

India

Draft of the Provisional Statutes of the C.P. of India*

(SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

The Communist Party of India, being a section of the Communist International, is the most advanced organised section of the proletariat of India, the highest form of its class organisation.

The Communist Party of India carries out the leadership of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and all the toiling masses, organising them in the struggle for the victorious anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, for the formation of a workers' and peasants' government on the basis of the Soviet power, for complete state national independence and for a further struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the full triumph of socialism according to the programme of the Communist International. The Communist Party of India is a united fighting organisation cemented by conscious iron proletarian discipline. The Party is strong in its unity, unity of will and unity of action, which are incompatible with any deviation from the programme, any violation of Party discipline and factional grouping inside the Party.

The Communist Party of India demands from its members active and self-sacrificing work for carrying out the programme of the C.I. and the draft platform of action of the C.P. of India. It demands also the carrying out of the statutes of the Party and fulfilling all the decisions of the Party and its organs, the guarantee of the unity of the ranks of the Party and the strengthening of fraternal international relations both between the toilers of the various nationalities of India and with the proletariat of all countries of the world. The Party works in all the mass organisations of the toilers, including the most reactionary organisations, seeking to win over the toiling masses of members of these organisations to its side and to isolate the reformist, the national reformists, and social-democratic leaders.

(I.) PARTY MEMBERS AND THEIR DUTIES

(1) A member of the Party is any person who recognises the programme of the C.I., the draft platform of action of the Communist Party, and who works in one of the Party organisations, obeys the decisions of the Party and the Communist International, and regularly pays membership dues.

(2) A member of the Party must:—

(a) Observe the strictest Party discipline and maintain reticence with regard to secret matters, actively participate in the political life of the Party and the country, carry on in practice the decisions of the Communist International, the Party and the Party organs.

(b) Tirelessly work to raise his ideological attainments, to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the chief political and organisational decisions of the Party, and explain them to the non-Party masses.

(c) Be a member of mass organisations (trade unions, etc.), and carry on tireless work there under the leadership of the Party Committee for strengthening the political and organisational influence of the Party.

(d) Join mass organisations of toilers, trade unions, etc., who are under the influence and leadership of the reformists and national reformists and other opponents, and carry on there a tireless everyday ideological and organisational struggle for liberating the toiling masses from the influence of class enemies, winning these masses to the side of the Communist Party and thus isolating the reformists and the national reformists from the toiling masses.

(e) Besides participating, organising, and leading the everyday struggles of the workers and peasants for partial demands, to carry on tireless agitation and propaganda among the workers and other toilers, spreading the ideas of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution and the ideas of Communism.

(3) Members are accepted into the Party only individually and through Party cells. Newly recruited Party members must be confirmed by the city committee (or local committee).

(4) If whole groups from other political organisations join the Communist Party, or if whole political organisations want to join the C.P., a proper decision of the Central Committee is required for acceptance.

NOTE.—If leading members from other political parties come over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the town committee or local committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the Central Committee.

(5) When accepting a new Party member, he must be vouched for by at least two members of the Party who know him well both at his place of work and his place of residence. The comrades recommending him are responsible for him, and in case of improper recommendations will be subject to Party disciplinary measures, to the point of exclusion from the Party. When a member of a Communist youth organisation is accepted, a recommendation is required from the corresponding committee of this organisation of which he was a member before joining the Party.

(6) Every member of the Party who works in some local organisation, and is going to work in the area of another local organisation, will be registered by the latter as one of its members.

(7) Members of the Party will go from one district to another according to rules laid down by the Central Committee. The consent of the Central Committee of the Party is required to go to another country.

(8) The question of the expulsion of anyone from the Party is decided by a general meeting of the cell of which the given person is a member, and is confirmed by the town or local committee. Pending the decision of the town committee, the person in question can be removed from Party work.

(9) The following are expelled from the Party: (1) open or concealed supporters of Gandhism, of the Roy group and other political trends condemned by the C.I., as enemies of Communism and as disorganisers and betrayers of the struggle for national independence; (2) open or concealed violators of the iron discipline of the Party; (3) those who betray in any way secret Party affairs (it must be remembered that this leads to a position that the Party can be disorganised and Party workers arrested); (4) provocateurs, careerists, traitors, morally degenerate people and those who, by their improper conduct, harm the good name and soil the banner of the Party; (5) class-alien and hostile elements, who have crept into the Party by deception, concealing their counter-revolutionary or criminal past or their previous connections with the police.

