

**MADURAI
IDEOLOGICAL STAND
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
(MARXIST)**

*Resolutions adopted by the
Central Executive Committee of the
Communist Party of India
(Delhi: September 27 to 30, 1967)*

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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Madurai Ideological Stand of the Communist Party (Marxist)

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered the views expressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist) 'On Ideological Controversies in the International Communist Movement'. These views are contained in the document which has been adopted by the recent Madurai session of the CP(M) Central Committee. At their Madurai meeting, the CP(M) leadership has also adopted another document entitled 'Divergent Views between our Party (i.e. CP(M)) and the CPC (Chinese Communist Party) on certain Fundamental Issues of Programme and Policy'. The Central Executive Committee has also given its thought to this document which the CP(M) leadership is parading as proof of their claim of independence.

The CEC has decided to place, in a series of publications, our party's detailed views on these two documents of the CP(M) Central Committee. That public debate over the viewpoints of the CP(M) is imperative to lay bare the fact that the CP(M) leadership has completely broken from the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties—the common line of the world communist movement. In fact, by their latest ideological document, the CP(M) leadership has declared an open war against the common line. The CP(M) leadership has ideologically aligned with the dominant Chinese leadership and the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour.

The CP(M) Central Committee's resolution on their "divergences" with the Chinese on Indian situation highlights the ideological and political crisis of the CP(M). The fact that the two contradictory documents have emerged from the same session of their CC shows that neither principles nor logic guide the CP(M) leadership. Otherwise, it would seem in-

comprehensible that while differing with the Chinese on the fundamental questions relating to India and their own party, the CP(M) leadership should have come out with unequivocal support of the Chinese ideological positions. After all, the Chinese stand on the Indian issues springs from the Chinese ideological line.

In the present statement, the CEC would, however, like only to make some broad observations about the ideological line of the CP(M), as well as on their claim of independence, based on their criticism of the Chinese viewpoints.

The CPI has always held that the split of the Communist Party of India was the direct result of the ideological pressure and divisive and factional activities of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the international communist movement, including our own. Those who split the CPI and formed a rival party, succumbed to these pressures and influences although they tried to make out that they were breaking away from the CPI due to their differences over internal questions with the majority of the National Council of the CPI. The camouflage was to be seen in the fact that at the time of the split and long thereafter, the CP(M) leaders did not spell out authoritatively their ideological standpoints which they have now done at Madurai.

The Madurai documents would confirm our contention that the CPI was split by them not primarily over the differences on internal Indian questions but in response to the alternative line which the Chinese leadership wanted to impose on fraternal parties and in particular to the Chinese party's open call to split the Communist Party of India.

It is not accidental, therefore, that even when the CP(M) leaders now more or less repeat what our party had said in regard to the Chinese understanding about the Indian situation and the Chinese splitting activities, they still hold aloft the banner of the Chinese ideological line. What else could be a greater refutation of their past claim that they were splitting the CPI because of their differences with the majority of the National Council on the internal issues? For all their pretensions about 'independent' thinking, the CP(M) leadership

would still refuse to see that behind the Chinese border clashes with India and Peking's attitude towards this country lies precisely the wrong understanding of the Chinese leadership.

Having earlier repudiated the stand of the world communist movement on individual issues, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee came out in June 1963 unilaterally with its own alternative general line in complete defiance of the conclusions of the two Moscow meetings which had been arrived at unanimously with the participation of the Chinese Communist Party. Worse still, the CPC leadership went all out to impose their own line on other communist parties and this drive on their part was backed up by intensified factional activities which included the disruptive call to split the communist parties which refused to accept the so-called Chinese general line. The CPI totally rejected the Chinese line but had to face in the process the split of the party and the emergence of a rival party in 1964.

