

**COMMUNIST
PARTY
OF
INDIA
(Marxist)**



PROGRAMME

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STATEMENT OF POLICY

**Adopted at the All India Conference of
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1. INDIA ATTAINS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

1. The military defeat of the fascist powers headed by Hitlerite Germany and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in smashing the fascist aggressors, sharply altered the alignment of class forces on the world arena in favour of socialism. The crushing defeat inflicted in the war on the belligerent German, Italian and Japanese fascist powers, not only put these states out of commission for a long period, but also resulted in the general weakening of imperialism on the world scale. World imperialism proved utterly incapable of preventing the emergence of people's democratic states in a number of countries of eastern Europe which facilitated the formation of the world socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Inspired by these historic victories of socialism and the debacle of imperialism, powerful national liberation struggles against colonial rule swept throughout the countries of Asia. India, too, witnessed a mass revolutionary upheaval against British rule. Peasant revolts, general strikes of workers, student strikes, state's people's mass struggles developed on an unprecedented scale. The armed forces and the naval forces revolted in many places.

2. In face of the mounting tide of the struggle which threatened to develop into a general national revolt, British imperialism realised that it would be no longer possible to continue its rule. The Congress leadership, on the other hand, was apprehensive that if the struggle against the imperialists developed into a general revolt, the hegemony over the mass anti-imperialist movement would slip away from its hands. Under these circumstances, a settlement was reached between the British imperialists on the one hand and the leaders of the National Congress and the Muslim League on the other.

3. As a result, the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan and political power was transferred in India to the leaders of the Congress party on August 15, 1947. Thus ended the political rule of the British in India and a state headed by

the Indian big bourgeoisie was established. With this, the first stage of the Indian revolution, the stage of the general national united front, chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule came to an end.

4. The British imperialists hoped that, despite the transfer of power, they would be able, by their entrenched positions in our economy, to make our independence formal. But the course of historical development since then has been disappointing to the imperialists and their hopes were belied.

5. With the historic victory of the great Chinese revolution and the formation of the world socialist system, one-third of humanity has broken away from capitalism. Imperialism and colonialism that enslaved nations after nations and ruined them is today fast disintegrating. Ours is the era of the abolition of the colonial system and transition to socialism. On the ruins of colonialism, new independent nations have emerged and are emerging on to the stage of history in Asia, Africa and Latin America. India occupies an important place among them.

6. No longer is it possible for imperialism to hold back the march of history or block the way of national regeneration of the underdeveloped countries. It is the world socialist system, and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. The world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. If only the peoples of the countries that have won their independence take their destinies in their own hands, they can, with the disinterested assistance of the mighty socialist system with its ever-increasing capacity, rapidly overcome their economic dependence and backwardness, defend and strengthen their national independence and trail a bright future for the people.

7. Our people hoped that the new national state would wipe out all the ugly legacies of the colonial past, would shatter all the fetters on our productive forces and unleash the creative energies of the people. They fondly hoped that India would rapidly overcome her economic dependence and backwardness, abolish

want and poverty, and emerge as a prosperous industrial power, increasingly satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people. Their hopes were belied.

8. The second stage of the Indian revolution demanded, for its immediate fulfilment, the complete abolition of feudal and semi-feudal landlordism and the distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants gratis. It also demanded for its carrying out, the confiscation and nationalisation of British capital, thus eliminating the predatory grip of foreign monopoly capital over our national economy. Abolition of landlordism and a thorough-going agrarian revolution would have at once shattered the age-old shackles on our agricultural production, and enabled it to take a major forward stride, provided food for our people, abundance of raw materials and ever-expanding market for our industries and would have turned our agriculture into a major source of capital formation for our industries. Similarly, the confiscation and nationalisation of British capital would have placed in the hands of the newly born national state a vast sector of industry and foreign trade, whose profits would turn from a drain on the country as in the past, into an ever-expanding source of investment in industry.

9. Although the working class, peasantry, middle class and the progressive intelligentsia constituted the main fighting force against imperialist rule and bore the brunt of its fury, it was, however, the bourgeoisie that remained in the leadership of the liberation movement. After independence, the national state, headed by the big bourgeoisie, has failed to fulfil these urgent tasks of the Indian revolution. Afraid of the possible outcome that might follow such a thorough-going completion of the basic tasks of the democratic revolution, the big bourgeoisie compromised with imperialism and agreed that British finance capital would be allowed to continue its plunder, besides its acceptance to become a member of the British Commonwealth. In the background of mass upheaval in the native states which threatened to completely overthrow princely autocracy and feudalism, huge concessions were offered to feudal princes and their alliance sought to buttress

bourgeois class regime. Land-lords, the erstwhile supporters of British rulers, were welcomed into the Congress party. The Congress rulers kept intact the British-trained bureaucracy to suppress the masses. Thus the democratic revolution was neither allowed to gather momentum nor were its basic tasks fulfilled.

10. The historical experience of the national liberation struggles of our time is that the bourgeoisie, if it heads the freedom struggle, does not carry forward the national democratic revolution to its completion. On the contrary, after winning political independence, as the social contradictions intensify, it tends to compromise with imperialism and allies with domestic landlord reaction. Equally does historical experience demonstrate that only when the anti-imperialist national front is under the leadership of the working class does the democratic revolution not only get completed in all its phases, but also that the revolution does not stop at the democratic stage but quickly passes over to the stage of socialist revolution. India's unfinished revolution, too, confirms this historical experience.

II. BANKRUPT PATH OF CAPITALISM LEADS TO GROWTH OF MONOPOLIES AND DANGER OF NEO-COLONIALISM

11. Even before independence, the Indian bourgeoisie had attained a certain stature and had already established itself in certain branches of industry, such as cotton textile, sugar and cement. During the second world war, the bourgeoisie, mostly the bigger sections, amassed enormous fortunes and considerably enhanced their economic positions.

12. After independence, the ruling bourgeoisie proceeded to develop the country's economy on the lines of capitalism, to further strengthen its class position in society. It should be noted here that the capitalist path of development the Indian bourgeoisie has chosen is in the period when the world capitalist system is fast disintegrating and has entered the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. But possessing neither the technical base of a

heavy industry, nor a colonial empire whose loot gave the imperialists vast capital accumulation, the bourgeoisie employed the state power it had won for appropriating the fruits of labour of the common people for its own capital requirements and for developing the economy along the lines of capitalism. The economic policies of the Congress government since independence have been consistently directed to this end.

