In line 5, after the word 'regions' add the words "and the minority communities".

- Assam Delegation (?)

3) Add the word "separatist" after "disruptionist".

- K.T.K. Tangamani (Tamilnad)
and rewrite:

4) 4th line, add "real" before "struggles". "Fighting against all disruptionist trends and movements, the Communist Party struggles for real equality and equal treatment for all linguistic regions (taking into consideration backwardness of linguistic regions) as a sure foundation of Indian unity".

- K.T.K.Tangamani (Tamilnad)

5) After "fighting against all disruptionist" add "and separatist".

- N.Sankariah (Tamilnad)

6) After the words "and equal" add the words "rights and" and in the same line after the words "linguistic regions" add the words "linguistic groups".

The amend part of the sentence will read as follows: "... the Communist Party struggles for equality and equal rights and treatment for the peoples of all linguistic regions and linguistic groups as a sure foundation of Indian unity.

- Bires Misra (Assam)

7) 2nd line from below after "linguistic regions", add the following "and fight for the rights of the minorities in that region".

- Makhdoom Mohuiddin (Andhra).

.../...

8) After the words "linguistic region" insert the following words:- "for protection of genuine interests of religions and tribal minorities and for special efforts to uplift backward sections of people".

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

9) After "linguistic regions" add "and protection to linguistic minorities".

- A.K.Mocorthy (Karnataka)

10) In the last but one line after "all linguistic regions" add - "and groups".

- Assam Delegation).

PARA III

1) Change "cooperation between all States" to "cooperation between all countries".

- P.H.Q. Delegation.

2) After the words "The Communist Party of India fights for peace and " delete the rest of the sentence and add instead the following: "advocates a foreign policy based on the well-known Five Principles or Panch Shila. The Communist Party stands for peaceful cooperation and mutual aid between all States on the basis of full freedom and equality of all nations. The Communist Party of India stands for a policy of support to all anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world".

- Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)

PARA IX

1) 5th line, drop the words "domination of class by class" and substitute by the following "exploitation of man by man".

- B.K.Gupta (M.P.)

2) Delete the last sentence, "It combats tendencies..... their manifestations".

Replace "fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism" by "teachings of Marxism-Leninism".

- I.H.Q. Delegation.

3) Delete the sentence beginning with the words "It combats tendencies....." and ending with the word "manifestations".

- V.Shrikrishna

4) In the first sentence delete "fundamental" before "principles of Marxism-Leninism".

- Biswanath Mukherjee.

5) After the words ".....the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show the toiling masses the correct way", write, "to put an end to the exploitation of class by class and....."

- Shankar Dayal Tiwari (U.P.).

6) Add after the words "the correct way to put an end to" "exploitation of man by man and the establishment of a classless society" and delete "domination of class by class and the establishment of a socialist society."

- Gur Prasad, R.N.Upadhyaya, Harish Tiwari, (U.P.)

7) Before the sentence beginning with "it combats" add the following new sentence: "It adheres to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and opposes the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics."

- Hare Krishna Konar (W.Bengal)

8) Last sentence, after the words "It combats tendencies of ", the following words be added: "subjectivism, doctrinairism".

- M.A.Potkar (Rajasthan).

9) Delete the last sentence "It combats...manifestations"

Delete "which alone..... Socialist society".

- T.Nagi Reddy (Andhra)

PARA X

1) Amend first sentence to read, "The Communist Party of India works out its policies by integrating the teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation, with the historical traditions of the Indian people and also their national characteristics."

Change the last word "decisions" into "actions".

- P.H.Q. Delegation.

2) Add the following words after the word 'the people' in the last but one sentence "and the country".

- C.Vasudeva Rao.

3) Rewrite this para in the following manner: "The Communist Party of India works out its policies and determines its line of action in accordance with the interests and needs of the people by integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation and India's national peculiarities. The Party is responsible to the people for its decisions".

- Shanti Tyagi.(U.P.)

4) Add the following clause at the beginning of the last sentence beginning with "it formulates": "As the sovereign national party of the toilers of India"..... it formulates its...."

- F.B.Weidya (Maharashtra)

5) Add after "...with India's national peculiarities": "taking into account the uneven development of economic, political, social and cultural - of the various regions of India".

Also at the end of para 10 add "it realises that if such a path is pursued, it will result in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism itself".

- S.A.Muruganatham(Tamilnad)

6) Rewrite the para as below: "The Communist Party of India works out the policies and programme ~~xx~~ by the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the social, political and economic situation in India from time to time, the experiences of Indian History, the traditions, customs, national peculiarities and aspirations of the Indian people".

- G. Samuel (Tamilnad)

.../...

7) Shift this para to para 5.

- B-K. Gupta. (M.P.)

P A R A: 7:

In line 5, replace the word "Peoples" by "people".

- V.D.Chitale.

P A R A: 12:

Between the words "Party" and "fights" insert the following words:

"While vigorously defending national interests of India genuine interests of various nationalities inhabiting it."

- Hari Singh (Punjab)

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PARA 11

1. In line 3, following words should be dropped:

"Extending over more than a hundred years"

M. A. Potkar (Rajasthan)

PARA 12

1. Add after "CPI fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism", the following:

"also remnants of feudal relationship such as casteism, communalism, etc."

T. R. Ganesan (Tamil Nad)

2. At the end of the para, add the following:

"The party believes that the interests of the people of this country demand that we support the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries who, preserving a policy of peace and aid to the anti-imperialist forces of the world, are the mainstay of peace and social progress".

Jolly Kaul (W. Bengal)

3. In the second sentence after "for the liberation....imperialism" and before "for establishment.....world", add

"for safeguarding from enemy encroachments the historic political and social gains affected in the socialist countries".

Add a sentence at the end of the para: "The Party is also convinced that the vital interests of the working people of our country as well as other countries call for their support of the Soviet Union and socialist countries which, pursuing a policy of peace throughout the world, are the mainstay of peace, national independence and social progress."

Biswanath Mukherjee
(W. Bengal)

4. In line 1, after the words "The Communist Party", add the following words:

"while assuring full development of national aspirations of the people"

B. Guha (W. Bengal)

5. Amend para 12 to 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. The Communist Party of India fights against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, basing itself on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It stands for fraternal relations and cooperation among the workers and the peoples of the world.....achieving common aim"

K. G. Srivatsava,

Nihil Chakravarty, Mohit Sen,
Ramesh, K. P. S. Menon,

6. Delete "fight against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism" etc.

P. Satyanarayana (Andhra)

✓ -----
PARA 13

1. Add to the last sentence: "provided the exploiting classes do not resort to violence against the people".

Niranjan Sen and others
(W. Bengal)

2. After "CPI strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means", add
"in the context of international developments and in line with the traditions of the Indian national liberation movement"

T. R. Ganesan (Tamil Nad)

3. Delete paragraph No. 13 from the preamble and let it find a place in the political resolution.

Gopal Bose (W. Bengal)

4. In the second sentence, after the words "by backing it with mass sanctions", delete the words "the working class and its allies can" and add, instead "the possibility exists of the working class and its allies being able to"

Jolly Kaul (W. Bengal)

5. Add at the end: "At the same time, the Communist Party is aware that ruling classes defying the will of the overwhelming majority of the people resort to violence against them may impose a non-peaceful path because history shows that the degree of bitterness and forms of class struggle depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the people, using force at one stage or another of the struggle for socialism."

Biswanath Mukherjee (W. Bengal)

6. Insert the following after the words "It considers that by" "building up powerful mass organisations".

Gokulmohan Roy Chowdary (Orissa)

7. Delete the word "full" in the first line and where the word "parliament" appears, replace it by words "Parliament and State legislatures".

K. T. K. Thangamani (Tamil Nad)

8. Rewrite para 13 as follows: "The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, led by working class, can alone bring the fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."

Kumarananda (Rajasthan)

9. Towards the....

9. Towards the end of the preamble, add the following para:
"The present constitution of the Communist Party of India is the product of a new historical period reflecting the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the national and world arena. It will help the party to gain further successes in its noble cause and help it to grow into a real mass party."
Shanti Tyagi (U. P.)
10. Amend the para as follows:
"The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by democratic means acceptable to the people. It considers that by winning the majority of the toiling people to its programme and policies, by dislodging the Congress party from its present position of national-political leadership and by bringing the masses of the people into active political movement, by winning a majority....."
Shanti Tyagi (U.P)
11. Redraft the para as follows:
"The CPI is confident that full democracy and socialism can be achieved in India by peaceful means provided the ruling class respects the wishes of the majority of the people. the Communist Party will strive to develop a powerful mass movement, to win a majority in Parliament, and to back such a majority with mass sanctions so that the working class and its allies may be enabled to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and to ensure that parliament becomes an instrument of the people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."
Indrajit Gupta (W.Bengal)
12. Delete para 13 as a whole.
Narayan Chobey (W.Bengal)
13. Delete the first three words "It considers that" from the second sentence and begin the sentence with "By developing a powerful mass movement," etc., and after "the working class and its allies", add "led by the Communist Party" and then continue with "can overcome the resistance", etc.
At the end of the para, "full democracy will be guaranteed by genuine organs of people's power at the lowest level."
PHQ unit.
14. The para must begin with this formulation:
"Communist party of India will achieve full democracy and Socialism by peaceful means. That it states that peaceful transition to socialism is possible under the present historic situation."
Gujerat Delegation.
15. Insert the following sentence at the beginning of the para
"The CPI firmly believes that it is the establishment of people's democratic dictatorship which alone can create the basis of building socialism and communism in our country and all activities of the Party will be guided by the interests of fulfilment of this task."
Harekrishna Konar (W.Bengal)

16. Omit the words "by peaceful means" in the second line
Add the word "communism" after the word "socialism" in the second line
Omit "it considersand state structure."
Provash R. y (W.Bengal)
17. After the words "by peaceful means", add "as long as democratic conditions prevail."
K.Narsimhareddi (Andhra)
18. The para be deleted.
Kanai Bhowmick, Ananta Majee,
Bagela Guha, S.S.Gupta (W.Bengal)
19. Amend para 13 to read as:
"The CPI strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in parliament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies led by the CP can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."
Nikhil, K.P.S.Menon, K.Srivatsava,
Mohit Sen (PHQ)
20. Amend para 13 to read:
"The CPI strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that relying on the majority of the people and a popular front, the working class and its allies can launch mass movements, secure a firm majority in the parliament, ensure that the parliament becomes an instrument of the people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure, overcome the resistance of the reactionary anti-popular forces and create necessary condition for peaceful transition to socialism. It holds that all this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses, the intelligentsia and the middle classes against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.
"The Party seeks to make it clear that the charter of struggle for transition to socialism will depend not so much on the working class and its allies, who stand firmly for a peaceful course of development, as on the resistance of the reactionary forces who may take resort to violence to nullify the will of the overwhelming majority of the people at one stage or the other."
Assam delegation.
21. Line three, after the words "mass movement", add the words "by boldly leading the class struggles of the toiling masses"
Biresw Misra (Assam)
22. Line 3, for the word "movement", read "struggle" and afterwards add as follows: "backed by struggle within the legislatures, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and the Parliament may become an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and State structure, if the forces of reaction do not resist the peaceful democratic way of struggle."
Saroj Roy (W.Bengal)
23. Delete...

