

## **Resolutions Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) at its Meeting in Jaipur, August 7-11, 1968\***

### **(a) Soviet Arms to Pakistan**

The news of the Soviet Government's decision to supply arms to Pakistan has naturally caused concern among our people and a serious examination about its significance to our people and country is on.

This decision of the Soviet Government highlights the crisis of the foreign policy of the Government of India. This is not fortuitous. It is a part of the crisis of its basic policy of developing Indian economy on capitalist lines with aid from the imperialist powers and collaboration with foreign monopolists.

The Indian people rightly reacted against the American imperialists when they concluded a military pact with Pakistan in 1953 and supplied it with large amount of arms, as a threat to our freedom and to the democratic development of our country. They correctly saw in this American imperialist penetration into our continent an attempt to dominate both India and Pakistan.

However, the Government of India failed to find a democratic solution to the Kashmir problem in consultation with the leaders of the people of Kashmir and thus thwart the game of the imperialists to utilize the Kashmir question to fan hostilities between India and Pakistan.

On the other hand, the policies of the Government led to greater and greater reliance on imperialist aid, particularly on U.S. aid.

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This increasing dependence has led to India's isolation from anti-imperialist currents and hostility to China has become one of the tenets of India's foreign policy.

The Soviet Government did not direct its energies to restore friendly relations between India and China. But in pursuance of its own policy towards China, it supplied India with armaments on the plea of preventing India going completely under U.S. influence.

China, on the other hand, started supporting Pakistan in its conflict with India and supplying it with military hardware.

And now the Soviet Government is supplying arms to Pakistan under the pretext of developing friendly relations with a neighbouring country and of weaning away Pakistan from the influence of the USA and also of the Chinese Government.

The C.C. of the CPI(M) is of the opinion that no socialist country should supply arms to bourgeois governments except to fight imperialists. Experience shows that arms supplied to some bourgeois governments have been used not for fighting imperialism but for suppressing the working people and the democratic organizations. Supply of arms by the Soviet Government to India and Pakistan and by China to Pakistan is certainly not for fighting imperialism. On the other hand, this will only intensify the armaments race in this sub-continent and aggravate the tensions between the two countries and peoples.

The decision of the Soviet Government to supply arms to Pakistan has exposed the utter failure of the foreign policy the Government of India which seeks to utilize the anti-China stands of the U.S. and Soviet Governments for its own class purposes in its conflicts with China and Pakistan.

This policy has only led to a colossal increase in the military budget which is already over a thousand crores, increased the dependence on foreign aid, and to the ruination of our economy. The C.C. warns against reactionaries who, utilizing the Soviet Government's arms supply to Pakistan

are campaigning to force the India Government to give up its friendly relations with socialist countries and totally align with U.S. imperialism.

The C.C. is firmly of the opinion that the further continuance of this policy is fraught with disaster to our economy and independence. It, therefore, demands that the Government:

1. Give up its hostility to China and take the initiative for creating a climate conducive to negotiations and settlement of our dispute with China.

2. Initiate talks with the leaders of the people of Kashmir and arrive at a settlement.

3. Take all necessary steps to settle all outstanding problems with Pakistan.

4. Stop forthwith all aid from imperialist countries and embark on the path of building the country's economy on the basis of self-reliance which alone can lay a firm and reliable foundation for a foreign policy of peace and anti-imperialism.

#### **(b) On Developments in Czechoslovakia**

1. The grave developments in the socialist Czechoslovakia, during the recent months, are, surely, a cause of serious concern and anxiety to all the Communists and proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world. In this socialist Republic, through its official press, radio and television, an open and systematic attack was launched against some of the fundamental concepts and principles of Marxism-Leninism, on concepts and principles such as democratic centralism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in the dictatorship and in the building of a classless socialist and communist society. In the course of these happenings there developed a threat not only to the socialist gains of the Czech proletariat and the people but also to the unity of the countries of the Warsaw Defence Pact, thus further undermining the unity of the world socialist camp, which, of course, is already found in the midst of

serious differences and divisions. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is deeply disturbed over these developments and wishes to express its serious concern over them.