13. The Indian bourgeoisie counted on help from the British and American imperialists to realise its aims, the price of which was the protection of their interests from the popular anti-imperialist upheaval which was gaining unprecedented sweep and strength by 1947.

14. But in the years after independence, the British and American imperialists, far from satisfying the needs of the Indian bourgeoisie, began to put all manner of pressure in order to draw the new Indian state into their war plans, began to set afoot plans which would undermine even the political freedom that had been won. Despite repeated pleading by the bourgeoisie, the imperialists refused to help the building of a heavy industry, the basis of industrialisation. They forced the frittering away of the huge sterling balances accumulated by India out of the toil and sweat of our people during the second world war. Under the pretext of helping to save foreign exchange, they imposed deals with foreign monopolists detrimental to our national interests, as in the case of oil refineries, ship-building, chemical industries, etc. With the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries, it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with the imperialist monopolists.

15. Thus the dual character of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself during the years of the freedom struggle in the policy it pursued of mobilising the people against imperialism on the one hand and compromising with imperialism on the other, manifests itself in a new way after achievement of independence. Despite the growth of contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the people, including the bourgeoisie, on the

other, and despite the new opportunities presented with the emergence of the world socialist system, the big bourgeoisie heading the state does not decisively attack imperialism and feudalism and eliminate them. On the other hand, it seeks to utilise its hold over the state and the new opportunities to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand and on the other, to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and feudalism by pressure, bargain and compromise. In this process, it is forging strong links with foreign monopolists and is sharing power with the landlords. Thus while not hesitating to utilise socialist aid to build certain heavy industrial projects, and to bargain with the imperialists and build itself up, it is anti-people and anti-Communists in character and is firmly opposed to the completion of the democratic, anti-imperialist tasks of the Indian revolution.

16. The economic planning that the government has resorted to is a part of this efforts at building capitalism. This planning has nothing to do with socialist planning. Only an insignificant part of our economy is under the state sector and vast fields of industrial, commercial and other activities are left under private enterprise. These bourgeois attempts at capitalist planning come up against the spontaneous laws of capitalism and in the ultimate analysis genuine economic planning and capitalism are irreconcilable and they do not go together to any appreciable length. These five-year plans instead of mobilising the total material and man-power resources of the nation in order to make a forward stride in our economy and put it on the high road of rapid industrialisation and progress, mainly rely on the profit motive of the exploiting classes.

17. However, economic planning in an underdeveloped country like India, backed by the state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, certainly gives capitalist economic development a definite tempo and direction by facilitating more expedient utilisation of the resources available under the limitations of the policies of the government. The most outstanding feature of these plans is to be seen in the industrial expansion, particularly in the setting

up of certain heavy and machine-building industries in the state sector. This noteworthy gain would not have been possible, "but for the disinterested aid from the socialist countries—mainly from the Soviet Union. In addition, there has been considerable expansion in transport, communications and power in the state sector.

18. Government's budgetary and general economic policies especially its taxation measures and price policy, are determined primarily from the point of view of the narrow stratum of the exploiting classes. Colossal increase in indirect taxation and deficit financing which hit the common mass of people, constitute one of the main sources of financing the plans. The government actually relies on the profit motive for development and refuses to take any effective measure to hold the price-line. Inflation and rising prices constitute a powerful instrument for increasingly depriving the people of their share of the wealth created by their labour and its accumulation as capital in the hands of the private capitalists.

19. The banks, whose deposits swell as a result of deficit financing, insurance companies—even the nationalised Life Insurance Corporation—and special credit institutions created by government like the Industrial Finance Corporation, National Industrial Developments Corporation, etc., all serve the interests of private capitalist aggrandisement. Further, the advisory board of the Reserve Bank of India, as well as investment committees of the Life Insurance Corporation, is packed with representatives of the big bourgeoisie. They also adorn the boards of directors of credit institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation and many other state sector undertakings. As a result, enormous growth of concentration of capital on the one hand and the interlocking of industrial and bank capital on the other have been rapidly developing under Congress rule and its five-year plans.

20. In the conditions prevailing in India, such heavy machine-building and other vital industries as have been built in the state sector, would not have otherwise come to fruition, for private capital was not in a position to find the required resources for these huge industrial projects. The building of these under-

takings in the state sector has, therefore, helped to overcome, to a certain extent, economic backwardness and the abject dependence on the imperialist monopolies, and in laying the technical base for industrialisation.

21. The state sector, or the public sector as it is otherwise called, can play a progressive role in an underdeveloped economy if it is promoted along anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist, democratic lines. It reduces economic dependence, creates and strengthens the capital base for industrialisation. It could be an instrument for weakening and eliminating the hold of foreign capital and also for restricting and curbing the growth of Indian monopolies. But the anti-people policies pursued by the government under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, during nearly two decades of rule and three five year plans, and their practical results belie all such hopes. Increasing concentration of wealth and the rapid growth of Indian monopolies have become a pronounced phenomenon. Penetration of huge foreign monopoly capital in both the state and private sectors grows uninterruptedly. The common people, workers, peasants and the middle classes are subjected to ruthless exploitation and oppression in the name of financing these plans for capitalist development. Thus, despite the flaunting of the state sector by Congress leaders as proof of their building socialism, the actual realities show that the state sector itself in India is an instrument of building capitalism and is nothing but state capitalism.

22. As a result of all these policies pursued by the government and by virtue of the fact that the big bourgeoisie heads the state, the influence of big business in our state sector has steadily grown, leading to increasing utilisation of it for further bolstering up big capitalists. The bulk of credit facilities from the financial institutions has gone to build them up still further. All major contracts under the plan and otherwise emanating from government go to big business. It is big business again that controls the distribution of the products of several state undertakings. Apart from the growing links between state capitalism and the monopolies, government now invites capitalists including foreign mono-

polists to participate in the share capital of state-owned undertakings. This further distorts the growth of the public sector. Moreover, the state-owned concerns are placed in the charge of bureaucrats who are anti-democratic and hostile to labour. State capitalism loses its progressive character and becomes a weapon in their hands if the influence of big business and the control of the bureaucrats grow in the public sector. Both these harmful tendencies are already there in the affairs of our state owned industries.

23. Contrary to the industrial policy resolution, announced by the government of India, that heavy and basic industries are reserved exclusively for the state sector, many of these industries already existing in the private sector such as Tata iron and steel, etc., were allowed to expand in a big way their capacity with huge financial and other forms of state assistance. With the growth of monopoly capital and with ever-expanding ties with foreign monopolists during these five-year plans, they feel competent today to run many of these key industries with foreign collaboration. Simultaneously, government has been relaxing the restrictions imposed by its industrial policy resolution and licences for setting up plants for aluminium, fertilisers, oil refinery and others are being freely granted to the private capitalists.

