

On the Tasks of the Party in the Present Situation

Resolution adopted at the Seventh Congress of the
Communist Party of India,
October 31-November 7, 1964, Calcutta*

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, after discussing the political-organisational report placed by the Central Executive Committee before the Congress, has come to the following conclusion on the political economic situation existing in the country and the tasks arising therefrom.

Nearly two decades of Congress rule and its attempt to build capitalism, without attacking the positions of foreign capital and without carrying out land reforms in the interest of the peasantry and agricultural labourers, have landed the country's economy in a deep crisis. The sharpest expression of the crisis is the food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities of daily consumption.

The five-year plans, which were advertised as plans which would create a self-generating economy, free from foreign dependence, have miserably failed in the objectives that were loudly proclaimed.

In all the plans, performance has been far less than sixty per cent of targets, particularly in basic industries.

The shortfall in agriculture has been still more pronounced and in the last three years, agricultural production has been more or less stagnant.

And for this pitiable performance, the common people have been made to pay more than what was proposed as the targets of

* This was in reality the political resolution of the Seventh Congress.

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additional taxation, which were already fixed high. And on top of it deficit financing has been resorted to recklessly. With all this the plan is facing a crisis in the internal resources part of it.

And as for external resources, a chronic crisis has engulfed the plan. Government's attempt to overcome this crisis in external resources by inviting foreign capital for investments in private enterprise in collaboration with Indian monopolists has not succeeded in overcoming the crisis, but the crisis has intensified.

Far from creating a self-generating economy, the country is today dependent on imperialist aid in respect of even food and for maintaining production in the existing industries.

While the reduction in the disparities in income and wealth, and a sizable increase in living standards, were proclaimed as objectives of the plans, the opposite of it has been the actual result. At one end monopolists have enormously strengthened themselves, at the other end living standards of the common people have been tremendously depressed. Unemployment has steadily grown. And on top of it all, government has let loose hoarders and speculators on the entire community, whose depredations have inflicted untold misery on all sections of the people. The suffering and misery inflicted in the last one year alone when prices of essential articles of food have risen by cent per cent defy description.

As a direct consequence of these policies the entire administration down from the ministerial level is reeking with corruption. Crores of rupees allocated to various schemes are going down the drain into the cesspool of corruption.

All this has clearly demonstrated that the capitalist path of development that the Congress government has embarked upon cannot solve our basic problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty and unemployment. While it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people, it gives them no hope of a better future. Further, the massive import of foreign capital together with reliance on imperialist aid, would seriously jeopardise our freedom.

An important manifestation of the intense crisis is the evergrowing mass discontent which expresses itself in various

forms and on various issues. The food crisis has brought the hitherto unorganised sections of the people into action. Demonstrations, rallies, satyagrahas, gheraos, industry-wise and state-wide strikes have taken place in the recent period in all parts of the country drawing into their fold much larger sections of the people, including bank, insurance and states and central government employees, regardless of party affiliation.

On the other hand, factional fights inside the ruling party have intensified. Manoeuvres like the 'Kamaraj plan' resorted to by the Congress leadership, without changing the basic policies, have failed to solve the problems created by these factional fights. Actually these manoeuvres give rise to fresh and more intense factional struggles.

However, the ruling party is meeting the developing movement of mass resistance against its policies by a combination of repression and demagogy. Detentions without trial, lathi and teargas charges and firings and other traditional methods of repression have been intensified. The state of emergency is being perpetuated and the unconstitutional provisions of the Defence of India Rules are resorted to precisely for the purpose of suppression of the people, in the name of defence of the country. At the same time demagogic declarations are made from time to time, such as democratic socialism, threat of action against hoarders, etc.

And now the Government of India has come out with the target of Rs. 21,000 crores for the fourth plan. It seeks to lull the people with the promise of doubling the rate of economic growth, i.e. at the annual rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But it should be noted that no change in basic policies is proposed. A moratorium on land reforms is proposed. Additional taxation of Rs. 2500 crores is provided for. In addition to over Rs. 2,000 crores expected by way of imperialist aid, it is hoped that Rs. 2,500 crores of foreign monopoly capital would come in for investment in the private sector in collaboration with Indian monopolists.

Instead of taking proper steps to solve the problems of minorities, language, tribes, etc., the ruling party seeks to utilise national, communal and caste differences in order to buttress its rule.

The ruling party is also seeking to strengthen its position by trying to conciliate and even absorb into its fold avowedly right reactionary and communal parties like the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh on the one hand and on the other, on the basis of its pseudo-socialist demagogy by inviting all socialists outside the Congress to come into its fold. In this it has had a measure of success.

Despite all these measures, and demagogy and intensification of repression, the struggles of the people, which often start spontaneously, continue.