23. Delete para thirteen.
Samsul Huda (W.Bengal)
24. line two, omit words "by peaceful means"
line four: add the word "appropriate", before the words
"mass sanctions"
Narayan Roy (W. Bengal)
25. Line five, substitute the word "may", for the word "can"
Narayan Roy (W.Bengal)
26. The first sentence should read as follows:
"The CPI strives to achieve full democracy and socialism
by peaceful and non-violent means"
K. T. Zacharias (Kerala)

✓ -----
PARA 14

1. Add at the end of the first sentence: "consistent with the
vital tasks of defending and extending the socialist gains"
Biswanath Mukherjee (W.Bengal)
2. After the words "including the right of political organisa-
tion", add the words "to all including those in opposition
to the government so long as they abided by the socialist
constitution"
Jolly Kaul (W.Bengal)
3. Insert a new para after 14:
"It is the supreme duty of the Party organisations and
leadership to forge extensive and indissoluble links with
the masses. Only the masses can put into practice under
the guidance of the Party what it advocates. Hence Party's
ability to correctly lead the masses depends on its capa-
city to summarise the experience and opinions of the masses
and formulate its policies accordingly. A correct mass
line is the very life breath of all the activities of the
party."
Niranjan Sen & others (W.Bengal)
4. After the words "including the right of political organisation"
add the words "consistent with loyalty to the basic ideas
and the actual gains of socialism."
Indrajit Gupta (W.Bengal)
5. Delete the following portion of the first sentence: ~~in par~~
"and also guarantees the widest possible extension of
individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and asso-
ciation including the right of political organisation"
V.Sri Krishna (Andhra)

para 15....

PARA 15

accept 1.
Delete "political and mass" from first sentence to read "for discharging its responsibilities."

P H Q.

2. Add after "principles of democratic centralism", "it does not permit factionalism inside the party."

Gujerat delegation.

PARA 16

1. Replace "is a vital", by "constitute a vital..."

PHQ

2. Add the following after the words "opinions of party members"
"...and the correct observance of the principles of criticism and self-criticism based on the encouragement of criticism from below and exemplification of self-criticism from the top".

Gokulmohan Roy Churamony (Orissa)

PARA 17

1. After the words "proper practice of democracy", add "and criticism and self-criticism"

Gujerat Delegation.

2. Add the following new para:

"The Communist Party continuously wields the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, especially from below, to uncover and correct its mistakes and defects in time, and to improve its political, ideological and organisational work.

Hari Singh (Punjab)

PARA 18

1. first line, delete "ideological purity" and insert "Revolutionary ideology"

R.N. Upadhyay (U. P.)

2. line 3 and 4, between the words 'of' and 'the party', insert the words "the people"

Hari Singh (Punjab)

3. line 2, before the word "homogeneity", insert the words "organisational"

L. Samuel (Tamil Nad)

para 19....

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

P H Q delegation.

2. Delete last sentence and include the following: "They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence and to build a happy, prosperous socialist India.

N. Giri Prasad,
Ch. Laxminarsiah (Andhra)

3. The last line should read "They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, establishment a government based on the alliance of all the toiling people led by the working class, and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous, socialist India."

J. G. Jit Singh Anand (Punjab)

MISCELLANEOUS

The communist Party of India thinks that it is possible by peaceful means.

It considers that.....powerful class movements, by curbing reactionaries, by turning assemblies and public bodies etc. can create a condition for getting a majority in parliament and ensuring it for effecting influential change in the economic.... structure.

The communist party believes that democratic centralism be the policy of the CPI, as it is necessary for the proper function of the committee.

In furtherance of these aims.....struggle against reaction monopoly capital and against liquidation of feudal survival and... spheres.

The CPI fights for peace and peaceful cooperation of all countries and the rights of solution of their own problems in their own way.

The Comparty....Indian situation. (delete the rest)

The CPIarose in the course of liberation struggles and workers and peasants struggle against the imperialism and compromising policy of the bourgeois, congress organisations, namely beginning with Indian revolutionaries and drawing in all democratic and patriotic workers from the national liberation movements and class movements.

Delete the other portions in para two.

The aim of the party is.....by the Indian people, through the establishment of people's democracy with proletarian hegemony to lead the country to socialism and communism.

Benoy Bhushan Chakravarty (W. Bengal)

SPECIAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Amritsar

* REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE *

475 delegates are present at the Congress. The number of delegates elected to the Congress is 552, in addition to the members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, numbering 44, who are ex-officio delegates.

Out of these 596 delegates, 37 from among the members of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission and 438 from among the elected delegates have attended the Congress. Apart from the delegates, there are 5 comrades specially invited by the Central Committee, attending the Congress.

The largest delegation elected (141) as well as present (92) is from Kerala. Next comes Andhra with 123 elected and 84 present delegates.

According to the figures supplied by the leaders of the various State delegations, the membership of our Party on the eve of the Party Congress is 2,29,500.

As all of us know, among the delegates present, for the first time in the history of our Party, there is the Chief Minister of Kerala. There are also 21 Members of Parliament and 32 members of State legislatures among the delegates.

We are giving below the detailed information about the delegates. (We have not received one form, the information relates to 474 delegates). The figures in bracket are given from the report of the last (Fourth) Party Congress for comparison.

I. Total No. of Delegates

Elected	596 (427)
Present	475 (395)

II. Position in the Party

Members of CC and C	37 (36)
Members of FCs	164 (201)
Members of DCs	207 (120)
Members of Taluk or Local Committees	40 (17)
Members of branches or Units	26 (29)

III. Class Origin

III. Class Origin

Workingclass	45	(26)
Middleclass	276	(250)
Peasant	101	(95)
Agr.Labour	13	(3)
Landlord	31	(26)
Small trader	8	(2)

IV. Educational Qualifications

Non-matric	133	(86)
Matric	181	(168)
Graduates	160	(149)

V. Period of Joining the Party

Before 1930	9	(9)
1930-39	149	(119)
1940-43	160	(153)
1944-47	79	(82)
1948-51	50	(21)
1952-53	10	(17)
After 1953	11	(2)

VI. Age groups

Below 25	1	(2)
25-35	158	(136)
36-45	210	(191)
46-55	90	(60)
Above 55	15	(13)

VII- Fronts where working

Party Organisation	229	(137)
Trade Union	105	(101)
Kisan	92	(96)
Agr.Labour	9	(10)
Women	3	(6)
Others	36	

Among those who work in the Party organisation, there are 130 holding offices in various mass organisations.

Among those included in "others" there are 16 working in Party journals and Publishing Houses, 4 working among teachers, 3 among women and 3 among youth.

VIII. MPs, MLAs, etc.

MPs	21	(18)
MLAs	32	(35)
Municipal Councillors	29	(16)
District, Panchayat)		
Board Members)	11	(14)

Amritsar,
April 12, 1958

Credentials Committee,
Special Congress of CP.

April 12, 1958

A D D E N D U M

AMENDMENTS TO POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Pedapati Venkata Rao (Andhra)

1. Page 2, para 2, 2nd line, delete "collapsing and add "disintegrating".
2. Page 4, Art. III, 8th line, delete 'chronic'.
3. Page 5. At the beginning of the 2nd para, add: "The Party has been repeatedly advocating that for implementing the Plan successfully the Government shall depend on mass mobilisation and releasing the creative energies of the masses. The Party also demanded to call an all-parties meeting to discuss the Plan targets."
4. Page 7, para 2 - delete 2nd and 3rd sentences and add: "To defeat the anti-national policies of the extreme Right, the Party has to mobilise all the political parties, groups, mass organisations, patriotic-minded individuals and the people. If the Party is able to discharge this great national task this will enable to move the government for the fulfilment of the Plan targets."
5. Page 7, para 5 - 7th line. delete from "In this connection..... and Telco and add: "In this connection, the nationalisation of key industries, scheduled banks, foreign plantations acquires great importance."
6. Page 7, Article IX. delete clause 4 and add: "Nationalisation of key industries, wholesale trade in foodgrains, expansion of State trading."
7. Page 7, art. IX. delete clause*3 and foreign aid should be sought without political strings to be used mainly for industrialisation in public sector.

Kolla Venkiah, Andhra

1. At the end of Section I, add the following:

"II. THE PLAN AND THE DIFFICULTIES

The events that have taken place in our country since the Palghat Congress of our Party have confirmed, in general, the correctness of the analysis made by the Communist Party, as well as the line worked out by it for the achievement of minimum democratic programme, for reversal of the anti-people policies of the Government of India, for alternative governments in States like Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal and for strengthening the Opposition in other State legislatures."

2. After deleting the first sentence, add the other portion under Section V, on pages 4 and 5 with the following amendments:

(a) Add the following at the end of the word "machinery" in line 14, page 5: "for the implementation of the agrarian reforms and the fulfilment of the other targets of the Plan."

(b) Substitute the following for the words starting with "our warnings" in line 1 of para 2 on page 5, to the words "take place" in line 5 of para 2 of page 5: "The main ruling party in India and the Central Government have refused to take a serious

note of the effects of

note of the defects of the Plan and our warnings went unheeded. Though the Prime Minister and the spokesmen of the Government of India and the Congress Party have repeatedly admitted the slowness of the pace of the implementation of the agrarian reforms, the mass evictions of the tenant cultivators throughout the country and the influence of the landlord elements and the State Governments coming in the way of the proper implementation of the agrarian reforms, which can provide land to the tiller and of stopping the eviction drive, the Central Government and the Congress Party have refused to take effective steps against the landlord elements and ensure the effective implementation of the recommendation of the Second Five-Year Plan. Many Congress leaders in different parts of the country including Kerala have been giving full support to the landlords in their eviction drive and openly challenging the land reforms envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. This, in addition to the imposition of unbearable tax burdens on the peasantry and the middle classes have not only given scope for mass discontent against the anti-people policies of the Government and the Congress Party but also have repelled the initiative and the hopes of the people in relation to the Plan".

c) Add the following after the words "exchange crisis", in line 19 of Para 2, page 5: "In addition to this the private sector by using the exchange reserves has tilted the proportion with the public sector in its favour and endangered the Plan".

d) Add the following at the end of Para 2, Page 5: "Emboldened by the appeasing attitude of the Government of India, the big monopolists and landlords openly started the campaign for complete pruning of the Plan and the relegation of the agrarian reforms envisaged in the Plan".

SECTION 7

e) Substitute the following for the paras 9 and 10 on page 2: "The independent foreign policy of India has won the world-wide admiration of the people and the peace-loving governments to the dismay of the aggressive imperialist sections in U.S.A. and Britain, who have been refusing the financial and technical help for the development of key and defence industries and strengthening our independence. Failing in their fronted attack against their foreign policy and entangled in the web of deep economic crisis the American and British imperialists have changed the course of action. The U.S. Government has recently decided upon large-scale financial "aid" to India in addition to encouraging the private monopolists for joint investments with Indian monopolists in our country. The British imperialists have intensified their activities in the field of such joint investment and the British Government has released the sterling accumulations, intended for the payment of pensions as a token of grace to our country. By adopting such a course the American and British imperialists not only intend to shift of the intensifying economic crisis to the heads of the Indian people but also have been trying to lull the vigilance of the freedom loving people of India and to develop links with the Indian big business and the reactionaries and thus to put a break to the independent foreign policy and endanger the very independence and freedom we won. The very fact that the aggressive military pacts and the feverish military activities continue shows the underlying danger of the imperialist machinations against our freedom. The Baghdad Pact and SEATO constitute a threat to Indian and to all free nations of Asia. U.S. dumping of arms in Pakistan is meant to intensify Indo-Pak tension causing diversion of resources from national building to defence. They resort to provocations in respect of Kashmir. Portugal continues to remain in Goa with terror and brutal repression on the people because of the encouragement it receives from U.S. and British imperialists.

f) Add the

f) Add the following at the end of line 4, page 3: "political affiliations of the progressive leaders and different sections of the people should not come in the way of rallying ourselves around the banner of peace".

g) Substitute the following in the place of para 3, page 3 (lines 13 to 16): "The Asian people fighting against imperialist machinations are not happy at the failure of the Government of India in standing firm and rallying the world opinion against U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia and their instigation and aid to rebels and so also at their hesitation to work for another Bandung Conference."

h) Insert the following between the fullstop and the word "the Party's" in line 9, para 4, page 3: "The failure of the P.S.P. S.P. and some other left groups in understanding the danger of the imperialist machinations against world peace and the dogged refusal of the Congress Party to permit its members for joint mobilisation in defence of peace, prohibition of nuclear tests, etc, inspite of their repeated declarations upholding peace, have come in the way of the extension of peace movement."

i) Substitute the following for "This grave weakness must be rapidly overcome and " in lines 10 and "of para 4 on page 3: "Inspite of different hurdles".