2. In this connection, it is interesting to note that all these attacks on socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia are sought to be covered under the high-sounding slogans of 'democracy', 'liberalization', 'freedom of criticism', and 'national needs and peculiarities', etc. but without raising the pertinent question: The freedom and democracy to which class or classes and with which objectives and aims in view or wherefrom this unfettered 'freedom' and 'democracy' had come and how it had come as to launch this frontal assault on socialism and Marxism-Leninism, after two full decades of proletarian power and building of socialism in the country? It is all the more regrettable to see that these Right-opportunist slogans have come to be upheld and supported by certain leaders who are at the helm of some Communist Parties in the world, quite oblivious of the counter-revolutionary character of this offensive which had come to be jubilantly acclaimed by the arch-reactionaries all over the world with the imperialists in the forefront.

3. A study of the facts so far available to us of the developments in Czechoslovakia would convince any class-conscious worker and Communist that the crassest Right-revisionist distortions accompanied by grossest bureaucratic abuses practised by the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party has culminated in the present situation. The fact that the bulk of the members of the Communist Party are swept away by the present Right-opportunist offensive and are unable to boldly defend the cause of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the fact that the working class as a class is not alert enough and does not rise to give a rebuff to this offensive, and the fact that the groups of so-called "intellectuals and writers" had summoned courage to lead this offensive against socialism, and come to acquire a wider social

base and considerable volume of support for it, is a positive proof of these grievous mistakes.

4. The C.C. takes due note of the concern voiced at these developments by several parties and leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries including the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and is keenly following their public utterances and statements and the steps taken by them, to counter this menace. However, while sharing their anxiety over the Czechoslovakian developments, our Central Committee cannot ignore the fact that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. had a big share of its own in opening the flood-gates of Right opportunism and revisionism in the world Communist movement. Apart from several other pernicious revisionist theories and formulations enunciated by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the dangerous slogans raised at their Twenty-Second Congress substituting the dictatorship of the proletariat with that of a State of the whole People and the Communist Party of the Working Class with that of a Party of the People have a direct bearing on the issues under dispute regarding the Czechoslovakian developments. To this day, they have not repudiated these formulations. Is it any wonder that their vociferous defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in it, in the midst of the Czech controversies, is not taken seriously? Can one believe that these leaders with their revisionist theories can really assist the Czech Communists in correcting their serious mistakes of departure from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism?

5. Further, one cannot miss another important aspect, namely, the existing state of relations between the different socialist states and their ruling Communist Parties, and in particular the relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states. One should not close one's eyes to the stark reality that these relations today are far from what they are expected to be.

The strained relations that were coming to be openly expressed from time to time, now between one socialist country

and the Soviet Union and at another time between another socialist state and the Soviet Union, during the last several years, is a phenomenon that cannot be either overlooked and brushed aside or treated as of no significance and relevance to the present Czech trouble. The domineering attitude displayed by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. demanding other fraternal Parties to uncritically ditto their ideological-political line from time to time and the mistakes committed both in course of developing economic relations between the socialist countries and in introducing division of labour among the COMECON countries have also their harmful role in the present developments. While not for a moment forgetting or ruling out the small-nation tendencies and feelings on the part of the other small socialist states and their ruling parties, we are of the opinion that the big-nation and big-power chauvinism of the Soviet leadership is an important element in the situation under our discussion. It is difficult for one to believe that a correct Marxist-Leninist solution of the present Czech developments can be had and dangers of counter-revolutionary attack on Czech socialist gains can be beaten back without a radical correction of the grave mistakes pointed above, the mistakes of Right revisionism, bureaucratic abuses and national chauvinism, particularly big-power chauvinism, that are at the root of the present trouble.

6. The meetings at Bratislava between the leaders of the Czech Communist Party and the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and other four fraternal parties, which had followed the meeting at Cierna between the Czech and Soviet leaders, which had taken place after a series of controversial exchanges between the Czechoslovak C.P. and the rest of the leaders of the participant countries, had concluded, and the conclusions of the same are incorporated in a Joint Communiqué. This Communiqué is full of general platitudes about Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the world socialist camp and the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, but it does neither pinpoint the key issues that had come up for conflict and controversy over the Czech developments