24. While the government has refused to eliminate the exploitation by the already entrenched British and other foreign finance capital, they offer them liberal concessions, guarantees and new opportunities for fresh big inflow. In the name of building a so-called self-generating economy and overcoming foreign exchange shortage, which again is largely the creation of their policies, the Congress rulers are inviting the monopolists of Britain, the USA, West Germany and other western countries to come and invest their capital in India and earn huge guaranteed profits. The rapid growth of U.S. investments in certain key sectors brings to the forefront the growing danger of American penetration into our economic and consequently political life.

25. Thus the capitalist industrialisation that the big bourgeois leadership of the state has launched upon with its five-years plans and the building up the state sector are paving the way for the

growth of Indian big business and together with it the perpetuation of the plunder by the foreign monopolists, through continued exploitation of India's cheap labour and other 'natural resources. Year after year, tens of crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, interests, salaries and allowances, commissions, insurance and freight charge and under other visible and invisible heads. These exploiters have nothing in common with our national interests. Ruthless plunder of our resources is their sole concern. They help the growth of Indian big business and other reactionary forces in public life. They overtly and covertly work for undermining our economy and for distorting and slowing down its rate of growth. A dangerous source of anti-national intrigue and machinations, the role of this imperialist foreign capital is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the nation.

26. Thus, under the five-year plans, instead of reorganising our agriculture through radical agrarian reforms in the interest of peasantry and fully mobilising the resources from the foreign and Indian monopolists in the country, government on the one hand imposes heavy burdens on the people in the name of development and on the other, makes the plan more and more dependent on so-called economic 'aid' from the imperialist countries, mainly the USA. Despite assistance of key importance from the socialist countries, despite the increase in trade with the socialist countries, despite the fact that Indian capital has grown in volume, the most glaring fact of our economic life to day is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on western assistance and particularly U.S. assistance.

27. Far from this dependence getting reduced, it is actually increasing year by year. About a third of the total investments in the third plan will have to be found from foreign aid—mostly from the west. Apart from the foodgrains aid, India increasingly looks to the U.S. and other western countries for aid even for maintenance imports.

28. Simultaneously with our increasing needs of foreign aid, concessions after concessions are being given to foreign capital.

Hundreds of collaboration agreements between Indian and foreign capitalists are being sanctioned.

29. This heavy dependence of our economy on western aid both for development of the state sector and for industrial raw materials and components, as well as for our food, and the concessions that are being increasingly given to foreign capital, as well as the increasing penetration of foreign capital into our economy by means of their collaboration with our private capitalists—all this constitutes a serious danger to our country's future and to our capacity to pursue independent policies both internally and externally. It is this situation that breeds extreme right reaction in the country which openly advocates military alliances with U.S. imperialism and total subservience to it in the economic sphere.

30. The richest of the imperialists of the world, the U.S. has become the biggest international exploiter draining Asia, Africa and Latin America of their riches. The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic 'aid'. They utilise such 'aid' to put pressure on underdeveloped countries and extend their economic exploitation and political hold on these countries and thus have become the chief bulwark of neo-colonialism. They try to enmesh these countries in military blocs or draw them into cold war politics. International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become the enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

In these circumstances, the penetration of American capital in India and our growing reliance on American 'aid', are creating a dangerous situation for our country also. They are utilising it to wrest more concessions for exploiting our country, for establishing collaboration with Indian big business, for putting political pressure on our country as is evidenced on the Kashmir problem. They are penetrating all spheres of our national life—including social, cultural and educational spheres. They are establishing direct contacts with different reactionary elements in our country.

They are corrupting our social and cultural life, as is evidenced by the spread of decadent imperialist culture in our country. While the Communist Party of India upholds the principle of free flow and exchange of modern scientific art, literature and culture between different peoples and states of the world, it is firmly opposed to the import of decadent imperialist culture. The Indian government, instead of consistently carrying forward the banner of revolt raised by our national liberation movement against the decadent western imperialist education and culture, has been virtually encouraging by different means the penetration and spread of reactionary western literature, art and films in our country. The so-called schemes of cultural exchanges are in fact utilised to forge systematic links with the western and particularly U. S. culture which in turn is adversely affecting the new generation of our people in their ideological, social and cultural outlook. All this has posed a serious threat to our social, economic and political life.

31. Despite all this massive aid from the west and the socialist countries, despite the overfulfilment of the targets of taxation, the third plan is in crisis; per capita income has remained more or less stationary. No one expects the fulfilment of the targets of the plan.

32. Moreover, under these plans which have failed to harness the patriotic enthusiasm of the masses but solely rely on the private profit motive—and that, too, of Indian and foreign monopolists—the intense desire to get rich quick has been let loose on the community. Through blackmarketing and tax evasions, thousands of crores of rupees have been earned and are continuing to be earned by big business; which again is utilised not for productive investment, but in speculation on urban land and property, and in commodity trade. Huge accumulation of this unaccounted money in the hands of a few is the biggest source of the rampant corruption and nepotism which defy all attempt at eradication.

33. Experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capital-

ism, particularly when it has entered a new acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to seek to develop along the capitalist path. The possibilities of such development are extremely limited. It cannot solve our basic problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty and unemployment. It is incapable of ensuring the fullest utilisation of the human and material resources of the country. It gives rise to ever growing contradictions and is beset with imbalance and crisis. While it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people, it gives them no hope of a better future and brings them into inevitable conflict with the capitalist path of development.

III. BALANCE-SHEET OF BOURGEOIS AGRARIAN POLICIES

34. In no field is the utter failure of the bourgeois-landlord government's policies so nakedly revealed as in the case of the agrarian question. Nearly two decades of Congress rule has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the aim and direction of its agrarian policies is not to smash the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our land relations and thus liberate the peasantry from age-old bondage, but to transform the feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and develop a stratum of rich peasants. They want to depend upon the landlord and rich peasant section to produce the surplus of agricultural products to meet the requirements of capitalist development. They also want to make these sections the main political base of the ruling class in the countryside.