The rival party was promptly acclaimed by Peking as a party of 'true Marxist-Leninists', while the CPI was denounced in the foulest language. The attack Peking has currently launched against the CP(M), compelling even its ideological camp-followers to voice their dissent with the Chinese on certain Indian issues, stands out as a vindication of the attitude our party adopted towards the Chinese leadership in 1962 and has pursued since. For this loyalty to Marxism-Leninism on our part, the Chinese and the CP(M) leaders joined in a chorus to denounce our party as 'revisionists'. The CP(M) is now paying the wages of its sin when Peking hurls the same accusations against the CP(M) leaders.

A mere comparison of the CP(M) leadership's Madurai ideological document with the Chinese views expressed in *Long Live Leninism* and in the alternative general line of the Chinese Communist Party would convince any one that the CP(M) leadership has essentially parroted what the Chinese leadership has been preaching all these years. There is little sign of independent thinking by the CP(M) leadership discernible in its Madurai document.

It is, however, noteworthy that when the Chinese ideological

positions stand rejected by practically all the communist parties in the world, when these positions have caused incalculable damage to the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle and to the cause of socialism and communism, when they have so much contributed to the great tragedy of the Indonesian communist movement, and last but not least, when they have created an unprecedented crisis and convulsion within the Chinese Communist Party itself, the CP(M) leadership should have thought it fit to hitch their wagon to the star of the discredited and ruinous ideological line—a line which has little in common with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It appears that the CP(M) leaders would still not learn from the experience of the world communist movement, not even from what is currently happening within China itself or in the ranks of the CP(M) itself. So, the CP(M) leadership betrays not its capacity to think independently but its incapacity to live down the ideological subservience which led them to split the Communist Party three years ago.

This ideological subservience is seen not only in the CP(M) leadership's wholesale acceptance of the Chinese positions on questions of principles but even in the method and manner of its exposition of the Madurai ideological line.

On every single question of principle, such as peace and war, peaceful coexistence, national liberation, struggle for democracy and socialism, contradictions in the world developments, forms of transition to socialism, disarmament, the building of communism in the USSR, the role of the Soviet Union in the world and that of the CPSU in the international communist movement, etc., the CP(M) leadership repudiates the unanimously adopted Declaration and Statement of the two Moscow meetings and voices the alternative viewpoints of the Chinese leadership.

It is not fortuitous that the CP(M) ideological document all but ignores the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement of the world communist movement.

The Madurai ideological document, however, is only formalisation, with the authority of their Central Committee, what the CP(M) leaders have all along been doing ever since they

decided to break from the CPI and build a rival party in the image of the Chinese ideology.

This open championship of the Chinese ideological positions naturally confronts the Indian communist and democratic movement with serious challenges as well as problems. For the future of the movement, these challenges have to be met and problems overcome by ensuring, first and foremost, a decisive ideological defeat of the Chinese understanding and viewpoints in the ranks of the Indian communist and working-class movement.

The CEC takes serious note of the anti-Soviet distortions and slanders with which the CP(M)'s so-called ideological document is replete. These, again, are nothing new; they are almost a verbatim reproduction of what the Chinese leadership has been saying about the Soviet Union and its great Communist Party. In this smear campaign, the CP(M) leadership follows the typical Chinese methods. Like the Chinese, the CP(M) leaders first attribute to the CPSU leadership the positions the CPSU never holds and then, on the basis of these very inventions, the Soviet leadership is decried and denounced. The CP(M) has chosen to intensify this anti-Sovietism at a time when it has become more necessary than ever before to strengthen the friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples to resist the mounting neo-colonialist pressures of US imperialists on our country.

The CEC considers it necessary to state again that this anti-Sovietism can only disrupt the Indian communist and working-class movement and thus bring comfort to reaction and US imperialism. The world revolutionary movement knows to its bitter cost what damage this anti-Sovietism initiated by the Chinese leadership in the ranks of the international communist movement and echoed by the CP(M) leaders in India has done to our common cause of national liberation.