(II.) THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

(10) The Party is conducted as a strictly underground organisation. The underground organisations of the Party in their work make it their central task to develop most widely mass work to establish its leadership in the mass revolutionary movements, and with this aim combining the methods of underground work with semi-underground work and open work.

(11) The leading principle of the organisational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, which means:—

(a) All the leading organs of the Party, from top to bottom, are elected.

(b) The Party organs periodically report on their work to their Party organisations.

* This draft was received from the Provisional Central Committee of the C.P. of India, with a request to publish, and invite comrades to offer their criticism and suggestions. We invite comrades to send in any criticism or suggestions they may have.

In preparing the draft for publication certain expressions have had to be changed.—Ep.

(c) The strictest Party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority.

(d) Decisions of the Comintern and higher Party organs are unquestionably obligatory for lower organs and for all members of the Party.

(12) The Party is built on the foundations of democratic centralism according to the territorial-industrial principle. Organisations which embrace any districts are considered as higher than organisations which embrace part of the given district.

(13) All the Party organisations are autonomous in deciding local questions, providing these decisions do not conflict with the decisions of the Party and the Comintern.

(14) The highest leading organ of every organisation is the general meeting, conference, or congress.

(15) The general meeting, conference, or congress elects a committee, which is their executive organ and guides all the current work of the organisation.

NOTE.—(1) For reasons of underground work, in accordance with the decisions of higher Party committees, the lower Party committee can be formed without elections at the corresponding Party Conference, but by appointment or also by combining election with co-optation, i.e., only a part of the Party committee is elected at the Party conference and the other part of the Party committee is co-opted. (2) For reasons of underground work, it is also permissible for the elections to take place not at the Party conference, but by selecting for the Party committee persons from among the best activists who have been selected in advance by the higher Party Committee from the cells and fractions in mass organisations, trade unions, etc.

(16) The organisational scheme of the Party is as follows:—

(a) Territory of India: All-Indian Party Congress, which elects the Central Committee of C.P. of India.

(b) Province: Provincial Party Conference and Provincial Party Committee.

(c) Town (or Locality): Town (Local) Conference, Town (Local) Committee.

(d) Factory, Chawl or Village: General Meeting of Cell, Bureau, or Organiser of Cells.

(17) Order of Subordination of Party Organs: All-Indian Party Congress, C.C.C.P. of India, Provincial Party Conference, Provincial Party Committee, Town (Local) Party Conference, Town (Local) Party Committee, General Meeting of Cell, Bureau or Organiser of the Cell.

NOTE.—In respect to provinces where a provincial committee has not yet been organised, the C.C. directly leads the local Party organisations, and in places where there are no local organisations it directly leads the various cells. The same applies to the provincial committees in provinces where local and district committees have not yet been organised everywhere. In such cases the provincial committee directly leads the work of the various cells and local Party organisations.

(III.) THE CENTRAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

(18) The highest organ of the Party is the Congress. Congresses are called if possible once a year. Extraordinary Congresses are called by the Central Committee on its own initiative or at the demand of not less than one-third of the total number of members represented at the last Party Congress. Extraordinary Congresses are called at the expiration of two months.

The Congress is to be considered as having full powers if it has representatives from not less than half the members of the Party represented at the last regular Congress. Representation quotas at the Congress and the method of election are decided by the Central Committee.

NOTE.—If it is impossible to call a Congress of the Party the C.C. will call an enlarged Session of the Plenum of the C.C., with the participation of representatives of the Provincial Committees. Such an enlarged Plenum of the C.C. has the right, by arrangement with the C.I., to change the composition of the C.C.

(19) The Congress (a) discusses and confirms the report of the Central Committee; (b) revises and changes the programme and statutes of the Party; (c) decides on the tactical line of the Party on the basic questions of current politics; (d) elects the Central Committee. During the sittings of the Party Congress a small auditing commission has to be elected, which looks through the financial affairs of the past period, and at the end of the

Congress reports the results of its work, and is then dissolved.