35. The abolition of princely feudal states was carried out with the assurance of paying the ex-princes and their families huge privy purse to the tune of several crores of rupees annually, besides leaving in their hands all their plundered wealth and vast tracts of agricultural and forest lands. The legislative measures for abolishing intermediaries such as zamindars, jagirdars, inamdars, etc., deliberately permit these intermediaries to retain big landed estates in the name of *sir*, *Khudkasht* or *Pannai* lands and guarantee colossal amounts of compensation to be paid

to them. The abolition of these intermediary right has not been followed by a free and automatic transfer of proprietary rights to the tillers of the soil. On the other hand, millions of tenants have been either evicted outright, both legally and illegally, or forced to purchase the land rights paying varying prices to the landlords. Thus, crores of rupees annually paid to the ex-princes as privy-purses, hundreds of crores of compensation paid to big intermediaries in instalments, and the vast sums of money the big landlords snatched away from the peasantry by selling the land-rights, etc., have deprived agriculture of the badly needed capital for production and become a burden on the state, profiting only the idle landlord rich.

36. The tenancy laws enacted for the ryotwari areas provide first and foremost, for the so-called right of resumption of land under the pretext of self-cultivation from the possession of cultivating tenants. The depriving of these tenants of their legitimate rights, on one pretext or another, has taken away all significance of the so-called fair-rent fixation which in itself has been unfair in most cases. With large number of loopholes deliberately left in the legislations on the one hand and their implementation by bureaucratic authorities dominated by the landlord element on the other, they have actually led to the eviction and uprooting of millions of tenants from the land and throwing them into the ranks of pauperised peasants and agricultural labourers.

37. Coming to the much-talked-of legislations regarding ceiling on land-holdings, these acts have been so framed as to enable the big landholders either to preserve their holdings untouched or to merrily split them up through fictitious partition among their family members in such a manner as to make the ceiling law inapplicable to them. In most cases, ceiling itself is put high. Besides this, exemption of so-called 'efficiently managed farms', 'garden lands' and 'pasture lands' knocks the bottom out of this measure. No wonder these laws, in most cases, either remained on paper, or very little land has been acquired by applying these laws for distribution among the toiling peasantry.

38. Consolidation of land-holding is another measure by which the Congress rulers seek to increase agricultural production. This, too, is attempted only in some states. Wherever it is implemented, the major gains have gone to the richer strata of land-owning classes. They have been enabled to manoeuvre and secure the best available lands and the best sites at the expense of the poor and middle peasants.

39. Let alone acquiring landlords' land for distribution to the tillers of the soil, the Congress government have refused in these long years of their rule to distribute the bulk of cultivable waste lands to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants under one pretext or the other. Millions of acres of such lands are found in several states. Here again, several influential landlords in different states occupy them, depriving the deserving peasant from cultivating these lands. Wherever the poor peasant doggedly stick on to the cultivation of these waste lands otherwise called *banjars*, heavy penalties are levied and collected from them year after year. In certain states, peasants evicted from project sites and sites of industrial enterprises have not been provided with alternate land and have swelled the ranks of landless labourers.

40. The agricultural labourers with either no land or with small pieces of land whose main livelihood is derived from selling their labour power constitute the single biggest section in our rural life. Thanks to the agrarian and other policies of the government, their ranks have been further swelled with millions of evicted tenants, ruined peasants and uprooted artisans. On all-India scale they form 30 to 35 per cent and in some states like Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Mysore, Orissa and Bihar, they form 50-55 per cent of the peasant households in our rural areas. From amongst them, thousands work as farm servants under landlords and rich peasants on annual basis. Despite the loud talk indulged in by the leaders of the central government about legislation fixing their minimum wages and other amenities since 1948, practically nothing effective has been done so far to improve their living conditions and protect them from the brutal exploitation of the landlords. The so-called minimum wages legislation which was

brought about in some states after years of promise and waiting is nothing but a piece of decoration for the statute book. The scale of wages and other conditions of work prescribed in these legislations are such that they are either much below the wage rates prevailing in the concerned areas and where higher rates have been fixed, they have not been enforced. The vast bulk of these labourers neither possess small house-site nor a hut to live in. Six months in the year they are either completely unemployed or under-employed. Several reports of the government and semi-governmental agencies clearly point out that their real wages are falling, their employment days are decreasing and their indebtedness is growing. Without a radical change in their living conditions, it is unthinkable to change the face of our degraded rural life and unleash the productive forces in the agrarian sector.

41. The community development schemes and panchayat raj (panchayats, block samities and zilla parishads) the government has initiated, despite the limited social amenities and benefits the people can derive from them, are in the final analysis another device to extend and consolidate the rich peasant and landlord base of the ruling class in the rural side. Consistent with its class policies, the government has been giving the richer sections of the peasants and landholders direct financial, technical and other aid almost to the exclusion of the other strata of cultivators. The bulk of the expenditure on the community development and national extension schemes flows into the pockets of landlords and rich peasants. Large sums are advanced to them as taccavi loans. Special agricultural loans are granted to them for the purchase of tractors, pump-sets, oil engines and for sinking tube wells. It is they who grab the lion's share of the chemical manures and good quality seeds distributed by the government.

42. With the rapid expansion of money economy in the rural areas, forward trading and speculative holding of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities have grown enormously on the basis of expanding bank credit and otherwise. The tightening of the grip of Indian and foreign monopolistic trading interests over agricultural produce has rapidly grown, bringing in its wake

intensification of exploitation of the peasants through unequal exchange and violent fluctuations of prices. As a result, the peasant is fleeced both as a seller of agricultural produce and as a purchaser of industrial goods.

43. All this has led to a considerable increase of usurious capital. According to the latest Reserve Bank survey, total rural indebtedness which stood at Rs. 900 crores in 1956 has gone up to over 3000 crores. The interest charges alone on this would amount, on a conservative estimate, to more than a hundred crores of rupees per annum. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the peasant to obtain credit for agricultural operations at normal rates of interest. Coöperative credit, government loans and bank credit all put together constitute but an infinitesimal proportion of total rural credit requirements and these are utilised mostly by the landlords and rich peasants. This dearth of credit is leading not only to deterioration in agricultural production, but also to the passing of land out of the hands of poor peasants. Government has consistently refused to scale down the burden of rural indebtedness.

44. The bankruptcy of these agrarian policies is revealed in the failure to solve the chronic food crisis. Despite spending thousands of crores of rupees on agriculture irrigation schemes and fertilisers, the increase in our agricultural production has been totally inadequate, and during the last three years, agricultural production has remained almost static. The result has been that India continues to import heavily from the USA under PL 480 foodgrains and raw materials. These imports have already swallowed over 2,000 crores of rupees during the years of Congress rule.