Essentially, the CP(M) leadership's anti-Sovietism represents an attack on all other fraternal communist parties which stand loyally, along with the CPSU, by the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 Moscow Statement and by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In view of the patent fact that the CP(M) leadership has so openly rallied to the Chinese ideological positions in repudiation of the common line of the world communist movement and even of their own past commitments, the CEC cannot take, without serious reservations, the CP(M) 'divergences with the CPC' over certain Indian issues. These 'divergences' would appear to have been caused more by considerations of political expediency than by any ideological rethinking.

Nevertheless, the CEC takes a positive view of the fact that partly for defending themselves against Peking's attacks and partly under the compulsions of the reality of the post-general election situation, the CP(M) has dissociated though partially from the Chinese understanding and behaviour in regard to India and come closer, in certain respects, to the positions of our party.

What the CP(M) leaders have now said about the Indian situation would make many wonder as to why they had then broken from the CPI, or are persisting in their disruptive and hostile attitude towards our party.

The CEC wishes that in examining the Chinese understanding of the Indian situation and the behaviour of the Chinese leadership towards their party, the CP(M) leadership had gone deeper into the matter instead of confining themselves to mere self-defence against the Chinese attacks. After all, the attitude the Chinese leadership has taken towards the Indian situation and the communist movement in this country, is not an isolated event. It all arises from the general ideological line of the Chinese leadership.

In their propaganda, the Chinese themselves have made it abundantly clear that their support to the adventurist activities in Naxalbari and their denunciations of the CP(M) arise from what the Chinese consider Marxism-Leninism and what they have all along been prescribing as the correct application of the Chinese line in India. Evidently, having lined up behind the basic ideological positions of the Chinese, the CP(M) leaders found it inconvenient to go to the root of the Chinese behaviour in regard to India and to the CP(M) itself.

The CEC entertains strong doubts as to whether the CP(M) leadership would, in their actions, live up to the criticisms they have now made against the Chinese leadership. For, so long as the CP(M) leaders maintain their ideological moorings with the Chinese, they are bound to be inhibited in taking correct positions even in regard to the developments in India or the demands of our left and democratic movement. This is already in evidence in the CP(M)'s attitude towards the united fronts and united front governments even in West Bengal and Kerala, towards its allies in the fronts and in the governments, and particularly towards the CPI. Further, it is also shown in the CP(M) leaders' behaviour in mass organisations. One can easily discern in all this attitude, the influence of the Chinese general line.

Even in their so-called struggle against the 'ultra-left elements' known as the Naxalbari groups, the CP(M) leaders refuse to come to grips with ideological root of such 'ultra-left' trends. Yet the fact remains that these 'ultra-left elements' in their party are only loyally carrying out the ideological line the Chinese leadership advocates and the CP(M) leaders had themselves earlier taught. The CP(M) leaders should realise that these members of their party and the trends they represent cannot be effectively combated by disciplinary measures and without fighting, the Chinese ideological positions. It is the height of opportunism when the CP(M) leaders on the one hand extol the Chinese ideological line and pretend, on the other, to fight adventurism and left opportunism.

The CEC is firmly of the opinion that the CP(M) can never find its correct Marxist-Leninist bearing nor ever get rid of 'ultra-leftism' within their party without decisively breaking with the Chinese ideological positions and returning to the common fold of the international communist movement. 'Ultra-leftism' in the CP(M) is a progeny of the very ideological line which the CC of the CP(M) has commended in its Madurai document to their party ranks.

The Madurai ideological document would suggest that the anti-Soviet and anti-CPI stand of the CP(M) leadership has been worked out to hold their ranks together which are now

caught in a severe internal party crisis. The crisis has arisen as a result of the growing conflict between the ideological positions and certain earlier political understanding of the CP(M) leadership on the one hand and the overpowering realities of the political situation in India on the other. For instance, the participation in the UF governments mocks at the Madurai ideological line and much of what the CP(M) leaders had been preaching as their political line before and during the general election. The Chinese ideological line, which the CP(M) has adopted, denounces the CP(M)'s participation in the coalition governments in Kerala and West Bengal. Criticisms of certain Chinese standpoints in regard to India are made use of for keeping those party ranks within the fold, who are beginning to question the myth of the Chinese ideological infallibility. Between the two documents, the party ranks are thus sought to be held together through manifest ideological opportunism.