(20) The Central Committee is elected by the Congress. In case a member of the Central Committee leaves it, he will be replaced by one of the candidates in the order fixed by the Congress.

NOTE.—The Central Committee has a right to co-opt members to the Central Committee.

(21) The Central Committee organises the Politbureau for current work. The Politbureau appoints a secretary whose task is to guide all the work of the apparatus of the Central Committee, to guide the proper distribution of the Party functionaries and control the fulfilment of the directives of the C.I., the decisions of the Party Congresses, and the Central Committee.

(22) The members of the Central Committee are attached as instructors and representatives of the Central Committee to definite provincial organisations and also divide among themselves the various fields of activity of the Central Committee:—

(a) Editor of the Central Party organ.

(b) A manager of the Central technical apparatus and of distribution of literature.

(c) Treasurer.

(d) Head of the work of Party fractions in the mass organisations.

(e) Head of the special apparatus.

(f) Head of the Party educational department.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of work, the Central Committee can combine some of these functions and give to one person, or set up new departments, etc.

NOTE.—Special work must be entirely separated from the general Party work.

(23) The Central Committee leads the whole work of the Party in the interval between the Congresses, represents the Party in its relations with other organisations and institutions, organises various Party institutions and guides their activity, appoints the editor of the Central organ, confirms the secretaries and editors of Party organs of provincial Party committees, distributes the forces and funds of the Party, and is in charge of the Central funds.

(24) With the aim of strengthening the Bolshevik leadership over the work of the local Party organisations, the Central Committee has the right to create in some parts of the country Regional Bureaux of the Central Committee which would include several provinces, to send representatives and instructors to the localities. The Regional Bureaux of the Central Committee, representatives and instructors of the Central Committee must work on the basis of special instructions laid down every time by the Central Committee or the Politbureau.

(25) The Central Committee regularly informs the Party organisation of its general work by sending out special information bulletins and also by sending members and representatives of the Central Committee to the localities to give reports on its work.

(IV.) THE PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE PARTY

(26) The highest organ of the Provincial Party organisation is the Provincial Party Conference, and in the intervals between Conferences the highest organ is the Provincial Party Committee. In its action it must be guided by the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist Party of India and its leading organs.

NOTE.—The Provincial Committee works on the territory included in the administrative boundaries of the province. It might be formed from the town organisation of the main city of the province. When the town organisation of the provincial centre gets strong enough, the town committee, while maintaining the functions of the leading organ for the town Party organisation, takes on for a time, till a proper Provincial Committee is built, the rights and duties of the Provincial Committee and develops its work in the administrative limits of the province, beginning with the chief industrial centres.

(27) The regular Provincial Conference is called by the Provincial Party Committee if possible once in six months. Extraordinary Conferences are called at the decision of the Provincial Committee or on the decision of one-third of the total number of members of the Provincial organisation, providing consent of Central Committee is given.

Quotas of representation and the manner of election to the Provincial Conference are fixed every time by the Provincial Committee.

The Provincial Party Conference discusses and confirms the

report of the work of the Provincial Committee, and elects the Provincial Committee of five members and two candidates, and delegates to the All-Indian Communist Party Congress.

(28) The Provincial Committee appoints a secretary and an assistant. The secretary of the Provincial Committee carries on current work, directs the apparatus of the Provincial Committee, directs the proper distribution of Party workers and ensures the fulfilment of the decisions of the Provincial Party Conference, the Provincial Committee, and the directives of the Central Committee of the Party. The secretaries of each Provincial Committee are confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party. The Provincial Committee gives regular reports on its work to the C.C. on the date and in forms as established by the Central Committee.

(29) In order better to carry out the tasks which face the Provincial Committee, and to ensure the proper leadership of the work of the local Party organisations, the members of the Provincial Party Committee are attached to definite districts of the province and divide among themselves the functions of the Provincial Committee, such as:—

(a) Editor of the provincial organ (confirmed by the C.C. of the Party).

(b) The manager of the provincial technical apparatus and the organiser of the distribution of literature.

(c) Treasurer.

(d) Head of the work of the fractions in mass organisations.

(e) Head of the special apparatus.