nor one can judge from it where the respective parties in the dispute exactly stand now on those issues. It is no secret that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. had publicly stated through their Press statements and other pronouncements that there has arisen a challenge not only to the concepts of dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism and socialism in Czechoslovakia, but also expressed the apprehension of the danger of restoration of capitalism in that country. But now, the Joint Communique, no doubt, speaks of the concepts of "the leading role of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Parties" and of "improving the style and method of the Party and Government work on the principles of democratic centralism", while scrupulously avoiding any mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the Communist Party in it—a concept that came under challenge in the new "Action Programme" of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party—and of the danger of restoration of capitalism. A careful reading of the Communique, in the absence of further details of the discussions at these meetings, indicates that what these two meetings had achieved is only a sort of 'truce' between the two strongly contending positions, rather than any principled solution of the issues under dispute. In fact, it is too naive on our part to expect any principled solution of the issues under dispute in such a gathering, because the revisionist distortions and bureaucratic abuses of proletarian authority are common mistakes of the several amongst them that had gathered in these meetings. The real and lasting corrections to the issue depend, primarily, on the Czechoslovakian working class and its socialist allies at home and the strength of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the Communist Party; and also the active political-ideological vigilance exercised and assistance rendered by the world socialist camp and Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to beat back the offensive against socialist gains of the Czechoslovakian people.

7. We cannot but take serious note of the fact that the developments in Czechoslovakia do not warrant any

complacency on the part of any honest Communist in the world. The anti-working class forces and trends that had emerged and shown their counter-revolutionary hand, do certainly stand as a serious challenge to socialism and the unity of the socialist camp. Subjective intentions apart, we are afraid that the present leaders of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party are succumbing under that pressure, a thing demonstrated in the contents of their "Action Programme" and other important pronouncements. We hope that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will see the enormity of the tasks before it in fighting the Right-opportunist menace and discharge its class duties for the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the cause of Marxism-Leninism and world socialism.

8. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) hopes that necessary correct lessons are drawn from these alarming developments in the socialist camp and world Communist movement by every class-conscious worker and Marxist-Leninist and that they would be stirred to action in fighting the menace of revisionism no matter what garb it wears. The Central Committee is also equally confident that the proletarian revolutionary forces in the world arena are strong enough to defeat the imperialist reaction and subversion, provided they exercise necessary vigilance and show decisive determination to defeat imperialism and the reaction that had gathered around it.

### **(c) On Vietnam**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) salutes the great people of Vietnam and acclaims the magnificent victories they have been scoring in their liberation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Central Committee extends its fullest support to the stand of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its current talks with the U.S. delegation in Paris.

The U.S. imperialists dealt mighty death-blows by the

Vietnam liberation forces, faced with growing isolation from world public opinion and a mighty anti-war movement in the USA itself, agreed to the Paris talks in a fresh manoeuvre to cheat world opinion and carry on with its aggression. The course of the Paris talks so far have more than confirmed this. Instead of meeting the just demand of the DRV delegation to stop bombing and all other acts of aggression against North Vietnam and then proceeding to talks for finding a settlement to the Vietnam problem, the U.S. imperialists have been raising all irrelevant issues to stall the talks. And under cover of these talks, they have been intensifying the fierce bombing of the limited area of the DRV and the brutal massacre, the inhuman chemical and biological warfare on the South Vietnam people.

The people of Vietnam have given a fitting reply to this latest U.S. perfidy. They have intensified their resistance and scored even mightier victories, seized the initiative in the military field and put the aggressors on the run. The broadest united front against the United States aggressors now taking shape as envisaged in the Political Programme of the NFL has thoroughly isolated the puppet regime in Saigon that exists only because it is propped up by U.S. arms and troops and even this existence is no longer guaranteed with the spectacular advance of the liberation forces. There is no longer any doubt that the U.S. imperialist adventure in Vietnam is doomed.

Now is the time to give all our support as never before to the Vietnamese people, to demand that the U.S. stop its war of aggression and get out of Vietnam. The movement in India for solidarity with Vietnam and support to the Vietnam liberation struggle is far from what it should be, is far from adequate, considering the urgency of the situation.

The Government of India goes on saying that the USA should stop bombing of the DRV but does not take a single step towards achieving this. It refuses to condemn the U.S. aggression and ask the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam. It does not declare its support to the Four-Point Stand of the

DRV and the Political Programme of the NFL which alone can form the basis for a settlement in Vietnam. It has, succumbing to U.S. pressure, stopped trade with North Vietnam while trading with South Vietnam in materials which serve the purpose of aggression. Indian people demonstrating their solidarity with Vietnam and wrath against the U.S. aggressors have been lathi-charged and arrested as in Delhi recently. And with its constant talk of fighting "internal subversion" in the countries of this region, the Government actually encourages the U.S. aggressors.

The Central Committee strongly condemns this policy of the Government and calls on the Indian people to unleash the strongest movement to compel the Government of India to change its Vietnam policy, to resume trade with the DRV, it calls on the people to express support to the stand of the DRV delegation in Paris and to rally in support of Vietnam whose people today are in the forefront fighting and making enormous sacrifices in the struggle for freedom in the world.