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NIREN GHOSH (W. Bengal)

Section: "Advance of the Forces of World Peace".

(a) Para 14: Add after the words "for their machinations", "for large-scale American capital investment in private sector".

(b) Para 16: Replace the words "pro-imperialist Right reaction" by "reactionary big business".

Section VI, Para 3: Add after the words "and methods of Government" - "its excessive reliance upon imperialist aid and refusal to draw upon disinterested aid without strings from the socialist countries to the fullest possible extent".

Section VII: Rewrite the 1st sentence in Para 3 as follows: "The policy of the Central Government is moving in an anti-national reactionary direction. It is particularly seen in the utterances and activities of the former Finance Minister Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari. The Report of the Birla Mission, the recent resolution of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry underline this fact. The big bourgeoisie is throwing caution to the winds".

Section VIII, rewrite the 2nd sentence of Para 1, as follows: "Their real strength lies in their links with the Congress High Command and the Central Government which primarily represents the interests of Big Business. As always there is many a slip between the words and deeds of bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Central Government only too willingly responding to the demand of Big Business is retreating even from its own declarations as embodied in the Five-Year Plan, which only encourages the Big Business to come out more openly in favour of their anti-national demands".

Section IX: (a) Rewrite item (2) as follows: "Exposure of the plan of Big business and of the reactionary policies of the Central Government and to concentrate fire against its most hated representatives.

(b) Add one item.....

(b) Add one item re. urgently needed agrarian reform such as: "Moratorium on debt; substantial reduction in rents; stoppage of eviction; securing proprietary rights for tenants and land for distribution to the tillers."

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INDRADEEP SINHA (Bihar)

a) Page 5, Para 2, redraft the para to incorporate the following ideas:

(i) "Several State Governments have retreated from their earlier promise to enact legislation for ceilings and helped the landlords in evicting tenants resulting in the fall of production.

(ii) "Administrative inefficiency, planlessness and anti-people policies reg. irrigation rates have resulted in the non-utilisation of nearly 40% of the new irrigation facilities created during the First Five-Year Plan.

(iii) "Monopoly grip over stocks of foodgrains has led to speculation and inordinate rise in food prices and to the intensification of the food crisis.

(iv) "Food crisis has upset the calculations of the planners and intensified the crisis of foreign exchange.

(v) "Due to increased monopoly control over trade and the credit and monetary policies of the Government the price parity has moved against the rural masses, leading to reduction of purchasing power and crisis of the market in several consumer goods industries.

(vi) "Through large-scale corruption and nepotism, the use of administrative machinery and support from rightwing Congress leaders, the monopolists have already succeeded in seriously modifying the Five-Year Plan by expanding private sector at the cost of the State Sector, eating up foreign exchange and grabbing public resources, etc."

b) Page 7, Para 5, add two new paras to bring out our two major demands - (i) for ban on evictions, ceilings and distribution of surplus land, proper facilities for irrigation, etc. credit, guaranteed prices, etc. and (b) check to corruption and administrative reforms.

(c) Page 7, Section IX, amend item (9) to read - "Against corruption and for administrative reforms".

(d) Add a new item - "For popularisation of the achievements of the Kerala Government".

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ALI AMJAD (Bihar)

Replace the para 2 of page 8, by the following: "The manner in which the State Sector is being managed, and the way in which the representatives of the big monopolists are allowed to run them as directors in many cases, is leading to the discrediting of the very idea of the State taking over these industries. Bureaucratic and wasteful management of State concerns, suppression of democratic and trade union rights of the workers in a more blatant fashion than even in private enterprises, refusal to pay the workers living wages, etc. have led to an apathy on the part of the people in general and the workers in particular towards the State owned industries.

It is therefore, necessary that the trade union should fight for a more efficient working of the State sectors, removal of waste and bureaucracy, participation of workers in the management, and the fulfilment of production norms, along with their just demands".

...../.....

(i)

Harbans Singh (U.P.)

1. Page 3, para 2. After "At this moment", delete: "when imperialistare stronger than ever before." And add the following in its place:
"....when in imperialist countries in general and in USA in particular the period of deep-seated economic depression has set in, the imperialist forces are attempting most desperately to heighten the war preparations and subversive activities as the ONLY way out to stave off the worst effects of the rapidly deepening crisis. Again the Soviet Union has given a timely and powerful lead to the world peace forces by unilateral halting of nuclear tests and by displaying extremely flexible attitude towards the calling of the Summit Conference, and thus has thrown the whole imperialist camp into panic and confusion. At such a moment" (India can and must....)
2. Page 3, para 5, in the last sentence after "... and united movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity", add: "and thereby thwart the desperate imperialist manoeuvres for provocative wars that are being made at this critical juncture."
3. Page 5, para 1. Add the following at the end of the sentence: "We have also laid bare the grave defects.....the dependence on the bureaucratic machinery," add "and the lack of understanding of the crucial significance of evolving short term methods for rapidly increasing the production of agricultural goods."
4. Page 5, para 4. Add the following sentence to this para at any place: "They demand further cut in the heavy industry programmes."
5. Page 7, para 2. In the last sentence: "Without such a two-sided battle...." delete "or realize the targets of the Plan." Add in its place: "Or to force the Government to take the cooperation of the people for the realisation of the targets of the Plan."
6. Page 11, para 7: From the second sentence "adopting afriendly and fraternal attitude..." delete, "it will seek their cooperation in the interests of the people and the country." Add in its place, "we shall endeavour to find out the areas of agreement between us and them and seek their cooperation and united action in the interest of the people and the country."

M.J.Manikyarao (Andhra Pradesh)

1. Section I, third para, after "in repulsing the imperialist aggression against Egypt" add "and the Hungarian socialist forces in crushing the counter-revolution sponsored by the imperialists."
2. page 2, second line, remove "Malaya".
3. Page 2, after first para, add "The economic crises in USA and other capitalist countries and the internal contradictions in the imperialist camp are taking serious form."
4. Page 3, second para, add at the end of the first sentence "and an important event in the international communist movement"
5. page 3, third para, last line, remove "or even seriously tackled."
6. Section III. The Decline of the Congress. The situation is exaggerated. Rewrite in sobre terms.

Section V

7. In the first para

(ii)

7. Section V. In the first para, second line, remove "to a considerable extent."
8. Section IX, add at the end (11) Land Reforms; (12) United Trade Union movement; (13) Progressive Educational measures; (14) Against unemployment.
9. Section X. second line, instead of "peasants" write "agricultural labourers, etc.,...poor peasantry, middle peasantry."
10. At the end of the first para (Section X), introduce: "The Communist Party supports the just demands of the national bourgeoisie."

N.R.Dasari, Andhra

1. Delete the last para in page 10.
2. Add the following in page 11 after para 4: "So it follows from the situation that the unity we build should be the broadest possible unity of all sections of people irrespective of ideological differences and Party affiliations that stand for national reconstruction, fulfilment of the targets of Second Five Year Plan, strengthening national independence, democracy and peace. The Communist Party should strive to assist and establish the hegemony of the working class over such broad united movement of Indian people."

P.Lakshmana Rao (Andhra)

1. Section III. Delete 4th sentence, i.e., "increasingly isolated after the general elections."
2. Section XIV, delete para 4.

G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

1. Page 10, after the para 4, add the following:

"The assumption of power in Kerala casts a heavy responsibility not only on our party in Kerala but on our entire Party. The Party is responsible not only to help the ministry and the State Party Committee to solve and carry out correct policies and programme in the best interests of the people but also to widely publicise the achievements of the Kerala Government and carry the message of Kerala to every nook and corner of our country and defend the Kerala Government against the onslaught of reactionary forces who not only resort to all sorts of subterfuges to overthrow the Government but spread false slanders in other States against the Kerala Government with a view to discredit the Government and the Communist Party. Every Party member and every Party branch is called upon to put in their best efforts to defend the Kerala Government, foil the attempts of the enemies of the people to discredit it and hold it as an example of a people's government before the eyes of the people."

P.T.O.

Sushital Roy Chowdhury, W. Bengal

1. Delete the title of the Section VI and change it as "Crisis of the Plan - Result of the Policies and Methods of Congress Govt".
2. Delete the first para, Section VI, and rewrite it as below:
"The present crisis of the Second Plan has resulted from economic and political policies and methods pursued by the Government, the anti-people, reactionary policies of the Government, i.e., concessions to the private big capital in the Plan, refusal to mobilise the huge wealth of monopolist, Indian and foreign both, and other rich men by changing the tax structure for the financing of the Plan and heavy dependence on foreign capital, unnecessary encouragement to seek agreement with foreign financiers and monopolists, the delay in the implementation of the agrarian reforms and leaving of many other loopholes for the reactionary forces to sabotage the Plan, etc. have strengthened the position of the reactionary forces in our economic and political life."
3. Delete the first two words of para 2 of Section VI and instead write "Emboldened by the policies of the Government, the reactionary forces are now openly resorting to the tactics of blackmailing. They have".
4. Delete para 3 of Section VI and write it as below: "Experience of the last two years has further shown that the Congress Govt have been refusing to take lessons from the reality of development, they were determined to continue their anti-people reactionary policies and methods. This could be seen in the recent visit of Birla Mission to USA which went there with the blessings of our Prime Minister Nehru himself, refusal of Nehru to reform tax-structure radically in the budget placed by him this year. The Government is still carrying on the policy of attempt to hoodwink the people by hiding reality and instead preaching facts and figures which are not true. This policy of the Government could again be seen in the recent change in the Central Cabinet which has resulted in strengthening the position of private capital inside the Cabinet.
5. Delete Section VII, completely as necessary ideas have already been retained in the amendments.
6. Delete first para of Section VIII and make fourth para the first para of this section and add at the end: "It shall support every step taken by the Government that would facilitate realisation of this fulfilment."
7. Section VIII. Make the following, the second para of this section:
"If the policies and methods of the Government are not changed the crisis of the Plan cannot be solved. These would reduce our country to the position of dependence on the imperialists abroad and monopolists and other reactionary elements at home, add to the privations and miseries of our people, and would further strengthen the position of foreign financiers and monopolists at home."
8. Section VIII. Delete 3rd para and make the following 3rd para:
"Interest of the defence of the national independence, national economy and democracy, and for the realisation of the targets of the Plan in a democratic way, demand of the Communist Party that it will intensify the struggle for progressive policies decided upon at Lalghat. For this relentless concrete exposures of anti-people, reactionary policies of Government, how these

..... have been abetting

have been abetting monopolists, foreign and native, and other reactionary elements, have got to be exposed with greater determination and vigour. The people have got to be roused about the danger facing the Plan due to the policies and methods of the Government and due also to the plans and manoeuvres of the Big Business nurtured by these policies and methods."