All this, however, cannot but accentuate the already existing confusion and crisis in the CP(M) ranks, who have been fed by the CP(M) leadership themselves on the Chinese ideological and political precepts.

It is hoped that the CP(M) ranks and supporters will sooner or later see how the Chinese ideological positions only disrupt the communist movement in this country and objectively help the enemies of the working people.

The CEC further hopes that the current rethinking in the CP(M) ranks will gather momentum and help them see through the utter opportunism of the CP(M) leadership and the extremely harmful and disruptive character of its ideological positions.

While conducting uncompromising ideological struggle against the CP(M) for the sake of the communist unity and the advance of India's democratic movement, the Communist Party of India would always welcome every positive development within the CP(M) which may contribute to the country's democratic movement in general and to the strengthening of the unity of all left and democratic forces in particular. The CEC trusts that the living experience of our movement will convince the CP(M) ranks of the great urgency of joint actions

by all communists and ultimately of the necessity of the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of India, guided by the decisions of its Seventh Party Congress, will continue to work for such unity. The struggle for unity, however, is a long-drawn one and, above all, it demands uncompromising fight against the wrong ideological positions of the Chinese leadership.

Non-Congress Democratic Governments

Having reviewed the situation prevailing in the states with non-congress democratic governments in which the Communist Party participates, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India draws the attention of the people to the sinister efforts of the Congress to topple these governments in order to reverse the verdict of the electorate. In order to do so it is resorting to unscrupulous methods and in the interest of reactionary vested interests. It is now making frantic efforts to topple the state governments of West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab in order to set up non-communist governments by disrupting the united fronts.

The congress government at the centre is paralysing the efforts of the state governments in West Bengal, Bihar and Kerala to fulfil their pledges to the people by withholding urgently needed financial assistance and even the supply of the promised quantity of foodgrains. It is also objectively encouraging the disloyalty of the officialdom in the states having non-congress democratic governments in which the Communist Party participates by constantly raising the bogey of the so-called collapse of law and order. In these ways the central government is directly aiding and abetting the Congress in the states to come back to power. These efforts of the Congress and the vested interests will continue to increase as class struggle sharpens and it has impact on such elements within the united front which have links with vested interests.

The CEC is, however, confident that the people's forces will defeat the machinations of the Congress to topple down the non-congress democratic governments so that the democratic movement can continue to advance. The CEC, therefore, enjoins upon the communist party units in these states to initiate basic issues in the united front programme for legislation.

The CEC is of opinion that despite the abovementioned hindrances, the non-congress democratic governments in the states ought to have displayed greater unity, efficiency and promptness to fulfil the programmes of the united fronts and satisfy the expectations of the people. Despite the achievements made under the most adverse circumstances, and despite the support they continue to enjoy from the people, the latter's discontent is growing because no substantial change has yet been attempted to improve their living conditions and to reform the administrative apparatus.

The Punjab ministry has, of course, made commendable efforts to procure foodgrains and the price of foodgrains has also remained within limits. But this cannot be said of the other states.

It is shocking that in Uttar Pradesh, the state government continues to keep a large number of leaders of government employees in prison under the Preventive Detention Act and refuses to release them. It is also deplorable that the promised remission of 50 per cent of land revenue on uneconomic holdings is postponed on flimsy technical-administrative grounds. These two issues are of such supreme importance that if the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal fails to fulfil them without delay, it will forfeit the support of the masses and it will not be possible for the Communist Party to continue its participation in the ministry. The Communist Party appeals to the people of Uttar Pradesh to compel the state government to concede these demands. The Communist Party will spare no efforts to get these demands implemented.