#### **(d) On Mid-Term Election in West Bengal**

The coming mid-term election in West Bengal in November 1968 has special significance not only for the democratic movement of West Bengal but for the country as a whole. West Bengal is an important base of foreign and Indian monopolists as well as of landlords and profiteers; it is at the same time a State where the democratic struggles are also comparatively stronger; hence the political battle between the ruling classes and the masses becomes very sharp and as such imparts great influence on developments in the whole country. A heavier defeat of the Congress at the polls will naturally help the democratic forces in the country as a whole.

The election is taking place at a time when the basic policies pursued by the Central Government during the last 21 years have plunged the whole country and its economy into the abyss of an ever-deepening crisis leading to intensified attacks

on the people on the one hand and to more dangerous surrenders to American imperialism on the other. The big bourgeoisie, the big landlords and profiteers have launched further attacks on the workers, peasants and other toiling people with a view to shifting the burdens of the crisis on to their shoulders and make profit at their expense. The whole state machinery is being more nakedly used against the people in the interests of the exploiting classes. The people, however, have not taken these attacks lying down, but are engaged in bitter and far more organized struggles against them.

The election is taking place in the midst of intensified class struggles in West Bengal. Since the last general elections the fighting people of West Bengal under the guidance of the United Front, of which our Party is the leading constituent, have defeated one after another the conspiracies and attacks of the Congress party, the Central Government and all reactionary forces. Notwithstanding the fact that there was no U.F., it is the people who defeated the Congress in the last general elections and helped the formation of the U.F. and U.F. Ministry.

In spite of the limitations under which the U.F. Ministry had to function and in spite of certain weaknesses of the Government, the formation of the U.F. Ministry created new opportunities for extending the democratic rights of the people, for giving some relief to them and particularly for advancing the organized democratic struggles of the masses. The people used the U.F. Ministry as an instrument of struggle and utilised the new opportunities to greatly strengthen the democratic forces. Consequently, the big bourgeoisie and other reactionary vested interests became furious, the Central Government and all reactionary forces organized one conspiracy after another against the U.F. Ministry, used the monopoly power of the Central Government against it and ultimately dismissed the Government unconstitutionally and hatched a conspiracy to foist a police raj on the people. The game of the Congress was to stage a come-back to the ministerial authority in the State working from behind the

puppet traitor ministry in the initial stage and then coming out openly and directly.

It is again the people of West Bengal who by their heroic struggles have defeated this attack on democracy and have compelled the Central Government to agree to the mid-term election. These struggles have not only defeated the conspiracy to impose a police raj on West Bengal, but have also strengthened the struggle for defence of democracy all over the country.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is glad to note that the people and the democratic forces of West Bengal are taking positive steps with a view to inflicting a heavier defeat on the Congress at the polls. The people with their heightened political consciousness have hitherto defeated the conspiracies of the reactionary forces to disrupt and weaken the U.F. and have helped the constituents of the U.F. to consolidate their unity on the basis of a common minimum programme and a rational allotment of seats. The reactionary conspiracy to isolate the CPI(M) has failed.

The C.C. endorses the policy pursued by the State unit of our Party to strengthen the U.F. by fighting against the conspiracies and various attempts to create disruption within the U.F. The intensified class struggles outside and the Congress conspiracies had their impact on the U.F. also; certain constituents of the U.F. at different stages tended to succumb to these disruptive conspiracies. It is our Party which took early note of the conspiracy and raised the slogan of mid-term election at the first sign of defections. Our Party pursued the correct method of educating and mobilising the people for maintaining the solidarity of the U.F. and thus played its role in consolidating the U.F. The C.C. also takes note of the fact that while the unity of the U.F. has been further consolidated, the defeats inflicted by the people on the Congress and their accomplices have intensified dissensions in the Congress party and have placed other disruptive forces in disarray. All these factors have created a situation where the possibility of ensuring a bigger majority for the U.F. can be translated into a reality.