9. Delete IV para and make para V the IV para.

Sadananda Mohanty, Orissa

1. The draft political resolution suffers, to some extent, of economism. It does not reflect on the State structure and its components in new forms.

2. True, it has taken into account (under the Head "Further strengthening of the democratic movement" of the Congress cynically violating its Election Manifesto) by imposition of new burdens of taxation and inflation. But here it should be sharply understood that not only taxation but also the Congress has come to increasingly infringe with the rights and justice of the people, corrupting the whole society and giving a handle to bureaucracy to strengthen more and more in a new way. This should be concluded under the head "Issues of National Campaign" to fight against not only corruption but against the infringing with the democratic rights and against bureaucracy.

3. Under the head "Ideological Struggle" an attempt is made to appraise the new slogans put forward by the Congress to misguide the people, such as NES, CD, Panchayat, et c. Under the head "Mass Struggle and All-sided Activities" in the last para of page 8, a call is given for multifarious activities, too. But this is far from sufficient. It needs a correct and comprehensive appraisal of the situation and our views to all these that have come to dominate both the economic and political life of the people and lead to be given in transforming them into People's Plans and people's organs.

4. Under the head "Build Mass Kisan Sabhas" the analysis given in the last para that the work among the peasantry and agricultural labourers is treated as the duty of some particular front or comrades is a travesty of truth. As a matter of fact all comrades in peasant bases are engaged in peasant work, but that they do not build up Kisan Sabha. In this paragraph the way Kisan Sabha to be built up should be discussed and a way to be found out.

Srinibas Misra, Orissa

1. Section IX - The first issue of national campaign should be "opposing and exposing the curtailment of plans."

2. Section XII. Second para, "every possible tactic, provocation, attempt at bribery, campaign of lies and slanders, instigation of clashes and even murder are being resorted to by whom? By the Congressites and the Christophers."

3. Section XIV. Second para - "only such movement", add "can defeat the anti-people policies of the Government."

Article XVIII, Clause 2 after sub-clause (c) add another sub-clause, numbering it (d) : "(d) Selection of candidates for election to Parliament in consultation with the respective State or Provincial Committees."

Present sub-clause (d) to become (e) and read : "The political and organisational control and guidance over the life and work of the Communist Members of Parliament."

Article XXVII : Add another sub-clause to Clause 5 to read "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."

Article XXVIII : Replace Clause 6 by the following : "The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be final subject to appeal to ~~the~~ the Party Congress."

Clause 7 may consequentially be deleted.

Amend clauses relating to Provincial Control Commission to bring them in line with these amendments to the clauses relating to the Central Control Commission.

Add a new Article numbered XXVIII to read :

1. There shall be a Central Audit Commission elected by the Party Congress whose number will be determined by the Party Congress.
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 shall by right attend the meeting 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 accounts of the Party Centre for the period following the previous Party Congress and up to a three months preceding the date of the Party 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 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 Commission may be, with recommendations for such action as it may think fit to make.

M. B. ...
SPECIAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
Amritsar

April 11, 1958

AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT POLITICAL
RESOLUTION

SPECIAL AMENDMENTS

1. From M. Lakshmanaswamy (Andhra)

1) Re-draft the Political Resolution with the following key slogans:

" Forward for-

- 1) Bread and peace;
- 2) For national reconstruction and success of the Plan;
- 3) United Democratic Front against reaction and reactionary policies of the Government;
- 4) Land reforms and against unemployment;
- 5) Defend the achievements of the Kerala Government.

ii) In Section VII, page 7 delete the last two sentences in second para.

iii) In Section XIV page 10 - add the word "democratic" after "strengthen united". Delete the following para on page 10 - "The Communist Party and democratic forces....translate it into reality."

2. From T. Satyanarayana (Andhra)

(2) Lost
4
(a) In Section II, page 3, para 3 - delete the sentence "mass distress... by the Government."

(b) In Section III page 4, - para 1, line 8 delete the portion " In a state of chronic crisis which has deepened after the general elections."

(c) In Section IX, page 8 - Delete point 5 and in its place add the following.

" Immediate introduction of agrarian reforms on the basis of the recommendations of the Agrarian Panel of the Planning Commission for the increase of food production to solve the food crisis and thus saving foreign exchange."

(d) Add point (11) at the end of Section IX as follows:

" (11) Popularisation of the achievements of the Kerala Government."

X 3. M.Narasimha Rao & V.Satyanarayana(Andhra)

i) The resolution is over-estimating the mass radicalisation and as well the results of the last general elections. The resolution appears to be taking into consideration only the number of seats the Left was able to win but not the circumstances in which the Left could get the seats i.e. in triangular or because of many contests for the seats. So those paragraphs should be re-written giving sober estimation. "

ii) Section III, line 8, delete " in a state of chronic crisis which has deepened."

iii) Section IV delete in sentence 3 " like the Jan Sangh..... in Tamilnad" .

iv) Section VII, after para 2, a para should be written that we will have no objection to take foreign aid to utilise it in the public sector and without any conditions detrimental to our sovereignty imposed on us. Because, if we do not have this positive approach also in the resolution, it is likely to be misunderstood by others.

v) Section VII, para 5- delete " It shall strive to range.... policies" and re-write as follows: " It shall work with determination and vigour to unite all parties and entire people to defeat their policies and for national reconstruction."

vi) In Section VIII , on page 7, in the first line, delete " which is securing increasing grip over the Congress organisation."

6th line-delete "the concession to private capital in the Plan."

Delete para 2.

vii) In Section XIII, page 10, delete para 3.

viii) In Section XIV, para 3- delete the second sentence " Of particular importance independents" and ~~also~~ after the first sentence " and also progressive independents."

X 4. N.R.Dasri & others(Andhra)

a) In Section VIII, page 7, add the following para after the first para:

" It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that this simultaneous struggle does not aim at the simultaneous defeat of the rising Right reaction inside the country on one hand and the Congress Government on the other. It aims at the complete defeat of the Right reaction and the reversal of the vacillating and anti-people's policies and methods of Government."

b) On page 11, in Section XIV, on page 11, para 4, replace words " the United Front" in sentences and 3 by "unity".

5. C.Vasudeva Rao(Andhra)

1) Section V, first para, 1st line, delete the sentence - "But they have proved correct."

2) Section V, add at the end of the first para, the following new para:

" It is...

" It is in this way that the Second Five Year Plan is in great difficulties, that it is being cut down or pruned and that the Plan is no longer what it promised to be. We must realise, however, that if the Plan fails, the results will not affect only the Party. "

6. G.Yallamanda Reddy(Andhra)

(i) Add the following at the end of Sec. VII, page 6, as a separate para :

" Determined and successful struggle against Right reaction will also strengthen the struggle against the anti-pepole policies of the Government. "

7. Harekrishna Konar(W.Bengal)

(i) Section III -after para and before para 2, insert the following para:

" Since the Palghat Congress the landlord-bourgeois Government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force, pursuing a policy of building national economy on capitalist line and trying to solve the contradiction of the bourgeoisie with imperialism and feudalism at the cost of the people, has imposed increasing burdens on the people resulting in further impoverishment of the people, growing unemployment and strengthening further the position of monopoly capital in the national economy. It has helped the monopoly capitalists to reap huge profits; it has continued its policy of compromise with feudalism and imperialism and has allowed further inroads of foreign private capital to the detriment of our national interests. Refusing to find resources for financing the Second Five Year Plan from the vested interests and the huge profits of the monopolies, it has resorted to heavy taxation of the people and deficit-financing. All this has not only led to the impoverishment of the people, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the internal market, but also has retarded the sweeping away of the obstacles that stand in the way of India's development giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions and endangering the fulfilment of even the meagre targets of the Plan. Not only this; as a corollary of this policy, the Government, instead of extending democratic rights of the people, is restricting the democratic rights of the people, more and more monopolising the powers at all levels in the hands of supporters of the ruling party and resorting to repressive measures. It has further extended the life of the notorious Preventive Detention Act.

" As a result of all these factors, the discontent of the people has grown further during this period, more and more people in all sections have become disillusioned about the nature of the Government policies and people's struggles against the anti-people policies of the Government have grown in intensity and extensity. People have become more and more convinced that for defending vital interests of the people, and for a balanced growth of national economy, it is necessary to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government. The last general elections have demonstrated this in practice. "

(ii) Section III, line 11, before "progressive-minded", insert the following words: "under the impact of mass radicalisation".

(iii) Section IV- line 3-4 In place of the words "as a whole" substitute the following " in many places. "

Line 9- After the sentence ending with "disruptive aims" add the following new sentence:

" But it should also be noted that where the Communist Party and other Left parties have resolutely, organised and led the...

the struggles of the people, the reactionary communal, disruptive forces could not take advantage of the discontent of the people to mislead the people, but has suffered serious setbacks, as in West Bengal."

Last line, at the end add the following:

" and hence it has acquired all the more importance that the Communist Party and all its members take utmost initiative in forging broadest unity and resolutely leading the struggles of the people to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government and for progressive policies."

(iv) Section V, para 2, line, - after the sentence ending with "to take place" add the following sentence: "Moreover, by imposing heavy irrigation taxes, by refusing to grant necessary loans in time and to guarantee fair price, the Government is stifling the peasants' urge for increasing production, on the other hand, it is thus helping to disorganise production."

Para 2, line 7, After the sentence ending with "more imports" add the following sentence:

" Food crisis in many States has become chronic and crores of people are placed under the mercy of rapacious hoarders and speculators who are strengthened by the food policy of the Government."

(v) Section VI, delete the heading and first paragraph and substitute the following in its place:

" V. STRENGTHENING ANTI-PEOPLE ASPECTS OF GOVT. POLICIES

In spite of the fact that the Government policies have created serious difficulties for the Plan and fulfilment of even the meagre targets of the Plan demands a change of Government policies in a progressive direction, the Government is stoutly refusing to take any such steps. Seizing upon the difficulties of the Plan and frightened by the increasingly powerful demand for a progressive policy by the democratic movement, the reactionary vested interests and monopoly capitalists have intensified their activities, for strengthening the anti-people policies of the Government in their own narrow interests. They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this a 'suitable climate' must be created."

Section VI, para 3, line 4-6 delete the words "but also....direction" and substitute the following: "but also to further strengthen their position in the political and economic life of the country by changing the Government policies in more anti-people, and anti-democratic direction. It should be noted here that the Government is encouraging these forces and submitting more and more to their demands. It has already decided to rephrase and 'prune' the Plan."

(vi) Section VII, para 4 be deleted and the following be substituted in its place:

" These reactionary vested interests hold a strong position in our economic life which is being continuously strengthened by the policies of the Government. They wield powerful influence over the Congress leadership and Congress Governments. They have close personal lines with many Ministers and higher officials in all spheres. They control many of the largest newspapers in the country. Hence their capacity to strengthen the anti-people policies of the Government should not be minimised.