45. Today, after two decades of independence and Congress rule with all its multitude of agrarian reform laws, land concentration remains intact and five per cent of the top households in the rural side possess as much as 37.29 per cent of the total land under cultivation whereas 70 per cent of the peasant families hardly possess 20 per cent of the land. It is common knowledge that the breaking up of the land monopoly and the distribution of land gratis to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and

the abolition of their heavy debt burdens are the pre-requisites for releasing the creative energy and labour enthusiasm of the millions of peasants. This alone can form the foundation for a tremendous expansion in agricultural production. Moreover, with the present agrarian relations, over a thousand crores of rupees find their way annually into the hands of the landlords and money-lenders by way of rent and interest which again is used not for productive purposes but for speculative trading and usurious money-lending. The abolition of these relations would thus provide an important source of capital for our industries and agriculture.

46. We cannot develop agriculture to a considerable extent and provide the country with adequate food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and necessary fertilisers in order to improve its farming.

We cannot develop our national industries and industrialise our country in a big way because the peasantry constituting eighty per cent of the population is unable to buy even a minimum quantity of manufactured goods.

We cannot improve the condition of the working class because hundreds of thousands of hungry people forced by poverty to leave the countryside for towns swarm the 'labour market', increase the army of unemployed and lower the 'price of labour'.

We cannot rapidly work our way out of cultural backwardness because the poor and hungry peasants, constituting the majority of the population, are deprived of material means to give education to their children.

Thus the agricultural and peasant problems are of primary importance to the life of our country and stand as the foremost national question.

IV. FOREIGN POLICY

47. The foreign policy of any state and its government, in the final analysis, is nothing but the projection of its internal policy and it reflects, in the main, the interests of the class or classes that head the government and the state in question. The foreign

policy of the government of India naturally reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition to as well as compromise and collaboration with imperialism. Unlike the monopolist bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries, the Indian bourgeoisie for its very development needs world peace and is hence opposed to world war. In a world sharply divided between the war camp of imperialism on the one hand and the peace camp of socialism on the other and faced with the situation when the imperialist camp headed by the USA launched its schemes of forging aggressive military alliances in order to bring different countries under its control, the government of India embarked upon the policy of neutrality or non-alignment to defend and safeguard the newly-won political independence of this country and to advance its own class interests. In pursuit of this policy, it seeks to utilise the contradictions between the camps of imperialism and socialism as well as the contradictions and conflicts between the U. S. and British imperialisms. The government of India has been interpreting the policy of non-alignment and neutrality differently at different phases depending upon its class interests.

48. In the early period after independence, while it was looking to the imperialists, and particularly the USA, for its industrial development, when it had faith in the invincibility of U.S. arms, the Government of India exhibited marked tendencies of succumbing to the blackmail of the imperialist camp and leaned heavily on it. The allowing of camps on Indian soil for the recruitment by the British imperialists of Gurkhas for the suppression of the Malayan war of independence, the granting of facilities for the French imperialist planes on Indian bases on their way to fight against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the sending of help, even though nominal medical aid, to the American troops in Korea, the hesitation to accept the offered aid for industrial development from the Soviet Union were all clear indications of this trend. It was in this phase that India generally sided with the western bloc in the U.N.—a fact openly and pointedly stated by India's representative in the U.N.—including the war of aggression launched against the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea by the USA under the signboard of the U.N. and the resolution branding North Korea as aggressor.

49. Later, with the debacle of imperialist arms in Korea and Vietnam, with the growth in the economic and military might of the socialist world and the breaking of western—chiefly U.S.—monopoly of nuclear weapons, with the new unprecedented upsurge in the liberation struggle in Asia and Africa, all of which further altered the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, peace and national independence, with disillusionment in its hopes of getting massive aid for industrial development from the imperialists, with the growing possibilities of receiving from socialist countries disinterested aid for building industries of key importance, with the growth of the peace movement and mass radicalisation inside the country as revealed in the first general elections, and with the conclusion of the U.S. Pakistan agreement to enter into the SEATO military bloc with a view to pressuring India, began a new phase in the government of India's policy of non-alignment. This was the phase when the government came out against military blocs, against imperialist aggression, in support of colonial peoples' struggle, for prohibition of nuclear weapons and disarmament, and for Afro-Asian solidarity. This was seen in India's role in the conclusion of peace in Korea, its participation and active role in the Geneva conference for the conclusion of the agreements on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in the signing of the Sino-India treaty on Tibet embodying the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and in its role in the Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries.

This new anti-imperialist content given to the policy of non-alignment played a positive role in international development. It ranged India more solidly against the policies of war and nuclear diplomacy, for peaceful solution of international disputes and for peaceful coexistence. India's own relations with the socialist countries became closer and more cordial and her international prestige rose, particularly in the countries of Asia and Africa.

50. Beginning from about the year 1958, however, the foreign policy of the government of India has been passing through

a new phase. Its role in the Congo, its refusal to recognise the Algerian provisional government, its refusal to take a forthright and firm stand on several anti-colonial issues, its equivocal role as chairman of the International Commission in Vietnam and Laos, its stand at the Belgrade conference of non-aligned powers in 1961 which put India in opposition to most of the Afro-Asian countries, its role in the recent Cairo conference of non-aligned states and its approving recognition of imperialist-inspired Malaysia were all evidences of this new phase.

51. It is noteworthy that several countries of Asia and Africa which shook off their colonial yoke only recently, have taken a forthright and consistently anti-imperialist stand on these and similar issues. At a time when the world situation has become more favourable than ever due to the growing might of the socialist camp and the attainment of freedom by many countries of Africa and the upsurge of the freedom movement in the Latin American countries, one would have expected that the government of independent India would have carried forward the policy of non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism in a more determined manner. Just the contrary has happened.

52. The growth of monopolies and big business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies, which are actively encouraged by the government, the increasing reliance of its five-year plans on aid from the western countries, particularly from the USA, despite the vital industrial, technical and economic aid rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries, government's inability to solve the basic problems facing the Indian people and the contrast in countries where the working people in power have built within a short period a stable socialist economy, and growth and accentuation of social contradictions within the country due to the economic policies of the government—all this has a tremendous bearing on all the policies of the government, foreign policy being no exception. The new phase in the government of India's foreign policy is a result precisely of these developments and arises from the very class character of the present government. The increasing reliance on imperialist aid has ena-

bled the Anglo-American imperialists to increasingly interfere in the dispute with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir.