Being frightened with this prospect and torn by internal dissensions, the Congress leaders, both Central and State, have been trying their utmost to postpone the elections to a later date. It exposes their anxiety to gain time to put their own house in order, to allow more time to the vested interests to mount attacks on the people and to see that the West Bengal election results do not have an adverse impact on their position in Bihar and U.P. mid-term elections. The C.C. warns the Government of India against any further attempt to postpone the election and continue autocratic President's rule for a longer period.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is fully conscious of both the limitations and importance of the mid-term election. There should be no illusion that the defeat of the Congress and the formation of a U.F. Ministry can either basically solve the crisis, or even check the deepening of the crisis, because it emanates from the basic class policies of the Central Government. But in spite of such limitations, it should be noted that the formation of a U.F. Ministry can and will greatly help in extending the democratic rights of the people, in providing some urgently-needed relief to them and in strengthening the democratic struggles of the people. All these have got great importance in the present situation.

The defeat of the Congress at the polls will not, however, bring an end to the conspiracies of the ruling classes. The vested interests will naturally intensify their sabotaging activities and the Central Government will utilise its monopoly powers to attack the U.F. Ministry in all possible ways. Hence the people and the U.F. will be required to wage a determined struggle with the active cooperation of the people against all such attacks and for more powers to the State Governments. All democratic forces are thus naturally expected to take note of the crucial importance of the active role of the masses and their struggles in all stages of the struggle against Congress misrule.

The coming mid-term election will assume the character of a far more bitter political battle. The ruling classes and all

reactionary vested interests cannot forget how during the period of the last U.F. Ministry the struggles and organizations of the workers, peasants and other toiling people acquired greater sweep and registered significant advance. Hence they will surely do all in their power to help the Congress and fight more bitterly against the victory of the U.F. Any complacency and under-estimation of the capacity of the reactionary forces and vested interests will be harmful. In such a situation, it is necessary that the people of West Bengal and all the constituents of the U.F. in particular take serious note of this fact, have no complacency and from now start a vigorous political campaign and build necessary organisation for inflicting heavier defeat on the Congress at the polls. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) is confident that the fighting people of West Bengal will discharge their responsibility with greater success. It urges upon all its units to take up this task with the seriousness that it deserves.

The mid-term election in West Bengal is not a struggle of the West Bengal people alone. The defeat of the Congress will greatly help the democratic movement all over the country. The Central Congress leaders, all reactionary forces and the ruling classes in the country and even foreign imperialist powers will actively help the State Congress and other disruptive forces and work against the U.F. in all possible ways. Huge amounts of money will also be used for this purpose. In such a situation, the Central Committee feels that the people of other States also should come forward to help the people of West Bengal and extend all possible support to them in defeating the Congress. The Central Committee particularly appeals to the people as well as to all units of our Party in every State to collect election fund and thus concretely help the fighting people of West Bengal.

#### **(e) On Kerala**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its concern at the continued failure of the Central Government in supplying its promised 75,000

tonnes of rice per month to Kerala to maintain a ration of 6 oz. per day per adult, in spite of the bumper harvest during 1967-68. The recent increase in rice ration in Kerala from 3 oz. to 6 oz. has been possible because the Kerala U.F. Government carefully built up reserves from the slightly increased supplies from the beginning of the year, and from the stocks procured within the State, to provide the people in the lean months of June-September. These reserves will be over within the next few days, and the ration will have once again to be cut, unless the people by their campaign and struggle force the Central Government to continue the supplies or allow the State Government to purchase the necessary quantities wherever available.

The Central Committee notes that in spite of repeated insistence of the Central Government which withdrew food subsidies and demanded the price of rice ration to be increased by 27 paise per kilo, the Kerala Government refused and bore the burden as long as the rice ration was 3 oz. only. But it was forced to raise the price to 103 paise per kilo when it restored the 6 oz. rice ration.

The Congress party in Kerala tried to kick up an agitation against the State Government for raising the price of rice ration, but the people rebuffed them. Their Anti-Price-Increase Day (July 14) was a dismal failure. The local jathas organised by the State Committee all over the State helped the people to see that the guilty men are those Congress leaders ruling at the Centre in Delhi and it is against them the people have to direct their indignation. The Central Committee desires to pay its tribute to all the State, district and local leaders of the Party in Kerala who made this programme an unprecedented success.

This, however, is only the beginning. The policy of the Central Government being still one of political discrimination against the Kerala State and of using food as a weapon to topple it, it is necessary that the people of Kerala are roused and mobilised against this policy of the Centre. The Central Committee notes that the State Committee has

already worked out plans to carry this campaign further forward. It hopes that in the further stages of the development of this campaign, the other constituents of the Seven-Party United Front and people who are not attached to any political party will join this campaign and launch an effective struggle against the Centre, to force it to concede the demands of the Kerala people.