" It should be noted here that instead of paying any heed to...

heed to the demands of the democratic movement, the Government is intensifying its anti-people policies and obliging the reactionary vested interests. It should not be overlooked that it is the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru himself who came forward to justify the utterings and activities of T.T.K. It is he who justifies 'pruning' of the Plan. It is he who condemns the resignation of ex-Congress Minister Sri Siddhartha Roy who has exposed anti-people nature of Government policies. This shows the class character of the Government..."

(vii) Section VII, para 5, line 3 to 8 - delete the portion from "relentlessly" to "these forces" and substitute the following:

"relentlessly expose these forces, combat their manoeuvres and the Government's subservience to them. The Party shall educate and rouse the people about the dangerous character of the activities of these forces and the disastrous nature of Government policies. It shall strive to range patriotic elements in every party and the entire people against these policies. It shall mobilise the people to force the Government to take such steps as would weaken these reactionary forces and shall support every such step."

(viii) Section VIII,

a) Change the heading to "Build Widest Unity and Intensify Struggle to Defeat Government policies."

b) Para 1, line 5-6 delete the words "with the reactionary... itself" and substitute "with the Congress leadership itself."

c) Para 2, line 5 to 10: substitute the sentences "The extreme... targets of the Plan" by following: "The machinations of the reactionary vested interests and monopoly capitalists, therefore, cannot be defeated without primarily waging a determined and vigorous battle to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government. Without such main battle directed against the policies of the Government, it is impossible either to defeat the activities of the reactionary vested interests or realise even the meagre targets of the Plan."

(ix) Section IX-

1) Demand- (1) Rewrite as follows: "Defeat the attempts to prune or rephrase even the meagre targets of the Plan and their realisation in a democratic way."

2) Demand (2) rewrite "Intensification of the exposure campaign of the anti-people policies of the Government and as a part of this campaign, exposure of the plans of reactionary forces."

3) Demand (5A) between (5) and (6) be added "Radical amendment of agrarian reform laws and their democratic implementation. Adequate help to peasants and wide developmental measures for increasing agricultural production."

4) Demand (9A) between (9) and (10) be added as follows: "For defence and extension of democratic rights of the people and against the increasing monopolisation of power by the ruling party."

(x) Section X-

(a) Para 3, line 1, before the word "participation" add the words "intervention and"

(b) Last para - at the end of the last para add the following new para- "In this connection, it should be kept in mind that Government places serious obstacles in the way of people's participation. It tries in every possible way to utilise these activities for their narrow party interests and in its attempt to monopolise power it nakedly resorts to discrimination and even repressive measures. Hence people's participation can only be ensured..."

ensured by fighting against the Government policy of monopolising power in all spheres."

(xi) Section XI, para 2, at the end add: "The existence of different sections among the rural people with varying immediate interests and even with some contradictions in their immediate interests, is no doubt a serious problem in building mass organisations there. The Party will have to devise ways and means to solve this problem within the people and basing on concrete situation in each place develop their organisations and lead their struggles."

(xii) Section XII,

- a) Para 2, line 1, after the words "being made" add the words "by the Congress."
- b) Para 3, for the words "under pressure of these forces," substitute "inspite of outward profession of neutrality".
- c) Para 3, line 1, after words "also has" add the following "joined this campaign and.."
- d) Para 6, at the end add "It is the sacred duty of the Party everywhere to organise exposure campaign of the activities of those elements seeking to oust the Kerala Government and the discriminatory attitude of the Central Government."

(xiii) Section XIV, para 2, line 3-4, in place of the words "defeat the plans..... Government's policies" substitute the following: "Defeat the anti-people policies of the Government, bring about desired changes in Government's policies, rebuff the plans of reactionary vested interests,"

8. Jolly Kaul(W.Bengal)

a) Delete Section IV, VI and VII and re-write them bearing in mind the following criticism and suggestion:

(1) There is an over-emphasis on the Right danger in these paras and an over-estimation of the strength of Right reaction.

The fact that the attack from a section of the monopolists against the Plan is nothing new and was there from the very beginning is to be noted.

The fact that the present crisis of the Plan follows naturally from the wrong methods proposed for the implementation of the Plan is also to be noted.

The fact that the top leadership of the Congress which on certain issues takes a progressive stand on others takes a reactionary stand is also to be noted. The absence of any clear-cut crystallisation of a Right-wing and Left-wing within the Congress either at the Centre or the State levels is also to be noted.

(2) The Draft resolution suggests by implication, a tactical line that would blunt the edge of our struggles against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government just at the very moment when discontent is mounting and the influence and prestige of the Congress Government is waning.

(3) From the same deviation in the draft there is a likelihood that the Party would be sidetracked from its main tasks as outlined in the Palghat Resolution and involved in futile quests for the Right-wing and Left-wing in each State.

(4) The Draft Resolution fails to give a clear call for a national campaign for building people's unity and the widest possible mobilisation in favour of the positive proposals and policies of the Party.

9. Jyoti Basu (W.Bengal)

1) Delete Section VI(p.5) under the caption "ACTIVITIES OF RIGHT REACTION" AND substitute the following:

" POLICIES PURSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND BIG BUSINESS

The policies pursued by the Government have led to serious difficulties for the Plan and our country and frightened by our democratic movement and the CPI, it is leaning on American loans and help more than ever before. It also does not effectively fight American blackmail of creating a 'suitable climate' in India for receiving American help. The Cabinet decision to send TTK to America for loans and the Cabinet's indirect blessing to the Birla Mission are expression of this policy.

These policies of the Government have encouraged big business to launch an attack on the progressive features of the Plan; they openly campaign for heavier concessions to private capital, for heavier dependence on foreign financiers and monopolists."

2) Delete Section VII.

3) Delete in Section VIII paras 1 and 2

4) Section IX under the heading "ISSUES OF NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, after (1) add (1a) "Exposing the reactionary methods and policies of the Government in carrying out the Plan.

Delete (2) and substitute by the following : (2) Expose of the plans of big business.

10. SAROJ ROY (W.Bengal)

1) Sections VI, VII and VIII written on the basis of Palghat Resolution, as I think the putting has become a departure from Palghat resolution.

In the Palghat resolution, policy of the Congress Government was laid down as anti-people and reactionary. There was no such mention of any other separate "Right reaction".

The total stress was on the anti-people and reactionary policy of the Government. So I think those paras should be re-written in conformity with Palghat resolution.

11. AJIT GANGULY (Bengal)

1) Sec. VIII, para 1, page 7, line 4 after the words support and encouragement delete "From the weak and reactionary policies" and add "of the Government dominated by the Big business to their policies."

2) Sec. XIV, para 1, page 10 line 4, delete "growth of democratic forcesCongress".

3) Sec. XVI, para 1 page 12 line 3 after "political Force" add "preceded by strong mass organisation".

12. K.GHOSH (Bengal)

Page 7, para 2, sub-heading: Intensify struggle for Progressive Policies: Delete the sentences "The extreme Right, therefore, cannot be defeated.....the targets of the Plan" and substitute the same by the following: "While opposing every move of the Right Reaction to direct our economy in more reactionary direction or curtail the plan targets, and exposing their character, the Party will continue to concentrate its attack more and more on the weak and reactionary policies of the present Congress Government. Because it is by defeating the anti-democratic policies of the Government, can we effectively ensure the defeat of the reactionary moves of the right reaction and ensure the country to develop on a truly democratic lines".

13. GOPAL BASU

13. GOPAL BASU (Bengal)

1) Page 3, para 1, 2nd line, change the words "pro-imperialist Right reactions" with the words "pro-imperialist elements".

2) Page 4 para 2, the expression "emergence of the AITUC as the single biggest force" is an exaggeration. This should be properly expressed.

3) Page 7, sub-section IX change the slogan no. 2 with "exposure of the reactionary and anti-people policies of the Government".

14. AMRITENDU MUKHERJEE & GOPAL BASU (Bengal)

4) In pages 5, 6 and 7 sub-sections 6, 7 and 8, change the words "activities of Right reaction" and all other terms and portions that convey similar ideas. To make compartmental divisions among the Indian Bourgeoisie - one section as right reactionary - finally going over to the side of imperialism and for that pursuing extreme reactionary policies while the others remaining progressive all the times does not correspond to the ideas contained in the Palghat Resolution. The idea contained in the Palghat Resolution should be brought forward in the present resolution correcting all the departures from the draft.

15. SHIVA KUMAR MISRA, S. M. SNEY (U.P.)

Strengthen United Front: In the first page, delete "with the growth of democratic forces inside the Congress" and add, "in which even the masses that follow the Congress are participating in growing numbers...." In the para 9, like 11, delete "inside the Congress" and add "in the masses following the Congress".

Further, same line, delete "the progressive" and add "These are sections inside the Congress which are worried"...."

Para 10th in the same Section: delete "our Party..... the Congress", and add "our Party welcomes this development inside the Congress. It will seek cooperation of all such elements inside the Congress which are prepared to do so in the interests of the people and in defence of the progressive features of the Plan".

SECTION I

*. On page 3, after para 1, add the following paragraphs:

"Recent developments indicate a disturbing trend in the Government of India's foreign policy which seeks to tone down any firm line against American imperialism or in support of progressive issues in foreign affairs. Government of India's stand on the Indonesian issues and its resistance to sponsor a Second Bandung Conference are significant pointers. Besides, there is a tendency at present to woo America, which is reinforced by the financial crisis of the Second Plan.

It will therefore be a mistake on the part of democratic forces to remain complacent about the country's foreign policy. A continuous vigilance backed by nation-wide mass campaigns on specific issues of foreign policy is urgently called for."

In case this is accepted, then para 3 on page 3 ("it is unfortunate that the Government of India...Bandung Conference") should be deleted.

-Nikhil Chakravarty (P.H.Q)

2. The draft....

2. The Draft Political Resolution be circulated to the State and Provincial Committees for their opinion and be finalised by the National Council.
- Bankim Mukherjee (W.Bengal)
3. In page 3, para 2, line 4, after the words "Summit Conference", add the words - "including India".
- Sudhir Mukherjee (M.P.)
4. Page 2, Para I, Add after "political independence", the words "though not complete".
- V.Radhakrishnan (Kerala)
5. Delete the words "through the holding of the Second Bandung Conference", from para 2 of page 3.
And also delete the words "so also there is hesitation to work for another Bandung Conference", from para 3 of page 3.
- V.D.Chitale (Maharashtra)
6. Page 2 Para 5, after the words "nuclear war", add "which, however, are being increasingly opposed by the people in the imperialist countries themselves, particularly after the Soviet declaration of banning nuclear tests".
- Shanti Tiagi, Bharat Singh (U.P.)
7. Page 1, para 1, after the words "halting of nuclear tests", add: "have profoundly frightened the prestige of the Soviet Union in the spheres of technological advance and maintenance of world peace, earned it the appreciation of the entire peace-loving humanity and thereby throwing....."
- Bharat Singh, Shanti Tiagi (U.P.)
8. In page 2 last 2 line, ~~last~~ two lines to be changed as follows: "The Communist Party supports the foreign policy of the Indian Government in the main and consistently works for giving it a more and more anti-imperialist and pro-peace direction".
- Bankim Mukherjee (W.Bengal)
9. Page 3 para 4: After the words 'important contribution' delete upto 'rapidly overcome and'.
- P.P. Sanzgiri, (Maharashtra)
10. On page 3, para 2, for the word 'key' substitute the word 'vital'.
- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)
12. On page 2, para 10, add at the end "and to find a way out of the recession in their economy".
- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)
13. Page 2, last para, after "the Communist Party supports", add the word "generally".
- Barin Chowdhury (Assam)
14. Insert the following in line 10, para 5, page 3, after "mobilising the", "working class and other".
- E.C.Bharathan (Kerala)
15. Page 2, para 8, delete the first sentence and add at the end of the para: "By taking these steps our country has played a positive and vital role in strengthening the forces of world peace".
- P.Venkata Rao (Andhra)
16. The movement of the people of the imperialist countries such as in USA and UK, against the conspiracies of the imperialist powers should be mentioned. Also ~~and~~ and more people in these countries are bound to raise against imperialist conspiracies, with the economic recession, etc.
- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)
17. Remove the words in page 2, para 8, line 1, "a positive and vital role" and insert there "an important".
- K.Muthaiah (Tamilnad)

18. Remove the....

18. Remove the word "Malaya" in page 2, line 2 and put after the words "political independence", the following sentence: "Even in Malaya the British imperialism which has still its colonial army, is forced to recognise its formal independence".