The CEC congratulates the state government of Bihar for the brilliant fight it has put up against the consequences of the famine and the succour they have given to the people in many ways, despite the irresponsible refusal of the congress govern-

ment at the centre to relieve the state government of the financial burden involved.

But the CEC is shocked by the outburst of communal violence against the minority community in Ranchi and the failure of the state government to suppress the riots promptly. During this communal massacre, the most shocking fact revealed is that the virus of communalism has infected the police, the bureaucracy and certain elements of the army personnel. The CEC demands the punishment of elements so affected.

The CEC believes that the united front will make utmost efforts to eradicate this evil and take effective measures to protect the life, property and civil liberties of the minority community.

The CEC takes serious note of the fact that a section of the discredited congress ruling clique, as a part of its conspiracy to topple the UF government in Bihar, went to the despicable length of engineering communal violence at Ranchi in collaboration with the Jana Sangh which was seized upon and sought to be extended by the latter throughout the state.

The Jana Sangh is using its position in the ministry in UP to strengthen itself by sneaking into the administrative apparatus in the service of the vested interests. In every state it opposes anti-hoarding measures and other steps which intend to give relief to the poorest section of the people. In Punjab they joined hands with the Congress to oppose the minimum wages ordinance. They are active in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh to fan up communal bitterness by taking advantage of the Hindi-Urdu controversy. The CEC enjoins upon the communist party units to mobilise the people against communal passions and make life secure for the minority community. The deterioration in the communal situation is of serious concern to all the secular parties. The widest possible unity has to be forged to check this menace.

The CEC expresses its satisfaction to note that in West Bengal the adoption of a code of conduct by the united front has, for the time being, prevented the breach that was dangerously developing in the united front, undermining the stability of the ministry. It is expected that the code will now be sincerely

observed by all parties constituting the united front. The reactionary disruptive move of Humayun Kabir and others to set up a non-communist ministry must be defeated. Any group or individual that succumbs to this slogan will only play into the hands of the Congress. At the same time, the adventurist actions of the ultra-left elements, who deliberately create chaos and thereby strengthen the hands of the anti-communists must be restrained so that the united front can go on with progressive implementation of its programme. Ultra-left adventurism only helps the Congress which also creates anarchy and chaos in order to topple the UF government.

The CEC appreciates the organised mass actions of the working class and the peasantry, resisting the offensive of the mill-owners and landlords; it hopes that the state government will do all it can within its power to compel the recalcitrant vested interests to fulfil the legitimate demands of the people. Small and medium factories largely hit by the recession deserve concrete help; the central government, in cooperation with the state government, should take effective steps to rehabilitate them. The burden of the recession must not be allowed to be passed on to the workers.

The CEC notes with satisfaction that the state government has adopted a sound procurement plan for the aman crop but it warns the people it cannot be implemented merely by relying on the officialdom. Cooperation between the UF and the people is essential to make all-out bid for implementation of the aman procurement plan. The fate of the UF in West Bengal depends much upon it.

The CEC appreciates that the state government in Kerala has adopted a sound procurement policy and also taken certain steps to tackle her industrial backwardness and increase agricultural production.

But it is regrettable that the CP(M), instead of joining with other parties of the UF in a concerted mass drive to get these measures implemented, has chosen to unleash a most inopportune and vile attack upon the CPI on the issue of the industrial policy statement of the UF government. It must be noted that the industrial policy statement was adopted unanimously by

the coordination committee of the UF after detailed discussion. If, even after that, any party wanted to make certain changes in the statement, the item could have been raised in the coordination committee. Instead of doing that, they have chosen the disruptive path of public agitation against it with a view to discredit the CPI. This is detrimental to the proper working of the UF government in that state. The CEC hopes that the CP(M) will abandon this move and let the UF function smoothly and effectively.

It is also strange that the Kerala ministry, whose stability is above suspicion and in which the CP(M) is the leading party, has taken no serious action against the hoarders and profiteers and to unearth the hoards. It is all the more reprehensible because the state suffers from chronic deficit in foodgrains and the central government refuses to make up the deficit or even to reduce it to any appreciable extent.