The rapidly changing situation has affected the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh, too, and has led to significant changes in their attitude to the Government. The Swatantra Party is soft-peddalling its opposition to the government. A similar change is developing in the attitude of the Jan Sangh to the government.

After a section of the PSP walked into the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of India merged to form the Samyukta Socialist Party. Inside the Samyukta Socialist Party a policy battle is going on on the question of cooperation with the Communist Party in struggles against the anti-people policies of the government.

The greatest weakness in the situation is the weakness of the Communist Party. This weakness was due to the attempt of the Dange group to impose its class-collaborationist and revisionist policies. The Communist Party was, therefore, unable to play its historic role of giving effective leadership to these struggles and showing the people the way out of the crisis.

Now that the Dange group is increasingly getting exposed and isolated and the Communist Party has freed itself from its clutches, very heavy and urgent responsibilities devolve upon us.

The Congress calls upon all units and Party members, who have so valiantly fought to keep the banner of Marxism-Leninism flying unsullied, to throw themselves heart and soul into the urgent task of giving organised leadership to the organised mass actions of resistance to the anti-people policies of the government. Many questions like price, taxation, dearness allowance, bonus, retrenchment, unemployment, eviction from land, distribution of

land, are bringing larger and larger sections into action. They should take into account the mood of the people and give concrete slogans on its basis and give effective leadership to their struggles in order to secure relief for the people and improve their living conditions.

This task cannot be successfully discharged unless the serious dangers arising from the weakness in the mass organisations, particularly in the trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural labour unions are fully grasped and the weakness rapidly overcome. In the context of intensified class struggles this task has acquired added urgency. With government resorting to severe repression against the people, developing struggles cannot be defended by relying upon spontaneity. Organisation and political consciousness alone will defeat the manoeuvres of the ruling classes and their attempts to suppress the struggles by severe repression. In the trade union front, vast masses of workers who remain unorganised must be organised.

The existing trade unions are divided. But the increased burdens are giving rise to struggles by even the workers under the INTUC. By evolving correct and feasible demands, by mobilising independently the workers, by fraternal approaches to the workers under other trade union centres, combined with approach to the leadership, united struggles should be unleashed. The issues of dearness allowance, bonus and wages have acquired great importance in view of the soaring prices and government's modification of the Bonus Commission's recommendations.

The trade union movement is deeply sunk in economism. We have failed to develop the political consciousness of the workers and rally them in support of other sections of the people and particularly the peasants and agricultural labourers. Without building such consciousness and active support, all talk of building the democratic front, of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core, becomes an empty phrase. This weakness must be rapidly overcome and political consciousness must be rapidly inculcated in every way.

The Dange group is trying to disrupt the unity of the AITUC unions. By mobilising the workers these attempts must be defeated and unity maintained.

Another weakness that has been systematically developed by the Dange group is that trade union democracy has been seriously jeopardised and bureaucratic functioning has developed. Decisions are taken without consulting the workers. This weakness must be eradicated quickly, workers drawn into participation in all aspects of trade union activities, and trade union democracy restored.

The weakness in the kisan movement has been more pronounced. In many states struggles of kisans and agricultural labourers have taken place, often spontaneously. The Party units concerned have taken up these struggles, led them and won success. Nevertheless, the systematic organisation of the kisan sabha was not undertaken. The Party did not allot necessary cadres for this organisation. The problems of the kisan movement vary from place to place and the Party did not assess the experiences of each struggle and work out the correct line from time to time.

With more and more poor and even middle peasants, and village artisans getting pauperised, the ranks of agricultural labourers, who constitute forty per cent of the rural population, swell. The agricultural labourers are the foremost allies of the working class and without organising them the democratic front cannot be built. With the rise in prices, the condition of agricultural workers has deteriorated terribly. It is of utmost importance that the agricultural workers are rapidly organised and their immediate demands such as employment, wages, house-sites, distribution of waste and surplus lands, etc., are taken up for immediate solution. The majority of the agricultural labourers come from scheduled castes and tribes and suffer from social oppression. Issues arising out of social oppression must be taken up and redressed.

The kisan sabhas must be activated, strengthened and organised on a wide scale. The immediate demands, such as stoppage of evictions, reduction of rent, debt-reduction, against tax burdens, for fair price for their produce and supply of credit,

fertilisers and agricultural implements and distribution of waste and surplus land must be taken up.

Detailed line for the trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural labour unions must be worked out. For this purpose the Central Committee is charged with the responsibility of calling a meeting of trade union and kisan comrades within two months and after a thorough discussion with them work out the line in detail. The trade union and kisan sub-committees must become functioning bodies, helping the states in the organisation of these mass organisations.

The states also must immediately constitute functioning trade union, kisan and agricultural labour union sub-committees.