- K.Muthaiah (Tamilnad)

19. Page 2, last para before the words "the Communist Party add: "Guided by its well-known views on foreign affairs,...."

- Shanti Tiagi, Bharat Singh (U.P.)

20. Page 2, para 6, line 3, add the words: "some countries of" before the sentence beginning with "Asia and Africa are being...."

- Bharat Singh, Shanti Tiagi (U.P.)

SECTION II

- ③
lost
1. Page 4, para 3, line 9, after the words "general elections", add: "The rate and magnitude of which is generally underestimated".

Line 16, para 2, of page 4, instead of the word "bye-elections", insert the word "elections".

Page 3, last para, after the sentence ending with "post-election period", add the sentence: "This radicalisation has touched a level where the people have not only come to hate the Congress administration, but are also getting confident of replacing it on a nation-wide scale."

- Shanti Tiagi, Bharat Singh (U.P.)

2. Add a new sentence at the end of para 2 of Section II as follows: "The defeat of the Congress in the industrial areas was the result of the anti-working class labour policy of the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States and in its weakening in its former strongholds, the natural consequence of its anti-people policies in general."

- Khagendra Kumar Roy Choudhury (Bengal)

3. In para 2 line 5, page 3, delete "the highest level" and add "a significant stage".

- Ajit Ganguly (W.Bengal)

4. At the end of the section of p. 4 Section II, add "A feature of the post-independence period, more particularly of the recent years, has been the growing demands by the various national linguistic groups for the satisfaction of their specific cultural, linguistic, economic and political aspirations. Wherever our Party has correctly assessed the depth and strength of this growing urge and striven to act as the champion of this urge, the democratic movement has strengthened, while a lack of awareness of it has led to disruptive and separatist trends gaining strength, feeding on the unpopular policies of the Congress Government on such questions".

- P.P.Sanzgiri (Maharashtra)

5. On page 4, para 1, omit the words 'new and'

- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)

6. Page 3 last para, last line, after "people has been...." insert the word "successfully".

- Barin Chowdhury (Assam)

7. Section II, page 3, A concrete analysis of the correlation of forces in India today must be given at the beginning of this section.

- T.S.S.Namboothiri (Kerala)

8. Delete the

8. Delete the words "often transcending party division", in page 4, para 1, line 18.
- K.Muthaiah (Tamilnad)
9. Page 3, para 3, line 3, remove the words "not one problem" and insert instead the following: "the most pressing problems".
-K. Muthaiah (Tamilnad)
10. Page 3, para 7, line 10 after the words "the major industrial areas", delete the rest of the sentence and add in its place the following: "and the strengthening of the position of the left in several State legislatures and in the parliament, even though in some area due to the weakness of our party, the weakening of the position of the Congress was capitalised by reactionary and communal parties."
- Manali C.Kandaswamy (Tamilnad)
11. Page 4, line 4, after the sentence ending with the word 'inflation', add the following sentences: "The solemn promises to bring in comprehensive land reforms have been let off in the air and large scale evictions were allowed to take place under one pretext or other. Thus the rural economic crisis continues to deteriorate more and more". Delete the last sentence of the same para and add "Added to this the steep rise in prices the conditions of the people continue to deteriorate intensely."
- Manali C.Kandaswamy (Tamilnad)
12. Page 4, add at the end of para 2: "These policies have caused grave political and organisational crisis inside the Congress party. It has also created a considerable amount of panic among the reactionary sections."
- K.T.Zacharias (Kerala)
13. Page 3, after the second para, insert the following: "The progressive policies of the Kerala Ministry have begun to basically influence the process of mass radicalisation and also the policies of other State governments. This is evident from our election victories and also some of the policies of some of the State Governments. Formerly, the policies pursued by the Socialist conditions exerted considerable influence on the internal developments of our country. Today, it is principally influenced not by what the Socialist countries do or not but by what the Kerala Ministry does. In the circumstances, the success or otherwise of the struggle of the Indian people for democracy and socialism depends upon the ability of the Party to discharge simultaneously the grave responsibilities of national reconstruction by being, at the same time, in power and in opposition."

Page 3: replace the first para by the following: "Since Palghat the coming into power of a ministry led by the Communist Party in Kerala has created a new political situation in India."

- K.T.Zacharias (Kerala)

SECTION III

1. Page 4, line 8, delete the word "chronic" before "crisis".
- K.Narasimha Reddy (Andhra)
2. Page 2, para 3, in the first sentence add after the words "grown stronger", the following: "by defeating the conspiracies of the imperialist powers to overthrow the Eastern European people's democracies particularly the organised attempt that was made and repulsed in Hungary".
- V.Radhakrishnan (Kerala)
3. Page 4, after Section III "Decline of the Congress" add the following:

P.S.P. and S.P.: Among the parties of the Left the Praja Socialist Party and Socialist Party occupy an important position.

The recent march.....

The recent march of events has shown that the policies followed by the leadership of these parties have failed to meet the aspirations of the people. The anti-Communist plank of PSP leadership's policy has made it to align itself with the Congress and Muslim League against the popular Ministry in Kerala. Except in West Bengal and on the question of Samyukta Maharashtra, the blind anti-Communism practiced by the PSP has helped to disrupt the unity of democratic forces. No less anti-unity have been the policies of the S.P. leadership. The blind anti-communism followed by the leadership of these parties and their anti-unity outlook has led them into a blind ally where even the efforts to unite these two parties have come to nought. Such a situation is used by the ruling party to its own advantage. It is not only dangerous to the unity of the democratic forces in general but also to the unity of these parties and their ranks."

- Shankar Dayan Tiwari, Kali Shankar Shukla } U.P.
Romesh Chandra } I

4. Sec. 3, para 1, line 1, delete the word "very".

- K. Muthaiah (Tamilnad)

SECTION IV

1. Last sentence "These developments constitute a menace to democracy, etc.", delete the words, "constitute a menace" and substitute the same by "are detrimental to"

- K. Ghosh (Bengal)

2. Rewrite first two sentence to read: "Side by side with this disintegration and crisis advances in the PSP and Socialist Party. And the growth of the Communist Party and of the democratic movement as a whole lags behind the growth of the popular discontent against the government. This poses the biggest challenge to the democratic forces, especially the Communist Party - a challenge which has to fire the CPI to urgent action."

Mohit Sen (P.H.Q.)

3. Before the last sentence insert the following: "The Congress leadership does not even hesitate to go the length of forming alliances with communal parties like the Muslim League in Kerala in order to regain its position there and to take the Akalis in its fold so that it may retain its position of power in the Punjab."

- Shankar Dayal Tiwari (U.P.)

4. In line 6, after the words "...of Orissa" and before the words "as well as" in the same line add "The National Democratic Congress of Tamilnad".

- Manali C. Kandaswamy (Tamilnad)

SECTION V

1. Add "transfer of lands to the big non-agricultural people", after the word "Eviction" in 2nd para, line 5 of this Section.

- Saroj Roy (W.Bengal)

2. 1st para, second sentence, after "aim and objects were", delete the rest of the sentence and insert instead "supported by our Party as being the interest of the country."

- Khagendra Kumar Roy Choudhury (Bengal)

3. para 1, page 5, line 12-13, after "bureaucratic machinery" add, "due to firm grip and predominancy of the monopolist and their allies in the Government."

- Ajit Ganguly (W.Bengal)

4. On page 5.....

4. On page 5, after the 2nd paragraph add the following paragraphs:

"The difficulties which the Plan is facing are not accidental, but they are inherent consequences of the policies which Government is pursuing in the interest of the class which it represents.

"The refusal of the Government to mobilise all the available resources for the needs of the Plan without throwing avoidable burdens on the common mass of people, to stabilise the market by fixing the prices of essential commodities, to prohibit speculation for releasing the unproductive capital for productive purposes, to improve the standard of living of the workers, peasants and middle class by raising their purchasing power and nationalise the scheduled banks originates from the class interests of the Government.

"The Party has, therefore, to fight ruthlessly the class policies of the Government which endanger the success of the Plan and hinder the pace of development of independent national economy."

On page 5, para 2, omit the sentence "Our warnings went un-heeded".

- S.V. Farulekar (Maharashtra)

5. Page 5, 1st para 6th line put "public" before the word "Plan".

- B. Guha (Bengal)

6. Add at the end of the second sentence of page 5, para 1: "and it would help lay the basis for building socialism".

- V. Thankayyan (Kerala)

7. Section V, Page 5, line 5, replace "food deficit has grown" with the following: "These evictions together with other things have increased the food deficit of the country".

Section V, Page 5, add after the last but one sentence of Para 2: In tune with the recession and crisis that has engulfed the world capitalist economy, the Indian economy has got on the rails of a recession and impending crisis. At the same time,....

- K.T. Zacharias (Kerala)

SECTION VI

11th April

Job: Bani: - Palghat line, support and give your Plan but support to students of teachers not expansionist policy. policy for this within Res. we have to are trying to support the fulfilment of the plan. expansionist Risky reaction. we always try to find out excuses for Govt when something wrong is happening.

Differences in the at speech.

G. Yallanadi (Andhra)
DASRI (7)

Hein: - When foreign policy on foreign policy is a bit changed - Indonesia in internal policy. Right hand shift. Day constant is not dictatorship

Chitday: -

Salyngaraj (Amal) : - Amudus 100 1 1002

Bhawanee Sen : - defend the revolution

Amil (Khal) : -

H. C. Nayyar : -

Hari Singh : -

K. K. Nayyar : -

8/22 : - struggle for actualization of the forces elements down below needs an emphasis

Rajit Raychaudhuri - - was being put on retreat
- now is now on counter offensive
- Demobilization the main campaign

- American & British capital is being broken

- Fulfillment of the largest of the program

Madrasapathi (Bul) : -

S. P. Sanyal : -

[Faint, illegible handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

SECTION VI

1. Para 1 should start with this sentence: "The Plan is a plan for capitalist development of India. The proposed public sector and the agrarian reforms are meant to develop agriculture on capitalist lines and to supply cheap raw material to the capitalists. But seizing upon"

- Bhag Singh Sajjan (Punjab)

2. Para 2, after "against the public sector", add "attacks which have facilitated by the Government's own bungling and its policies."

- Khagendra Kumar Roy Choudhury (Bengal)

3. Para 1, first sentence after "landed" add "arising out of the inner contradiction of the Plan itself as formulated by the Government."