The Central Committee notes that after the recent polemics among the partners of the U.F.—particularly between our Party and the Right Communists—the Co-ordination Committee had detailed discussions on these issues and came to certain broad conclusions for better and efficient functioning. It is of the utmost importance, that to strengthen the unity of the U.F. while preserving the right of each constituent of the U.F. to express its own independent point of view, to take the people into confidence on issues on which there are serious differences.

The Central Committee wants to make it clear that there are several issues connected with the functioning of the Ministry on which the Communist Party of India (Marxist) holds strong views but on some of which all the constituents of the United Front may have other views. For instance, our Party holds the view that a democratic Government like that of the Seven-Party United Front in Kerala cannot but come into conflict with the policies pursued by the Central Government on a number of issues. Struggle with the Centre is thus inherent in the situation. Secondly, there are differences among the various constituents of the U.F. on the details of food policy, land reform, industrialisation, workers' rights and so on. Our Party has come out and will have again to come out explaining what its policy is on such issues, as we had to do on food, industrial policy and so on. On some recent developments connected with the policy of the State Government, such as the Memorandum submitted to the National Labour Commission, the attitude to be adopted towards the agitations and struggles of the Government employees, etc., our Party considers that certain serious lapses

have occurred. The Central Committee notes that our State Committee has already made a statement, disapproving this Memorandum and has already taken steps in the U.F. Co-ordination Committee to remedy the mistakes. ••

The Party obviously has to play its role in rectifying the mistakes committed in all these respects. The Central Committee wants to make it clear that the Party will continue to play its role with a view to making the work of the Government conform to the role which a democratic non-Congress Government has to play. The Central Committee is confident that the State unit of the Party will be able to contribute to a further improvement in the work of the Ministry so that the Ministry can truly become an instrument of the people of Kerala in their struggle against the anti-people policies of the Central Congress Government.

#### **(f) Repression in Andhra Pradesh**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) expresses its horror and indignation at the growing and continued repression and landlord-goonda attacks that are taking place in Andhra Pradesh, specially on the members and supporters of the CPI(M) in the Telangana districts and on the tribal people and their leaders in Srikakulam district.

Despite repeated representations and protests, the State Government has not only not withdrawn the fire-arms from the landlords, disbanded the goonda gangs and stopped their attacks on villages, but has intensified its own repression against harijans, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. The police camps and the armed police set up sent with the ostensible purpose of maintaining law and order actually join hands with the landlords and their goonda gangs to raid villages and attack the people.

The conscience of every decent person will be revolted by the rapings, murders, torture that are being committed by these landlord goondas. During the last two years alone 20 CPI(M) workers were murdered. Twentysix women were raped

in the one village of Maheshwaraparm in Warangal district in August 1965; ten women were raped during the raids after the Upparapalli incident in March 1967; 12 women were raped in the Lambadi hamlet in Illenda taluka of Khammam district in August 1967; 20 policemen raped two sixteen-year-old tribal girls in Dakshini village in Srikakulam district; four women were raped in Dandasura. These are only a few of the instances of brutal rapings of women in these districts.

A seven-year-old boy, the son of a Lambadi supporter of the CPI(M), was tied hand and foot and burnt alive in Chandragonda village in Warangal district in 1965.

Tadum Narayana, a CPI(M) worker, was brutally murdered in Akunur village in Nalgonda district—his ribs were first crushed between the hinges of a door in the landlord's house where he was taken bound hand and foot, he was dragged across the village tied to a rope, his hand and leg were axed, chest pierced with a spear and eyes gouged out.

Thousands and thousands of people, young and old, men and women, have been beaten, many of them tortured and maimed for life in the villages of these districts. Police camps have been established wherever the landlords require them and people are taken to the landlords' houses or to these camps to be tortured.

They are beaten with lathis, rifle-butts and bayonets, kicked with booted legs; neither food nor water was given. Knees, elbows, fingers were the special spots for beating and breaking as a form of torture. Men's organs were squeezed or pounded with lathis. Male organs were thrust into each other's mouth and pouring urine when water was asked, was a usual pastime of the police and landlord gangs.

Hundreds have been driven out of their villages, and the agricultural operations of many more forcibly stopped. While the perpetrators of these crimes go scot-free, or if they are prosecuted, they get acquitted because the police fails to establish the prosecution cases, cases foisted on the people

end in easy convictions and thousands of people who have been arrested and involved in cases are made to go round the courts for months and years just to harass them.