53. The border dispute with China leading to a border war between the two biggest states in Asia and the state of cold war existing since then, have further accentuated this shift in the government of India's foreign policy. The government's acceptance of military aid from the USA and Britain, and its continued wooing them for massive military aid, the VOA deal episode, the joint air exercises with the U. S. and British airforces, government's virtual acquiescence in the extension of the operations of the U. S. Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, government's silence on the U. S. government's threat to extend its war in South Vietnam into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, its lukewarm reaction to the U. S. naval and air bombardment in the Tonkin Gulf area, and its virtual acquiescence in the Anglo-American effort at the establishment of a military base in the Indian Ocean, have all led to a position where the policy of non-alignment has been seriously jeopardised and is getting emasculated. Taking advantage of this situation, the imperialists mount pressure on India for its complete alignment with the west, while reactionaries in India seek to push the government still more along the path of further emasculation of its foreign policy of non-alignment and its total reversal. Unless these reactionary forces and their intrigues are thoroughly exposed and the objective source for such anti-national conspiracies are removed as quickly as possible, the danger always stares us in the face. As a result of all this, the prestige of India has greatly suffered in the countries of Asia and Africa, and it has become the cause of concern for all anti-imperialist forces in the world.

54. However, the contradictions between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism continue. This was sharply focussed on the issue of Kashmir and imperialist intrigues over it and when due to popular pressure, the VOA deal had to be abandoned.

55. Although the government's foreign policy continues to be within the broad framework of non-alignment and opposition

to world war, its increasing reliance on western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans of capitalist development, its growing economic collaborations with foreign finance capitalists, its continued membership of the British Commonwealth and as a result of all this, its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U. S. designs of neocolonialism and aggression and lead to India's isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests. It is thus evident that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies.

V. STATE STRUCTURE AND DEMOCRACY UNDER CONGRESS RULE

56. The present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlord, led by the big bourgeoisie, who are increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital in pursuit of the capitalist path of development. This class character essentially determines the role and functions of the state in the life of the country.

57. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of republican India on the basis of linguistic states, full autonomy to these states and regional or local autonomy to the tribal regions. Although it abolished the feudal states and merged them in the Indian Union under popular pressure and in the background of people's struggles, yet, under the influence of the short-sighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis. The solution of the problems came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses. Even now, some unsolved problems remain.

58. The language problem is not solved satisfactorily. The languages of the different states are yet to be enshrined as the language of administration and courts and as the medium of ins-

truction. English continues to hold the field in our administration and education. Even before the regional languages have come to occupy their rightful place in the administration and educational sphere and even while refusing to give practical effect to their equal status in parliament and in the central administration, attempts are being made to impose Hindi in place of English on the non-Hindi-speaking people. This gives rise to the fear that their languages would be denied their rightful place and suppressed.

59. Although our state structure is supposed to be a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the central government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy very limited power and opportunities; their autonomy is formal. This makes these states precariously dependent on the central government, restricts their development and other nation-building activities and thus hinders their progress.

60. It is but natural that in such a situation the contradiction between the central government and the states should have grown. Underlying these contradictions often lie the deeper contradiction between the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the entire people including the bourgeoisie of this or that state on the other. This deeper contradiction gets constantly aggravated due to the accentuation of the unevenness of economic development under capitalism.

61. In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct languages, culture and traditions. These people are undergoing transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness, which finds no opportunity for expression in their present condition of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union. They demand regional or full autonomy to advance their regions where their numbers and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility. But the bourgeoisie for whom this tribal people become good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who, because of their tribal conditions, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their

legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or disrupts them by some concessions to their top leaders.

62. The big bourgeois leadership loudly proclaims that ours is a secular democracy and is opposed to religious and obscurantist principles being imported into it. But the truth is, far from effectively combating the anti-secular trends, the bourgeoisie gives concessions to them and strengthens them. Its leaders do not take a consistently secular stand, but are themselves victims of religious obscurantism. They try to distort the whole concept of secularism; they would have the people believe that, instead of complete separation of religion and politics from each other, secularism means freedom for all religious faiths to equally interfere in the political life of the people. This approach of the bourgeoisie can be clearly seen in several official documents and reports. Furthermore, the concessions that they give to the communalism of the majority community can be seen in the fact that, in constituting the National Integration Council the central government had no hesitation in appointing the representatives of the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahashabha while scrupulously keeping out the representatives of non-Hindu communal organisations. Not stopping at that the ruling classes do not hesitate to foment the differences between nationalities and communities to disrupt the popular movement in order to further their narrow class interests.

Our Party, therefore, has the duty to fight an uncompromising struggle for the consistent implementation of the principle of secularism. Even the slightest departure from that principle should be exposed and fought. While defending the right of every religious community—whether it is the majority or minority—as well as of those who have no faith in any religion to believe in and practise whatever religion they like or to remain irreligious, the Party should fight against all forms of intrusion of religion in the social, economic, political and administrative life of the nation. Equally opposing the efforts of the leaders of all religious groups to interfere in the public life of the country, we should concentrate fire on the chauvinistic leaders of the majority religious community—the Hindus. At the same time, we should continue to point out to

the minority religious groups that their legitimate rights can be defended and protected only on the basis of a consistent application of the principles of secularism.

63. In conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights to the minorities provided in the constitution are also not implemented. The bourgeois-landlord state thus fosters centrifugal and disruptive forces and fails to build the unity of the country on secure foundations.

64. The administrative system being based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, reflecting the growth of capitalist development, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interests of the exploiting classes. The so-called panchayati raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the ruling classes seeking to consolidate their power in the countryside. Real democracy of the people can have no place in such a bourgeois democracy run by the exploiters and their bureaucrats.

65. The judiciary is weighted against the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice, though holding the rich and the poor equal and alike in principle, essentially serve the interests of the exploiting classes and uphold their class rule. Even the bourgeois democratic principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive is not adhered to and the judiciary becomes subject to the influence and control of the latter.

66. The bourgeoisie and its landlord allies are a small minority in the whole country compared to the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes, over whom they rule and whom they exploit by virtue of their ownership of land and capital and all means of livelihood. Capitalist state power and its government even when elected by a majority vote in the parliamentary system of democracy, represents in its political and economic essence the power of the minority.

67. When this power and its class interests begin to come into open conflict with the interests of the exploited masses, the

government tends to rely more and more on the armed forces and the police to preserve its order. Hence the bourgeoisie keeps the hundreds and thousands of the rank and file of these forces away from the people, away from all political consciousness and all democratic rights. Even when they are allowed the right to vote as citizens in elections, they are not allowed to be approached by any political party through any literature and the serviceman are denied the right to contact even their parliamentary representatives for any reason whatsoever.