(f) Head of the Party educational department.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of the work, the Provincial Committee may combine several of these functions in one comrade, form new functions, etc., or appoint comrades outside of the committee members to carry such work as technical apparatus, subordinating him directly to the secretary.

(30) The Provincial Committee leads all the work of the provincial organisation in the intervals between Provincial Conferences, represents the provincial organisation of the Party in relations with other organisations and institutions, organises various provincial Party institutions and guides their activity, appoints the editors of the provincial newspapers, confirms the secretaries and editors of district organs, distributes the forces and funds of the provincial organisation, and has charge of the provincial treasury.

(31) With the aim of strengthening the proper leadership of the local organisations and ensuring a more thorough check-up on the fulfilment of decisions, the Provincial Committee has the right to send representatives and instructors to the localities.

(V.) THE TOWN AND LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

(32) In the town and village talukas (for several village communities), town (or local) organisations are formed, with the confirmation of the Provincial Committees. The highest organ of the town (or local) Party organisation is the town (or local) Conference. The town (or local) Party Conference is called by the town (or local) Party Committee, if possible every six months. Extraordinary Conferences are called on the decision of the town (or local) committee, or at the demand of one-third of the total number of members in the town (or local) organisation.

The town (or local) Conference discusses and confirms the report of the town (or local) committee, elects the town (or local) committee of five members and two candidates, and delegates to the Provincial Party Conference.

(33) The town (or local) committee elects a secretary (to be confirmed by the Provincial Committee), organises and confirms cells and fractions in mass organisations, organises the collection of membership dues, organises various Party institutions and commissions within the limits of the town (locality) and guides their activity, appoints the editor of the town (locality) Party organ (to be confirmed by the Provincial Committee), guides the work of the cells and fractions in the lower ranks of the mass organisations, distributes the forces and funds of the Party within the limits of the town (locality), and has charge of the town (or local) funds.

(34) In order better to carry out the tasks which face the town (or local) committee, the members of the town (or local) committee are attached to definite cells and fractions in mass organisations as representatives or instructors of the committee, and also distribute among themselves the chief functions of the apparatus of the town (or local) committees, such as:—

(a) The editor of the town (or local) organ.

(b) The leader of the town (or local) technical apparatus and the distribution of literature.

(c) The treasurer.

(d) The head of the work of the fractions in mass organisations).

(e) The head of the special work.

NOTE.—According to the concrete conditions of the work, the town (or local) committee may combine several of these functions in one person, form new functions, etc. The special work has to be entirely separated from the general Party work.

(f) The town (or local) committee will give regular reports on its work to the Provincial Committee on the dates and in the forms which are fixed every time by the Provincial Committee.

(VI.) THE SECTION COMMITTEES IN THE BIG CITIES

(35) In the big towns, with the permission of the C.C., section organisations are formed under the control of the town committee, and work under its direction. The section organisations of big towns will work according to the rules for town organisations.

(VII.) CELLS

(36) The basis of the Party is the factory cell. These cells are formed in factories, mills, big farms, units, institutions, etc., if there are not less than three Party members. Besides the factory cells in the mills, chawl and street cells are organised from among the Party members who cannot be in factory cells—like small handicraftsmen and traders, housewives, etc. In the village, village cells are organised. Special cells act on the basis of special instructions of the Central Committee. The cells are confirmed by the local or town committees.

NOTE.—Each group of class-conscious workers, poor peasants, and other toilers can on their own initiative organise a Party cell and begin Communist work among the masses. Such Party cells which are organised on the initiative of non-Party class-conscious workers can be accepted into the Party by the town or local Party committee according to the statutes after a careful personal investigation of the membership both in respect to political views and in respect to honesty and loyalty to the cause of the revolution.

(37) In big factories, in order to adapt to conditions of underground existence, separate department cells are organised and, through cell organisers, form a joint unit.

(38) The cell links up the workers, peasants, and others with the leading organs of the Party. Its tasks are:—

(1) Agitational and organisational work among the masses for the Party slogans and decisions.

(2) The attraction of sympathisers and new members and their political education.

(3) The publication of a factory paper.

(4) Assistance to the town (or local) committee in its everyday organisational and agitational work.

(5) Active participation as a Party unit in the economic and political life of their factory and city and also of the whole country, active participation in the discussion and solution and carrying out of all general Party questions.