The absence of mass democratic and progressive organisations of students and youth is being utilised by reactionary forces to ideologically corrupt the younger generation. Hence attention must be given to the organisation of youth and students.

The mass organisations of women should be built up as an essential democratic task of the Party.

At meetings of Central and State Committees the problems of these mass organisations should be discussed, decisions taken and guarantees forged for their implementation.

The Party must mobilise all democratic sections of the people against every attack on civil liberties and democratic rights and against its repressive measures. It must campaign against the anti-people policies of the government and for alternative policies. It must carry on a relentless campaign for world peace, for banning of all nuclear weapons and for general disarmament. The slogan of people's democratic front and particularly the slogan of land to the tiller in view of its importance to the democratic revolution must be constantly popularised.

Every effort must be made by proper approach to win over the masses following the Congress party. Already they are getting disillusioned with the Congress government because of the divergence between its profession and practice. In the coming days, this disillusionment will grow.

Through these struggles and raising the political consciousness of the masses, they gradually come to realise the necessity of the

Programme of People's Democracy. It is through this process that the democratic front gets forged. It must be realised that the democratic front is basically a front of classes.

A vast mass of the people are not attached to any party. The Party must make every effort to bring them into mass actions against the policies of the government and organise them into class organisations.

The rest of the people to be won over to the people's democratic front are rallied behind the Congress and all the parties of the non-Communist opposition. The Communist Party must have no hesitation to go into joint action with any party or group on concrete issues in defence of the masses and on concrete issues in defence of peace, independence and anti-colonialism. For only thus will we be able to quickly break the wall that the leaders of these parties seek to build between us and the masses following them, find a common language and remove the anti-Communist prejudice that is injected into them. Only thus will we be able to come before them as the most doughty champions and disinterested fighters for their interests. However, there is no question of a general united front with the ruling Congress party or parties of right reaction and communalism.

While we should have no hesitation to join with any party on any concrete issue in defence of the interests of the people and while the most urgent task is the struggle against the anti-people policies of the Congress which gives strength to right reaction, nevertheless, it must be realised that the Swatantra Party is the party that has a complete and consistent platform of extreme right reaction. The Jan Sangh, while spreading the same reactionary ideology, also appeals to the communalism of the majority community. These parties have been emboldened to push their demand for complete military alignment with the U.S.A. and thus surrender our territorial independence to the U.S. imperialists. The Party must carry on a sustained and vigorous struggle ideologically and politically, exposing their reactionary ideology and politics, and isolate them and defeat them. It must mobilise the democratic masses against all attempts to fan the fires of communal and chauvinist hatred.

A section of the PSP under the leadership of Asoka Mehta has walked into the Congress. The other section and the Socialist Party of India have merged to form the Samyukta Socialist Party. Recent experience has shown that while a section of the SSP is willing and anxious to develop united activity on many issues, there is a section which is still anti-Communist and seeks to sabotage united activity. In spite of this, the approach of the Party should be that of unity and friendliness towards the SSP.

Government has further shifted its policies to the right. This finds expression not only in its anti-democratic measures, in the policies enabling the growth of monopolies, in seeking more and more imperialist aid, both economic and military and in wooing foreign capital for investment in the private sector in collaboration with Indian monopolists. This further shift is also reflected in the foreign policy. Its refusal to condemn the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, the Anglo-U.S. design to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean and its open support to the neo-colonialist policy of British imperialism in Malaysia stem precisely from this. If this trend is not arrested, non-alignment, with its anti-imperialist content as enshrined in the declaration of the Cairo Conference, is not safe. It is of utmost importance that the Party mobilise the people against those failures of the government and compel it to stick to the anti-imperialist declaration it has signed in Cairo.

These tasks cannot be fulfilled without building the Party on the secure foundation of Marxism-Leninism as the initiator, builder and leader of mass movements and struggles. Our activity should be orientated towards taking up the problem of the basic classes which alone can forge the link that can revitalise the whole Party.

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

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

Inner-Party democracy and centralised leadership must be restored, ensuring Party discipline. The Party must take effective steps to develop proletarian outlook and practice at all levels and wage a continuous struggle against alien ideas, practices and habits. Liberalism must be checked and fought.

Systematic efforts should be made to win over all those as have been misled by the Dange group.

Party recruitment must be a sustained and continuous task, so that the Communist Party of India rapidly emerges as a mass revolutionary Party. The hundreds of militants who come forward in mass actions must be recruited in the Party. Maximum attention should be given to develop cadres from the working class, peasants and agricultural labourers and to educate them to come to leadership.

While assimilating the experience of the International Communist Movement, the Communist Party of India discusses and decides all questions on the basis of its own study and experience and Marxism-Leninism. And through this it will make its contribution and constantly work for unity in the International Communist Movement.