68. This, however, does not apply to the generals and top officials who in the main, are drawn from the bourgeois-landlord classes and get their education in exclusive institutions. They carry on their politics in their own way behind the curtains.

69. The constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise and confer certain fundamental rights on the people. But the people can exercise them only to a very limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state. When it comes to the struggles of the workers, peasants and other sections of the democratic masses, the fundamental rights cease to apply to them. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people, by putting them under section 144 even for months and years under the plea of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly savage against the workers, the peasants and other democratic masses when they act in defence of their political and economic rights and demands. The hated Preventive Detention Act has become a part and parcel of the statute book and has remained in force in all these eighteen years of the post-independence period—a law which even the former British rulers dared not perpetuate except during the war period. Similarly, the provisions of national emergency provided for in the constitution are misused and ordinances promulgated to suppress the just and democratic struggles of the workers, peasants and middle classes.

70. Freedom of the press, assembly and propaganda is a reality only to the exploiting classes, who can own the daily press, the halls and theatres, the radio network and the huge financial resources required. The working people cannot compete with their vast resources and are thus disabled in the exercise of these rights formally given to everyone. Bourgeois democracy always remains a democracy for the exploiting rich and a wordy formality, a shadow for the toiling poor.

71. However, universal adult franchise and parliament and state legislatures can serve as instruments of the people in their struggle for democracy, for defence of their interests. Although a form of class rule of the bourgeoisie, India's present parliamentary system also embodies and advances for the people. It affords certain opportunities to them to defend their interests, intervene in the affairs of the state to a certain extent, and mobilise them to carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

72. The threat to the parliamentary system and to democracy comes not from the working people and the parties which represent their interests. The threat comes from the exploiting classes. It is they who undermine the parliamentary system both from within and without by making it an instrument to advance their narrow interests and repress the toiling masses. When the people begin to use parliamentary institutions for advancing their cause and they fall away from the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords, these classes do not hesitate to trample underfoot parliamentary democracy as was done in Kerala in 1959. When their interest demands they do not hesitate to replace parliamentary democracy by military dictatorship. It will be a serious error and a dangerous illusion to imagine that our country is free from all such threats. It is of utmost importance that parliamentary and democratic institutions are defended in the interest of the people against such threats, and that such institutions are skilfully utilised in combination with extra-parliamentary activities.

VI. CONDITIONS OF PEOPLE

73. The democracy that the bourgeois-landlord state and government have been practising all these years is, in reality, denied to the people and only the top exploiting classes are flourishing under it at the expense of the toiling millions of the country.

74. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially, as most of the increasing wealth is concentrating in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen resent the policies of the Government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

75. Increasingly heavy burdens are being imposed on the working class and it constantly faces ferocious attacks from the employers and the government. Not only total production but even productivity of the workers has increased. Yet their share in the increasing wealth has fallen while that of their employers has risen. Real wages of the workers have not registered any rise and even when they fight and succeed in getting a wage-rise, ever-spiralling prices have nullified all their wage-gains. In a large number of industries the wage-level has gone even below the pre-second world war level. Though employment has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment has grown still faster further depressing the living standards of the families of the working people.

76. The workers through determined and bitter struggles in the last few years have forced the employers and the government to establish some machinery like wage boards, minimum wages committees, tribunals, etc, for wage settlement. Though some standardisation has taken place in certain organised industries, wage anarchy which is characteristic of the capitalist system still continues and though certain norms for minimum wages have been laid down, they still remain unfulfilled, the government itself refusing to give its employees wages based on these norms. The

right of recognition of trade unions and collective bargaining are still denied or made a mockery of by the employer at his will. Any number of legislations have been enacted but they are brazenly violated by the employers and the industrial relations machinery set up by the government is mainly directed against the strikes and struggles of the workers. A section of the workers have won their right to social security but its implementation by the bureaucracy has been more a cause of irritation than of help to them, while the so-called housing schemes of the employers and the government have not liberated the workers and their families from the appalling slums to which they are condemned. The conditions of employees in the state sector undertakings are particularly bad with the government itself showing scant respect for its own laws and established practices. Not only is the wage level lower in these undertakings, even trade union rights are virtually non-existent. Police verification of employees in government factories and establishments is among the worst features in the state sector used to intimidate workers and suppress the trade union movement.

77. Millions of our peasants live in abject poverty and backwardness. Three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own and many millions live as paupers. The plunder of the peasantry through exorbitant rents and interests, through high taxes and manipulations of the capitalist market continues. Agricultural labourers and poor peasants have to work without any subsistence wage for the family. Want of employment, hunger, indebtedness and destitution—in short the ruination of our peasantry is what we see in the countryside today.

78. The communal partition of the country into Indian Union and Pakistan had brought in its wake the huge problem of refugees whose numbers rose to several millions. Further the continued tension and conflict between the two newly created states is periodically resulting in reinforcing their numbers. This problem is far from satisfactorily settled. The government has gone back on many of its promises and no adequate provision is made for their rehabilitation. Their condition is extremely

miserable. This problem is still acutely affecting the life of the people in several parts of India and particularly the state of West Bengal. The schemes of rehabilitation and their practical implementation by the government belie all the hopes entertained on this score.

79. The capitalist path of development that our ruling classes have embarked upon without effecting radical agrarian reforms and the elimination of foreign capital from our economy, is hitting hard the life of millions of artisans such as handloom weavers and other handicraftsmen. They are either being summarily thrown into the ranks of the army of paupers and unemployed or squeezed dry under the impact of extremely low incomes, high prices of food and raw materials and varied burdensome taxes. The meagre subsidies provided in the states and central budgets fail to bring any real relief to the vast masses of tormented artisans and their families. The anti-people policies of the government offer no solution to this problem and discontent is rapidly growing amongst the artisans of our land.

80. The middle classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living, low salaries and declining standards are their lot, too. In recent years, middle class unemployment has grown phenomenally. Middle class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, schools, colleges and the like are facing the same problems of life as the working class. Our middle classes play an important role in the fields of art, literature, science and culture. But for most of them these fields are closed and we see the educated middle class youth queuing up before the employment exchanges.

81. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and financiers. Allocation of capital issues, raw materials, transport facilities, import and export licences is carried out by the government and bureaucrats in such a way that almost all except big business suffer. Those engaged in small and cottage industries face a permanent crisis.

82. As a result of the anti-people policies pursued by the government, the vast masses of the people are fleeced by soaring prices, rising taxes and reckless inflation. At one end, while a microscopic few of the top exploiting classes and their hangers-on with their newly-earned riches are rolling in luxury, at the other end, millions are groaning under squalor and poverty. The conflicts and contradictions between the people on the one hand and the bourgeois-landlord government led by the big bourgeoisie on the other are steadily getting intensified.