This reign of terror has been let loose by the landlords to take possession of the lands of the peasants, to suppress the demands of agricultural workers for better wages and conditions and to suppress the CPI(M) which has steadfastly stood at the head of the people in these areas from the days of the great Telangana struggle and defended them against landlord oppression and exploitation.

The tribal belt of Srikakulam district has been put under siege and converted into a police camp with new police stations which are just torture chambers. No one is allowed to go in or come out even for urgent medical attention; looting, molesting, beating, torture and other brutal crimes are too innumerable to list.

All this is being done to beat down the new awakening in the tribal people who have begun to fight and have scored some victories in the struggle against mediaeval exploitation.

The Congress regime has put the repressive police apparatus of the State at the disposal of the landlords and traders who are leaders and supporters of the Congress party.

The General Secretary of the CPI(M) had submitted memoranda both to the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on these atrocities. But, the partisanship of the Congress rulers for their landlord supporters outweighed all decent human values. No action has till now been taken to stop these atrocities and ensure normal peaceful life to the people of these areas.

The C.C. severely condemns the attitude of the State Government and appeals to all democratic-minded people and democratic parties to raise their voice of protest against these atrocities.

The C.C. demands that the State Government immediately withdraw the police camps in Telangana areas and armed police from Srikakulam district, withdraw all fire-arms from

the landlords and goondas and disband these gangs, withdraw all cases foisted on the people, release all those who are arrested from among the people and punish the landlords and goondas responsible for the inhuman atrocities and looting of people's property.

The C.C. calls on all Party units, Party members and friends of the Party to take the facts of these atrocities committed by the landlord-police-Congress combine to people of all States, rouse their conscience and build an irresistible movement demanding an immediate end to this repression.

The C.C. calls on all Party units to make collections to contribute to the Defence Fund for fighting the large number of cases that have been foisted on the people in these areas and to give aid to the victims of this repression.

#### **(g) Repression on Peasant Struggles for Land**

Struggles of poor peasants and agricultural workers for land are being suppressed with more and more police repression by the Governments in various States in the recent period.

In Champaran, in Bihar, where the poor peasants and agricultural workers demanded distribution of 10,000 acres of forest outskirt land and launched a struggle to win their demand, a reign of police terror was let loose and one person was shot dead on January 29, 1968. Prosecutions were launched against a number of people and even now about 200 people are involved in these cases, of whom eight are in jail without bail, and warrants are pending against a number of people. In Purnea, cases have been foisted on about 150 people in connection with the anti-eviction struggle on 3,600 acres of land. Similarly in North Bhagalpur, about 150 people have been involved in cases for the anti-eviction struggle on 400 acres of land and six warrants are pending. Police excesses have been committed in Gaya district in the name of realisation of loans and prosecutions have been launched against a hundred people.

In Uttar Pradesh, 106 people are being prosecuted in Ballia

and 370 people were arrested in Faizabad to suppress the land struggles there.

In Orissa, in Jaleswar, a demonstration of agricultural workers and poor peasants was fired upon and one person killed.

At present in many districts of West Bengal, like 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Midnapore, Cooch-Bihar, etc., the police is resorting to serious repressive measures against poor peasants to help landlords get land already duly allotted to the poor. Hundreds of peasants have been arrested and criminal cases instituted against them.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands an immediate end to this repression, withdrawal of all warrants and cases, and release of those who are in jail.

In Naxalbari, in West Bengal, savage sentences have been imposed on leaders of the peasant struggle for land who were being tried on charges of dacoity, etc. A number of cases are still pending and many persons are in jail. The Central Committee demands that the Government commute the sentences and free those who have been convicted and withdraw all cases and release all those who are in jail.

#### **(h) On Andhra Defections**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), after hearing the reports on the anti-Party and disruptive activities of the Left adventurist group headed by Nagi Reddi and D. Venkateswara Rao in Andhra Pradesh and on the measures taken by the Polit Bureau and by the Andhra State Committee in pursuance of the directives given by the Central Committee at the Burdwan meeting, endorses all those measures, including the expulsions by the Polit Bureau of D. Venkateswara Rao, Nagi Reddi, Pulla Reddi and Kolla Venkaiah, who have been organising this anti-Party factional group activity from November 1967 onwards and who spurned every effort and step taken by the P.B. to help them to work within Party forms and Party discipline,

and who had openly revolted. The Central Committee also endorses the disciplinary actions taken by the State Committee and under its direction by various district committees and all the other steps of reorganization that have been taken.