The CEC assures the people that the Communist Party is guarding and will continue to guard the unity of the united fronts. At the same time, the CEC is aware that it is not enough to preserve unity somehow, it is imperative that the united front governments must march ahead to fulfil the programmes pledged to the people. Drawbacks in respect of the fulfilment of the election pledges will only strengthen the hands of the Congress and the reactionary vested interests to disrupt the united front. But the task of preserving unity is inseparable from the task of fulfilling the pledges made to the people in the UF programme. Only people's support and vigilance can preserve the unity and stability of the UF governments. The latest move of the Congress to disrupt the united fronts and to topple the UF governments is the slogan of non-communist government. Its aim is to suppress the democratic forces where non-congress governments exist.

The CEC calls upon the party units to remain ever vigilant and mobilise the people to push the state governments to go ahead with urgently needed reforms, for relief to the people, to resist the offensive of the vested interests by means of organised, disciplined and militant forms of struggle and give a rebuff to the anti-communist machinations of the reactionaries.

Official Language Controversy

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses grave concern at the recent recrudescence of controversy on the issue of language which threatens to disrupt the unity of our country. It is essential to settle this disruptive controversy if the task of replacing English by Indian languages, as also of evolving a link language by common consent of our people is to be carried out in the interest of fullest flowering of Indian democracy and culture.

The Communist Party of India has clearly put forth in its Programme that Indian democracy should pursue the following principles in the sphere of language:

a) It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages.

b) Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments, public institutions and in the law courts.

It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

c) English will be gradually replaced by Hindi as the medium of communication between different state governments and between the centre and state governments.

d) In the parliament and state legislatures, a member will have the right to use his mother tongue. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

The CEC is happy to note that many of the non-congress governments that have come into being in different states are pursuing energetic measures for replacing English by their own languages in the administration as well as in education.

The CEC is firmly of opinion that the question of official language of the central government, as also of the link language has not been solved because of the tardiness of the central government to honour Nehru's assurance in this regard. The central government has not only failed to make statutory provision for permitting the use of English as an associate language

at the centre but has also been delaying use of Hindi for official purposes.

In the opinion of the CEC, this failure of the central government could not be overcome due to two wrong tendencies. On the one hand, there are people who oppose the provision of English as an associate language and want to impose Hindi as the sole link language even in the face of opposition from certain states; on the other hand, there are people who unreasonably oppose the use of Hindi for official purposes even if use of English is permitted as an associate language. Both these wrong tendencies have hampered the solution of a common link language and the smooth development of our own languages.

The CEC is convinced that the present deadlock and controversy on languages should be solved on the basis of enacting immediate legislation embodying the following:

1) The state governments should, within 5 years, completely replace English by their own languages as media of administration, law courts and education at all levels.

2) Statutory provision should be made for the use of English as an associate language of the centre till the non-Hindi legislatures accept Hindi as the sole link language.

3) Immediate steps should be undertaken by the government at the centre and of the states for translating textbooks in all the Indian languages to ensure complete switching over to Indian languages within 5 years.

4) The rights of linguistic minorities should be safeguarded as provided for in the Constitution.

5) In the parliament, every member should have the right to use his own language; there should be provision for translation of the proceedings in the state languages.

6) All competitive examinations for all-India services should be conducted in all the languages in schedule VIII and in English so long as it continues as an associate language. Quotas may be fixed for different states for the central services.

The CEC calls upon all party members and supporters to organise a powerful movement in cooperation with all who stand for the fullest development of Indian democracy, language, culture and national unity to bring the people together on the basis of the principles enunciated above.

Protection to Urdu Language

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses grave concern at and denounces the recent communal outbursts, as in Ranchi, directed against the legitimate demand of the Urdu-speaking people for the protection and preservation of their language. The mischievous propaganda launched by the Jana Sangh and other communal elements to decry Urdu as an alien language seeks to confuse and divide the people in order to suppress one of our national languages.