- Khagendra Kumar Roy Choudhury (Bengal)

SECTION VII

1. Para 4, delete the second sentence and insert instead, "They derive their strength from the anti-people reactionary policies of the Government itself".

- Khagendra Kumar Roy Choudhury (Bengal)

2. Last para, line 3, after the word 'manoeuvres' add and the anti-people policies of the Government". And in line 7 after the word 'policies' add "and the anti-people activities of the Government."

Rewrite the last sentence as follows: "It shall support every step taken by the Government that benefits the people and weaken these forces".

- Ajit Ganguly (Bengal)

3. Omit para 2.

- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)

4. After Chapter VII, add another small chapter stating how the Government in some spheres (e.g., oil, coal, etc.) continues making big concessions detrimental to the interest of the country."

- Barin Chowdhury (Assam)

5. Delete the last sentence of Para 5 and put the following in its place: "It shall resolutely fight the policy of the Government, which may strengthen these reactionaries".

- B.Guha (Bengal)

6. A portion must be added highlighting how socialist aid has been helping us, as in Bhilai, etc. in contrast to aid from other capitalist countries.

- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)

7. Para 5, line 6, Delete the words "rouse patriotic elements in every party", and insert instead "rouse all patriotic and democratic forces".

- K.Muthaiah (Tamilnad)

SECTION VIII

1. Amend first para on page 7 to read: "It is precisely these anti-popular policies of the government combined with its attacks on the popular"

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6-
2/10

the popular movement, as well as the advance of the democratic forces spearheaded by the Communist Party, that has led to the intensified activity of the extreme Right. It remains a fact that the government policies themselves are the biggest hindrance to mobilising the people for the implementation of the Plan. While warning the people about the increased activities of the extreme Right, the main task of the Party continues to be the rallying of all democratic forces to defeating the reactionary policies of the government and replacing them by progressive policies".

- Mohit Sen (P.H.Q.)

2. Para 2, for the words "realise the targets" substitute the words "advance and strengthen independent national economy".

- S.V.Parulekar, (Maharashtra)

3. Para 4, after the first sentence "The Communist Party stands without curtailment", insert another sentence as follows: "At the same time the Party will always endeavour to amend and even incorporate good things in the Plan which are urgently needed by the people".

- Barin Choudhury (Assam)

4. In Para 3, after the 1st sentence "experience of the past two years," etc., add another sentence as follows: "On the other hand many a time, the Government adopt an obstructionist policy whenever people voice their desire to incorporate a good thing in the plan if that does not suit the interest of the vested circles".

- Barin Choudhury (Assam)

5. Add as the 5th para: "Mobilisation of the entire people for national reconstruction is the main task facing the Party today. In both industrial and agrarian fields we have to develop the initiative of the people to organise among themselves to work out schemes for increasing food production and formation of cooperative societies to run cottage industries and similar activities. Patriots belonging to all parties including the Congress must be drawn and mobilised on a big for such reconstruction activities. The Party must lead the masses of our people along the path of national reconstruction".

- E.K.Nayanar, K.V.K.Warrior, N.E.Balaram,
K. Chathunni, C.Unni Raja

6. Para 3: in 2nd line delete the word "balanced" ; in 3rd line delete the word "uninterrupted" and put the following after the word "reconstruction" in 4th line: "for the real interest of the masses of the people".

- B.Guha (Bengal)

7. In para 4, the targets of Second Five Year Plan must be specified: 1) Heavy industries, 2) Public Sector, 3) Land Reforms.

- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)

8. Para 1, line 5 (page 7), delete the words "the weak and reactionary" and insert instead the word "weak-kneed and vascillating".

- C.Vasudeva Rao (Andhra)

9. Para 5, line 8, after the word "banks" add "and all insurance".

- K.Muthaiah (Tamilnad)

10. Para 2, instead of the words, in line 6, "without a simultaneous battle waged", put the words, "without primarily and simultaneously waging a battle".

- S.G.Sardesai (Maharashtra)

11. Para 1, this whole paragraph seems to have been put up in a very crude form. It conveys that we oppose American aid in every form We should qualify it by saying that all foreign aid should be accepted without political strings attached to it. Our present understanding stands not entirely against American aid as it has

been put up

been put up here.

- Gujarat delegation.

- 12. Delete para 1 and substitute by the following: "The struggle against these anti-national and extreme reactionary forces includes the struggle against these weak and reactionary policies of the government. Without such a struggle it is impossible either to defeat Right wing reaction or realise the targets of the Plan".

- K.Gopalrao (Andhra)

SECTION IX

- 1. Rewrite point 5 as follows: "5 (a) Campaign for the introduction of Agrarian Reforms which include tenancy reforms, ceiling on land-holdings, reduction of tax and debt burdens, credit facilities, cooperative marketing, agricultural labour demands and democratisation of administration; (b) Food crisis and the Party's proposals for its solution".

Add point 11: Popularising the achievements of Kerala government and mobilising democratic opinion in favour of it".

- K.Gopalrao, (Andhra)

- 2. Rewrite point 4 as follows: "Nationalisation of big banks; wholesale trade in foodgrains; expansion of state trading; nationalisation of foreign concerns, and until such time as they are nationalised State control over them in the interests of the nation such as prohibition of sending profits outside India and ceiling on profits, etc.; state control over Indian monopolies such as ceiling on profits, etc.".

Add the following points: -

--- Immediate land reforms;

--- Exposure of the anti-people policies of the Government.

- G.Samuel (Tamilnad)

- 3. The first item shall be: "Intensification of the struggle against the anti-democratic policies of the Congress Government which are on the one hand adding fresh burdens on the people and on the other jeopardising the success of the Plan. Popularisation of the alternative policies and proposals suggested by the Communist Party."

Rest items will remain as they are.

- J.M.Kaul, K.Ghosh (Bengal)

- 4. In the political resolution the question of the anti-rehabilitation policy of the Congress Government has not found any place. The problem of refugee rehabilitation is a national issue and it concerns several State Governments. So reference of the policy of Union Government including other State Governments and particularly that of the West Bengal State Government be made in the political resolution and the following clause be added with Issues of National Campaigns as item no. 11: "Against the anti-rehabilitation policy of the Government and for proper rehabilitation of the refugees in their national environment with the means of livelihood."

- Sailen Bose, Narayan Roy, Samar Mukherjee (Bengal)

- 5. Add after No. 10: "11) The efforts and achievements of Kerala Government and our Members in Parliament and various State Legislatures and local bodies.

- H.K.Asthana (Andhra)

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6. Add points 11 & 12 after point 10: "(11) against communalism, casteism and untouchability; (12) realisation of land reforms".
- Shanti Tiagi, Bharat Singh (U.P.)
7. Add after " 1)", "1 (a) Extension of the scope of employment through setting up of small and medium industries in all parts of the country".
- M.A.Rasul (West Bengal)
8. Amend the entire section to read: "While reiterating the programme given at the Palghat Congress, the Communist Party will launch the following national political campaigns, besides its day-to-day activities:
i) The Communist Party, the Second Plan and national reconstruction.
ii) The Communist-led Ministry in Kerala - its work and its significance.
iii) Summit Conference, cessation of nuclear tests and Asian-African solidarity.
These campaigns must be prepared for over a period, launched vigorously for two weeks throughout the country simultaneously and be properly reviewed."
- Mohit Sen (P.H.Q.)
9. After the first sub-paragraph add the following paragraph: "stabilisation of the market and fixation of prices of all essential commodities."
Sub-para 1, after the words 'over them' add the words "and big industrial and commercial enterprises".
Sub-para 6, after the word "increased" add the word "indirect".
Sub-para 9, after the word "corruption" add the words "nepotism and waste".
After the sub-para 9, add the following two sub-paras: "for prohibiting speculation"; for improving the standard of life of the peasants, workers and middleclass by raising their purchasing power."
- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)
10. Add the following: "To curtail expenses on private sector and unproductive projects and increase them on productive projects in the public sector".
- Bhag Singh Sajjan (Punjab)
11. Add the following new para after point 4: "For administrative reforms".
- E.K.Nayanar, K.Chathunni (Kerala)
12. In the section of issues of national campaign after the point 10 add the following new point (11): "11) A nation-wide campaign to expose and defeat the subversive activities of the reactionaries inside and outside Kerala to overthrow the Kerala Government."
-E.K.Nayanar, K.Chathunni (Kerala)
13. After item 10, "11) Regular countrywide campaigns on the activities of the Kerala Government and also for the implementation of the progressive legislation as in Kerala in other States should become one of the principal features of our work".
- T.S.S.Namboothiri (Kerala)
14. Sub-clause 7: While accepting the CC resolution of 1957 on Language question, it should be made clear:- "(i) An Indian language should be the official language of the Government of India and Hindi is the suitable language for serving this purpose; (ii) But the condition has not yet developed in the

country to

country to introduce Hindi as official language today. In order to reach that stage, it is necessary to take early steps to introduce Hindi in elementary stages in Non-Hindi areas, and thus pave the way for gradual introduction of Hindi as the official language. The details relating to this proposals may be worked out by the National Council."

- V.Madanagopal (Tamilnad)
15. Add the following to the issues for national campaign: "i) immediate introduction of full-fledged agrarian reforms in all States and democratic implementation of these reforms."
- P.Ramachandran (Tamilnad)
16. Put the following after (10): "11), withdrawal from the Commonwealth."
- B.Guha (W. Bengal)
17. Item,4, include,"State taking over Export and Import trade". In item (5), after food crisis, add "land reforms".
- T.R.Ganesan (Tamilnad)
18. Add the following issue also to the list of 10 issues of national campaigns:"For principled and just allocations of Central resources to various regions of the country, keeping in view the necessity of rapidly bringing up backward regions on a par with advanced regions".(This may be suitably drafted).
- R.Umanath (Tamilnad)
19. In point No. 1, delete the words "in a democratic way".
- B.Guha (Bengal)
20. Include the following as No.3 and renumber the others: "Defend the achievements of Kerala Government".
In point No.3, at the end add in Private Sector.
In point No.5, add agrarian reforms before the sentence.
- M.Narasimha Rao, Vanka Satyanarayana (Andhra)
21. Item 2, rewrite as follows: "Exposure of the plans of the pro-imperialist elements in the country and anti-people policies of the Government and organisation of mass struggle to defeat them."
- Amritendu Mukherjee (Bengal)
22. Add another item in Section IX as - "for various social welfare works as public health, education, etc."
- Saroj Roy (Bengal)
23. Replace the para 1 with the following: "The new experience of Kerala has taught us that if the progressive policies are to be implemented democratically, it is our vital task that the present administrative machinery must be radically changed. It is also necessary that the Party comrades should cultivate close contact with the administrative apparatus at all levels.
"While reiterating the programme given at the Palghat Congress, the Communist Party stresses the following issues for National campaign: i) Land reforms and the allotment of the waste and the government lands; ii) decentralisation of power and democratisation of administrative machinery".
- K.T.Zacharias (Kerala)
24. Add after point No. 10: "11) To popularise the achievements and lessons of the Kerala Government".
- M.N.Govindan Nair (Kerala)
25. Add the following: i) "Land reforms should be given first priority. ii) Campaign to democratise the government machinery."
- K.Narasimha Reddy (Andhra)

SECTION X

1. Page 7, para 2 - After the first sentence ending with "blackmail and pressure", substitute the rest of the paragraph with the following:
"We must therefore intensify our battle against these anti-people policies with vigour and determination and draw ever larger masses into it, thus striving to force the Government to change and improve those policies and at the same time defeating these forces of reaction."
- M.A.Rasul, W.Bengal.
2. Page 8, last para, line 9 - After "work in" add "cultural organisations".
- T.S.S.Namboothiri (Kerala)
3. Para 3 - Rewrite the para as follows: "We shall strive to utilise the projects and plans for the benefit of the people and for that consistently try to do away with undemocratic nature of the plans, etc., and fight corruption, waste, etc., in implementation of them in a democratic way." The last two lines of the para shall remain.
- B.Guha, W.Bengal
4. Page 8 - No.X, para 2 - delete the last line "as well,.....of production".
- B.Guha, W.Bengal

5. Insert the following in the beginning of Section X:

"The methods adopted by the Congress Governments to implement the Plan are leading to the intensification of economic crisis, growth of unemployment, inflation, high prices, ever increasing burden of taxes and fall in living standards of the people.