It directs all State Committees to be constantly vigilant against such anti-Party disruptive elements either of sectarian or Right-revisionist anti-Marxist-Leninist trends and to fight them before they develop into organized anti-Party groupings.

**(i) On Release of Detenus**

The Congress administration of Tripura, contrary to the law on transfer of tribal lands, has been forcing them out of their traditional lands. Further, by declaring the vast areas of forest as reserved forest, vast numbers of tribal people have been deprived of lands in which they have been carrying on Joom cultivation for generations. On top of it, in the name of foodgrains levy, the administration has been forcing peasants with small acreages to part with their grains, while leaving the bigger landlords free to hoard and blackmarket their grains.

Against these unjust and anti-people policies of the Congress administration, the tribal and other people of Tripura have launched a big movement of resistance, which has been sought to be suppressed by lathi-charges, firings and arrests. Hundreds of tribal women have been beaten up and thrown in jail.

The Central Committee is proud that the CPI(M) has been in the forefront of this popular struggle.

Unable to suppress this mass resistance, the Government has decided to detain without trial over thirty leaders and workers of the CPI(M) including Comrade Dasarath Dev, a member of the Central Committee, under the P.D. Act.

In West Bengal, the Governor's regime is keeping in detention a large number of political workers including members of our Party, arrested during and after the mass struggle against the illegal P. C. Ghosh regime.

In Assam, a member of the State Committee of the CPI(M) is being detained without trial.

In Jammu and Kashmir, leaders of the State Government employees' organisation arrested during the strike of the employees are being still kept in detention.

The Central Committee demands immediate release of all those detained.

### **(j) On Newspaper Employees' Strike**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) sends its warm greetings to the press workers of the Class I, II and III newspapers, who have been on strike for the past fortnight for the full implementation of the recommendations of the non-journalists and fully supports their demands.

The Government of India itself modified the majority recommendations of the Wage Board in favour of the big business interests who are owning the monopolist Press and published it in November 1967.

The Press barons refused to implement even these modified recommendations, and refused to even negotiate with press employees' federation.

Even the one-day protest strike in January 1968 did not move them from this adamant position.

It was only when the employees decided to go on an indefinite strike from April 23, 1968, that they agreed to negotiations. The representatives of the IENS agreed to implement 70 per cent of the recommendations as an interim measure, and undertook to immediately enter into negotiations for the implementation of the remaining 30 per cent, and complete the negotiations within one month.

However, before the ink on this agreement was dry, the employers repudiated it and proclaimed that it was only recommendatory and not binding on the members of the IENS. They further refused to enter into negotiations as laid down in the agreement.

In these circumstances, the employees were left with no other alternative than to go on prolonged strike.

The Central Committee congratulates them on the dogged and valiant struggle they have put up and calls on all democratic organisations to support their struggle. The Central Committee condemns the Central Government for not taking effective measures to get the recommendations implemented.

The Central Committee calls upon the Central Government to effectively intervene and compel the big Press barons to implement the recommendations of the Wage Board for the non-journalists in full.

### **(k) On Central Government Employees' Struggle**

The Central Government, when it offered the scheme of Joint Consultative Machinery (JCM) to the Central Government employees with a view to weaning away the employees from the path of struggle, made all sorts of promises regarding the JCM and paraded it as an effective instrument for solving the problems of the Central Government employees through discussions.

After repeated discussions, however, the Government representatives on the JCM completely turned down the demand for a need-based minimum wage and for full neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living by way of DA and its merger with basic pay.

This together with the Government's declaration that these issues are not arbitrable clearly indicates the need for forging mass sanctions for the realisation of the just demands.

The Central Committee condemns the Central Government for this refusal, and lends its full support to the Protest Strike of the Central Government employees on September 15, called by the Confederation of Central Government employees and calls upon all trade unions and the democratic public to lend their support to the strike and demands of the Central Government employees.

### **(l) On State Government Employees' Struggle**

The employees of several State Governments, such as those of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and U.P. have conducted their

of State Governments to take every measure necessary for immediate relief and for rehabilitating the millions uprooted by the floods.

These floods and the misery that they entail to the people have become an annual feature in our country. Only an integrated scheme for flood control, drainage and irrigation can save the country from these recurring floods and drought.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands that such an integrated scheme for flood control and irrigation be taken up as a priority and the Central Government give all necessary assistance to the State Governments to implement them.