Urdu has been listed in the eighth schedule of the Constitution as one of the 15 languages of our country. However, during the 20 years of congress rule, no concrete and positive step was taken to promote Urdu and to provide necessary facilities for the Urdu-speaking people. This naturally caused great discontent among millions of people.

With the end of the monopoly rule of the Congress and the ushering in of non-congress democratic governments in a number of states, the hopes of the Urdu-speaking people have been aroused.

The CEC urges upon the UF governments in Bihar and UP, as well as on other governments of states where the Urdu-speaking people are in sizable numbers, to take immediate steps to safeguard the rights of the Urdu-speaking people. It is the responsibility of the central government to safeguard the rights of Urdu in terms of Article 347 of the Constitution.

The CEC demands that the following measures be adopted in that direction:

1) Urdu should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage for children whose mother-tongue is Urdu.

2) Secondary schools with Urdu as medium of instruction should be started in areas where sufficient number of Urdu-speaking people are living.

3) Adequate arrangements should be made for teaching Urdu in educational institutions up to the university level for those whose mother-tongue is Urdu.

4) In places where Urdu-speaking people are in sizable numbers, petitions written in Urdu should be entertained by courts and government offices.

5) All important notices, government gazettes, advertisements and public notifications of the government should be issued in Urdu also. Documents which people in general have to use, such as electoral rolls, ration cards, etc. should be in Urdu also.

6) All signboards and other directing signs which are provided for the benefit and facility of the people in general by the government should be in Urdu also.

7) Liberal financial assistance should be provided by state and central governments for cultural and literary bodies which promote the cause of Urdu.

8) Committees consisting of known secular and democratic minded persons should be constituted in the concerned states and at the centre to supervise the implementation of the above-mentioned measures.

The CEC appeals to all the democratic and secular parties and groups to assert themselves to defend the legitimate cause of Urdu.

Shiv Sena

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India draws attention to an alarming development of the period which consists in the provocation of communal and inter-provincial animosities by certain reactionary elements which has already led to serious outbreaks and clashes in different parts of the country. The outbreak of communal violence in Ranchi and in Kashmir, incidents of communal disturbance in

West Bengal and in a number of provincial towns of Maharashtra, attacks against the South Indian restaurants and houses in Bombay arising out of the provocative and rabidly chauvinistic activities of the Shiv Sena are some of the instances. As a reaction to this, South Indian Sena, Nag Sena etc. are sought to be formed in other parts of the country.

It is not fortuitous that these disruptive activities should have been started almost simultaneously nearly all over the country. It is the diversionary counteroffensive of the reactionary vested interests and of the communal forces, directed against the advance of the democratic forces and seeking to disrupt them. In some places, these diversionary moves are part of the conspiracies to topple the non-congress democratic governments, as in Bihar and West Bengal and are instigated by reactionary congress groups and communal elements. In other places, as in Maharashtra and Bombay City, they are aimed at splitting the united working-class movement and to provoke anti-communist frenzy.

The Shiv Sena raised its head during the last general election seeking to provoke rabid chauvinist hate-campaign against the South Indians in Bombay in order to disrupt the united front of the multilingual working-class and democratic forces of Bombay, which rallied to the support of the candidates of the democratic front.

In the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra and for the inclusion of Bombay in the Maharashtra state, the united action of the Maharashtra and non-Maharashtrian—particularly South Indian—workers played a historic role. Names of several South Indians are forever inscribed in the ranks of the 105 martyrs who laid down their lives in that struggle.

The leaders of the Shiv Sena are seeking to disrupt this unity of the workers and employees of Bombay, both Maharashtra and others, against retrenchment, unemployment, high prices, food and housing shortages, which is direct result of the congress government's policies of appeasing the monopolies and the vested interests. Their slogans—drive out the South Indians, reserve jobs and work for Maharashtra—are calculated to

split the unity of the working class in Bombay and save the monopolist profiteers from its united attack.