(39) In order to carry on the current work, the cell elects a secretary, who is confirmed by the town (or local) committee. The members of the cell distribute among themselves various duties in the factory: (1) collection of membership dues; (2) publication and distribution of the factory Party paper; (3) leadership of the fractions of the factory mass organisations (trade union, sport, cultural, educational, etc.); (4) active work among the toiling masses and recruiting new members; (5) actively carry out the decisions of the cell and higher Party organisations.

(VIII.) FRACTIONS IN MASS ORGANISATIONS

(40) At all Congresses, meetings, and in the elected organs of the mass organisations outside the Party—trade unions, factory committees, peasant organisations, co-operative societies, sport clubs, youth organisations, etc.—where there are not less than three Party members, Party fractions are organised which must function in an organised way, strengthen Party discipline, work to increase the influence of the Party, carry Party policy among non-Party masses. For current work, the fraction elects a secretary.

(41) The fraction is completely controlled by the corresponding Party committee (C.C., provincial committees, town or local committees or nucleus), and on all questions must strictly and

without vacillation carry out the decisions of the Party organisations which lead them.

The fractions of the higher bodies of mass organisations, by agreement with the corresponding Party committee, may send directives to the fractions of the lower bodies of the same mass organisations, and the latter must carry them out without fail as directives from a higher Party organ.

(IX.) INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

(42) The free and business-like discussion of Party policy in the various organisations or in the Party as a whole is the indefeasible right of every member of the Party, arising from inner-Party democracy. Only on the basis of inner-Party democracy can Bolshevik self-criticism be developed and Party discipline strengthened, as the latter should be conscious and not mechanical. But a discussion on questions of Party policy must be developed in such a way that it should not lead to Party organisations or Party workers being exposed to the police terror or to attempts on the part of an insignificant minority to force their views on the vast majority of the Party members and to attempts to form fractional groups which will break the unity of the Party, which will lead to splitting the working class. Therefore, a wide inner-Party discussion can be recognised as necessary, only if:—

(a) This necessity is recognised by at least several big provincial organisations.

(b) If inside the C.C. there is not a sufficiently firm majority on the chief questions of Party policy.

(c) If, despite the existence of a firm majority in the C.C. for a certain point of view, the C.C. nevertheless considers it necessary to verify the correctness of its policy by discussion in the Party.

Only if these conditions are carried out and secrecy is ensured, can the Party be guaranteed against the misuse of inner-Party democracy by anti-Party elements. Only on these conditions can we reckon on inner-Party democracy being useful for the cause and not being utilised to damage the Party and the working class. Discussion must take place under the strong leadership of the C.C., and in the localities under the leadership of the provincial town (or local) committees.

(43) The preservation of the unity of the Party, a merciless struggle against the slightest attempts at factional struggle and splits, the strictest Party discipline, are the first duties of all members of the Party and all Party organisations. In order to bring about the strictest discipline inside the Party and secure the greatest unity while removing all factions, the C.C. has the right to apply all Party penalties to the point of expulsion from the Party in cases of violations of discipline or the existence of fractions.

(44) The decisions of the leading Party organs must be carried out exactly and rapidly. Failure to carry out the decisions of higher organisations and other actions which are recognised as crimes against the Party will be dealt with as follows: For a local organisation: censure and a general reregistration (disbanding the organisation); for individual Party members: various forms of censure (public rebuke, reprimand, etc.), public censure, temporary removal from responsible work, expulsion from the Party.

All Party organisations from the cell upwards have the right to inflict Party penalties. In order to carry on a preliminary investigation of the activity of Party members, Party committees may set up in individual cases if it be necessary temporary investigation committees, whose conclusions later must be confirmed by the Party committee.

(X.) THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE PARTY

(45) The financial resources of the Party and its organisations are comprised of membership dues, income from Party undertakings, and other incomes.

(46) The monthly membership dues for Party members are as follows: . . . ; unemployed members of the Party are exempt from the payment of membership dues.

(47) On entering the Party an entrance fee of . . . must be paid.

(48) The C.C. decides what proportion of the membership dues will remain at the disposal of the cell, and how much will be put at the disposal of the town (or local) committee, provincial committee, and the C.C.