"Continuation of the present policies of the Government will further accentuate the economic crisis in the coming period. The link of our economy with the world capitalist economy is pregnant even with the danger of economic crash, if the present recession grows into a slump. In such a situation, the Government will try to meet the situation by throwing further burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the toiling masses. The growth of agrarian crisis due to the defective policy of the Government, and an attempt to develop capitalism in agriculture are special features of the period, leading to a serious food crisis.

"Under these circumstances, the working class, peasantry and the middle classes will have to unitedly defend their economic and political rights. Big mass struggles will grow in volume and intensify. The Party must be prepared to face the task of standing by the masses and leading their struggles. For the defence of the rights and interests of the masses against the anti-popular measures of the Government and against the exploitation by the monopoly capital will force the Government to execute the Plan in a popular way. The Party shall also defend all those targets of the Plan which strengthen our political independence and our national economy and which help to raise the living standards of the people, against the attacks of the reactionary forces."

- Hari Singh and others (Punjab)

SECTION XI

1. Page 9, para 3. Add the following after the first sentence: "We must realise the fact that, in the present situation, the Kisan Sabhas and agricultural labour organisations can be effectively built and broadest unity of the rural masses would be achieved by making the national reconstruction as one of their main planks of activity."
- C.Vasudeva Rao (Andhra)

SECTION XIII (KERALA SHOWS THE WAY)

1. Page 10, para 5 - Add at the end of last sentence: "by developing and consolidating the forces of the party in all directions in order to lay firm foundations for further successes of Kerala Government and in order that guarantees are forged that if the reactionaries attempt to subvert the Government, they are defeated and the line of popular advance continues."
- R.N.Upadhyay (U.P.)
2. Page 9, last para, add the words "by the Congress" after the words "being made".
- S.V.Parulekar, Maharashtra
3. Para 2 - Add at the end of the para: "Frantic attempts are being made by this unholy alliance to woo the Muslim League on their side to ensure the Opposition headed by the Congress to dislodge the Communist-led Government."
- T.C.Narayanan Nambiar and others, Kerala
4. Para 2 - Add, after putting a semi-colon on line 10 ending with the word "Ministers": "Progressive enactments to establish the Kerala University, rendering relief to indebted agriculturists, controlling moneylending business of usurers, totally banning evictions, steps to give legal aid to poor, etc."
- T.C.Narayanan Nambiar and others, Kerala
5. Page 9, last para, line 7, add after the word "secularism": "The Congress Party, in particular, has been doing all in its power to sabotage the efforts at the starting of industries in Kerala by private parties."
- T.S.S.Namboodiri (Kerala)
6. Page 10, para 5, 5th line - After "peaceful action", add, "the appointment of an administrative reforms committee with a very wide reference;".
- T.S.S.Namboothiri (Kerala)
7. Page 9, add as continuation of the last sentence: "Allowing themselves to be exposed as anti-people opportunist and friend of vested interests."
- E.C.Bharathan, Kerala
8. Page 10, para 5, line 8, after "direct intervention", add "safeguarding the rights of workers;".
- E.C.Bharathan, Kerala
9. Page 10, para 6 - After the first sentence add "At the same time, we should expose the anti-people and anti-national policies of the Opposition parties especially the Congress and the PSP."
- K.Chathunni and others, Kerala
10. Page 10, after para 1, add a new para as follows: "The true colour of Congress and PSP's leadership is more and more exposed in Kerala as and when the Government takes steps to protect the people from the grip of vested interests. They are thrown into a state of panic when they find that their own class interests are jeopardised."
- K.Chathunni and E.K.Nayanar, Kerala
11. Page 10, para 3, add at the end of the para, the following: "On an all-India basis and by exposing the unique unholy alliance of Congress, PSP and the Muslim League with the Catholic Church to overthrow the popular Government of Kerala by resorting to violence."
- V.Radhakrishnan (Kerala)
12. DELETE para 6 and add the following para: "The Party would carry on a ceaseless campaign to popularise the achievements of the Kerala Government, to mobilise and unite the broad masses of the people and the progressive forces."
- N.R.Dasari, Andhra

13. DELETE para 3 and add the following: "The experience has shown that the vested interests would utilise every opportunity to halt the advance of the democratic movement and bring down the people's government of Kerala."

- N.R.Dasari (Andhra)

14. After Section XIII, add the following as Section XIII-A: "The politically conscious people of our country including members of the Congress are comparing achievements of economic development of China with the conditions of crisis in which our Plan is caught. They want to understand how China has solved the problems of land, food and employment and is continuously developing her agriculture and industry, while India is facing crisis of Second Plan, food shortage, shortage of internal resources and foreign exchange. It is an urgent task of the Party to continuously explain to the masses the achievements of Chinese Republic in socialist planning. Such popularisation will be concrete propagation of the ideas of socialism and of vitality of socialist system and bring home to the masses the superiority of socialist over capitalist economy."

- Hari Singh, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and others, Punjab

15. Page 10, at the end of the 4th para, put the responsibility of the Communist Party of India as a whole.

- Sudhir Mukerjee (M.P.)

SECTION XIV

1. Page 11, para 3, insert between "firm ideological-political struggles against" and "such parties" - "The disruptive actions and utterances of the leadership of these parties" and delete such parties.

- R.N.Upadhyay, U.P.

2. Para 3 - Replace the last sentence of third para by "of particular importance in this context is the rapid growth of the independent strength of the Communist Party."

- Mohit Sen (PHQ)

3. Replace para 3 of page 11 by: "However important the building of the unity of the left forces, we cannot confine ourselves to building such a united front. In addition we must strive to develop the independent strength of the Party as well as draw into united common actions, independent progressives who wield considerable influence in many areas."

- Mohit Sen (PHQ)

6. Page 11, para 2, line 2 - Delete the words "against all political parties".
Line 3 - Delete the words "with these parties and their followers" and add instead "with all democratic parties".

- K.Muthiah, Tamilnad

7. Page 10, para 3, line 2 - Delete the words "in all parties".

- K.Muthaiah, Tamilnad

8. Page 10, para 4, after the words "democratic forces inside", delete the words "the Congress and write instead "the country", to make it read - "democratic forces inside the country."

- Amritendu Mukerjee, W.Bengal

9. Page 10, para 11, write "can also defeat the anti-people policies of the Government" instead of "bring about desired changes in Government policies."

- Amritendu Mukerjee, W.Bengal

SECTION XV

1. Page 12, para 4, line 4 - Add after "its application to every sphere", "a struggle which makes the people to clearly understand that Communist Party symbolises a movement and system of thought which is a logical continuation of our several thousand years old history and which carries forward the noblest and finest traditions of our culture and civilization."
- R.N. Padyay, U.P.
2. Page 11, para 1, for the words "socialism can be attained without a mass movement leading to the attainment of power by the working people", substitute the words, "attainment of political power by the working people is not essential for attaining socialism."
- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)
3. Page 12, para 1, omit the words "Under prossuro of these forces".
- S.V.Parulekar (Maharashtra)
4. Para 3, add at the end, ~~at~~ the word "Communalism".
- Bhag Singh Sajjan (Punjab)
5. Para 3 - Subsitute the para with the following: "The Communist Party strives to build unity of all patriotic and democratic forces in all parties for building such a movement. This broadbased unity while directed to strengthen and accelerate the progressive policies of the Government will strive to combat the anti-people and undemocratic policies of the Government and also to defeat the attempts of Right reactionaries to mobilise behind themselves the mass discontent generated by the Government's reactionary policies. The coming together of left parties and also progressive independents is of particular importance in this context."
- K.Gopala Rao (Andhra)

A D D E N D U M

S E C T I O N XII

Rewrite the Section because the role of the Congress leadership and the role of the Central Government has not put very clearly; their anti-democratic, anti-people and other vicious roles must be placed very clearly in the forefront. This will help the comrades of other provinces and also the democratic people to remain vigilant and serious about the Congress Government.

- Saroj Roy (Bengal)

S E C T I O N XV

Delete the words "aided by such campaigns as Bhoodan and Gramdan" from page 12, para 1.

- V.D.Chitale (Maharashtra)

S E C T I O N II

Delete the first para of this Section, beginning, "The events that have taken.....line worked out by it".

-Darshan Singh, Satish Loomba, Jagjit Singh Anand, Punjab.
V.D.Chopra, Satyapal Dang

Addendum contd.....

- V.D.Chopra, - Satyapal Dang & others.

S E C T I O N VIII

On page 7, the para beginning with "It is precisely.....", the second sentence should be rewritten as follows: "The extreme right, therefore, cannot be defeated without a vigorous and determined battle against those reactionary policies of the Government which help to strengthen these anti-national forces and hinder national advance".

- Darshan Singh, A.S.Malhotra, Satish Loomba
V.D.Chopra, Jagjit Singh Anand, Sat Pal Dang
(Punjab)

S E C T I O N IX

After Point No. 7, put the following: "8) For national unity and against communalism, casteism and separatism". (Change the numbers following it to 9, 10 and so on).

- A.S.Malhotra, V.D.Chopra Jagjit Anand, Punjab
Satish Loomba, Darshan Singh, Satpal Dang

S E C T I O N XIV

1) The third para beginning with "striving to build such a movement....." be changed to read as follows: "Striving to build such a movement, the Communist Party will intensify efforts to build a broad National Front to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in all parties...."

- Darshan Singh, Punjab
Satish Loomba,
Satpal Dang & others

2) In the same Section, on page 11, para 4, the para beginning with "There is common ground...." should be changed to read as follows: "There is common ground for united activity between the masses and the democratic elements within the Congress and our Party for defending and popularising India's foreign policy; realising the aims and targets of the Five-Year Plan and ensuring that maximum benefits are secured for the people under schemes and projects of the Plan; and in the fight against anti-national forces of communalism, casteism and separatism".

- V.D.Chopra Darshan Singh Punjab.
Jagjit Anand Satish Loomba
A.S.Malhotra Satpal Dang

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6.4.58

Steering Committee:- BTR, M D, Ashkar, Dhruva, R.R.
Suryal + Ajay.

Amendments till 8.4.58.

Pol. Res.

15. - cont: Report.
Constitution-
Pol. Res.

J. Karl:- 1) 24 Pol. Res: Comp before Congress, but f.s. should not be
discussed to narrow.

2) Pol. Res: cont: Reports not discussed

3) An cont: Res: as.

Jagjit Anand:- cont: report + Constitution.

K. Agin :- 3 days to Constitution to come.

Ajay :- original are suggestions

120 for Amendment
212 against - "

Handls accepted

J. Karl:- Res: as above
cont.