That is exactly the reason why this nefarious organisation is being boosted by the monopolists and their press. That is why it gets sometimes open, sometimes clandestine support from some notorious congress leaders like S. K. Patil and others. That is also the reason why its violent activities have been connived at and not firmly put down by the Bombay police.

The most dangerous result of the activities of this body which openly boasts itself to be anti-communist and an unashamed admirer of fascism and Hitler, is that it has succeeded in creating some confusion among a section of the middle-class employees in Bombay.

While it is true that the menace of Shiv Sena is being deliberately exaggerated by the monopoly press throughout India, its dangerous implications for the unity of Bombay's working-class and democratic movement, especially in view of the monopolist-CIA and police gang up that is backing it, should not be underestimated. Its chauvinist slogan must be denounced as anti-national and disruptive of the unity of the working-class movement. Its ganging up with the monopolists and police, the left-handed support it receives from some congress leaders must be exposed. All democratic parties active in the trade-union and working-class organisations must come together to develop a united mass movement against unemployment, retrenchment, high prices, food and housing shortages, to defeat the anti-working-class policies of the monopolists and the Congress. Such a mass movement is the real antidote against the disruptive and chauvinistic forces of Shiv Sena and similar manoeuvres of the communalists and vested interests.

Ranchi Riots

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sense of shock and anguish at the recent communal carnage at Ranchi and Hatia. While expressing its deepest sorrow at the massacre of innocent victims, including

women and children, the CEC calls upon every person who values humanity to condemn the bestiality of this communal holocaust, loot and arson, perpetrated against the minority community.

The CEC expresses its revulsion at the fact that certain cliques of the discredited congress leadership in the state organised this carnage with the active support of the RSS and the Jana Sangh.

The CEC notes with alarm the fact that sections of the bureaucracy, including the police, certain elements of the army personnel, as well as the authorities of the HEC not only failed to curb the riots with a firm hand but at places even connived at the activities of the murderers and the rioters.

The CEC would like to warn the people that the same despicable forces who organised the Ranchi riots are making incessant efforts to spread the flames of communal riots in other parts of the country by engineering incidents calculated to spark off riots and by circulating wild and baseless rumours for fanning communal hatred.

The CEC calls upon all parties and organisations in the country who stand for secular democracy, all people of goodwill who stand for the defence of humanity and civilised life, to raise their voice against this nefarious conspiracy.

The Communist Party of India, will leave no stone unturned in the struggle for the defence of the life, property and democratic rights of minorities.

Observe October 21, Day of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People

The US imperialists are escalating the war in Vietnam in a deliberate and calculated manner. Faced with the growing volume of public opinion all over the world, the Johnson administration is becoming increasingly violent and brutal.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its serious concern at the growing escalation of the war in Vietnam by the US aggressors. The CEC believes

that the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, coupled with the broadest worldwide mobilisation of all peace-loving democratic forces, can force the Pentagon to end the war in Vietnam.

The peace-loving forces all over the world are demanding an immediate, unconditional and permanent stoppage of bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and are campaigning for starting talks to end the war.

On October 21, 1967, more than half a million US people will march in the streets of Washington, the citadel of the most aggressive imperialist power, under the auspices of the National Mobilisation Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King will rally its forces on that day to demand self-determination for the people of Vietnam as a part of their own struggle for the legitimate rights of the Negro population of the United States. The World Council of Peace, the WFTU and other democratic organisations have called upon democratic people and the working class all over the world to observe this day.

The CEC calls upon all state and district units of the party to prepare right now to observe October 21 as the Day of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People. In every big city demonstrations should be organised on that day. Every party member must join that demonstration. The party organs—weeklies, and dailies—should start popularisation of this Day in their columns. October 21 should be the biggest all-India action in support of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against US aggression, for independence, sovereignty and peace. *US imperialists, get out of Vietnam!*—should reverberate all over the country on that day.

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