VII. PROGRAMME OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

83. Disillusionment and discontent with the policies and the attempts at building a capitalist economy grows rapidly among our people. Life itself teaches them that there is no hope of emancipation from backwardness, poverty, hunger and exploitation under the present bourgeois-landlord rule. This awakening is seen in the growing attraction to ideas of socialism among the masses. Capitalism as a system is getting increasingly discredited in the eyes of the people. It is precisely because of this, that even our bourgeois rulers seek to mask their attempts at capitalist development under the signboard of socialism.

84. In the historical conditions we are in, with the existence and rapid growth of the powerful world socialist system and with the fast disintegration of the world capitalist order, new big opportunities have arisen for several economically backward and underdeveloped countries, on achieving independence, for the establishments of a state of national democracy. The developing working class can, by gradually establishing hegemony in that state, take the country along the path of non-capitalist development and go over to socialism by skipping over the stage of capitalism.

85. Such a door, however, is barred to us in India. Our country, even while it was under the colonial rule of the British, was one of the capitalistically developed colonies and semi-colonies. The big bourgeoisie which headed the national liberation movement and the new independent state after 1947 has been conti-

nuously in state power for nearly two decades and has been utilising that state power to immensely strengthen its class position at the expense of the mass of people on the one hand and compromising and bargaining with imperialism and big landlordism on the other. Thus they have embarked on the path of capitalist development. During the last two decades there has been an enormous growth of Indian monopoly and strengthening of capitalism in India. Such being the case, to talk of a non-capitalist path of development and the establishment of a national democratic state to achieve this aim in India is unreal. Even the basic democratic tasks of uprooting imperialist monopoly capital and the smashing up of the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our agriculture cannot be completed without dislodging the bourgeois-landlord government headed by the big bourgeoisie from power.

86. Capitalist development in India, however, is not of the type which took place in western Europe and other advanced capitalist countries. Even though developing in the capitalist way Indian society still contains within itself strong elements of pre-capitalist society. Unlike in the advanced capitalist countries where capitalism grew on the ashes of pre-capitalist society, destroyed by the rising bourgeoisie, capitalism in India was superimposed on pre-capitalist society. Neither the British colonialists whose rule continued for over a century, nor the Indian bourgeoisie into whose hands power passed in 1947, delivered those smashing blows against pre-capitalist society which are necessary for the free development of capitalist society and its replacement by socialist society. The present Indian society, therefore, is a peculiar combination of monopoly capitalist domination with the caste, communal and tribal institutions. It has thus fallen to the lot of the working class and its Party to unite all the progressive forces interested in destroying the pre-capitalist society and to so consolidate the revolutionary forces within it as to facilitate the most rapid completion of the democratic revolution and preparation of the ground for transition to socialism.

87. Faced with these tasks the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to place before our people these practical tasks and

the political programme as the only correct way out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present government.

The Communist Party of India firmly adheres to its aim of building socialism and Communism. It is not deceived by the false claims of the big bourgeois leaders of the present ruling party and its government that they are intent on building socialism in India. It is elementary knowledge that real and genuine socialism can be built only when all principal means of production in society are owned by the state, where the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" prevails as a step to building Communism where the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" will come to prevail. This, it is evident, cannot be achieved under the present state and bourgeois-landlord government led by the representatives of the big bourgeoisie. The establishment of genuine socialist society is only possible under proletarian statehood.

While adhering to the aim of building a socialist society, the Communist Party of India, taking into consideration the degree of economic development, the degree of the political-ideological maturity of the working class and its organisation, places before the people as the immediate objective the establishment of people's democracy based on the coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class. This demands first and foremost the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord state and government by a state of people's democracy and a government led by the working class on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance. This alone can quickly and thoroughly complete the unfinished basic democratic tasks of the Indian revolution and pave the way to putting the country on the road of socialism. The tasks and the programme which the people's democratic government will carry out as a pre-requisite to the building of socialism are :

88. In the sphere of state structure :

(1) The sovereignty of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives

who will be elected by the people on the basis of proportional representation and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of the electorate.

(2) Universal, equal and direct suffrage for all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of 18 years in all elections to parliament, state legislatures and to local government bodies. Secret ballot, the right of any voter to be elected to any representative institution.

(3) Widest autonomy for the various states comprising the Indian Federation.

(4) Completion of the process of reorganisation of states on linguistic basis. All states shall have equal powers.

(5) There shall be no governors for the states appointed from above. Nor shall there be the so-called upper houses. At the centre there shall be two houses, the House of People and the House of States. Both shall have equal powers and equal number of members. The House of States shall have also equal representation from all the states in the Indian Union. The President shall act in accordance with decisions of both the houses and shall have no other powers.

(6) The tribal areas or the areas where population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social and cultural conditions will have regional autonomy with regional government within the state concerned and shall receive full assistance for their development, or full autonomy.

(7) In the field of local administration, a wide network of local bodies from the village upward, directly elected by the people, and invested with real powers and responsibility. Adequate finances shall be ensured to the local bodies.

(8) All administrative services shall be under the direct control of the respective states or local authorities.

(9) Introduction of democratic changes in the administration of justice. The judiciary will be completely independent of the executive. The appointment of judges will be subject to approval by parliament, legislatures or appropriate people's organs at different levels ;

—Right of all persons to sue any official before a court of law ;

—Free legal aid and advice will be provided for the needy in order to make legal redress easily available to all.

(10) The people's democratic government will infuse the members of the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism and democracy. It will ensure them good living standards and conditions of service, maximum possible opportunities for cultural life as well as the education and well-being of their children.

(11) The introduction of graded tax in industry, agriculture and trade ; and maximum relief in taxation for workers, peasants and artisans. Profits shall be controlled.

(12) All our institutions must be infused with the spirit of democracy, of respect for and reliance on the people as well as confidence in their determination to build a democratic society free from bureaucracy and injustice.

The people's democratic government will, therefore, extend democratic forms of initiative and control over every aspect of national life. A key role in this will be played by the trade unions, peasant and agricultural labour associations and other organisations of the working people. The government will take steps to make the legislative and executive machinery of the country continuously responsive to the democratic wishes of the people and will ensure that the masses and their organisations are drawn into active participation in the administration and work of the state. Bureaucratisation shall be eliminated. Wide disparities in salaries and incomes are to be abolished.

(13) Inviolability of person and domicile ; no detention without trial, unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination, freedom of movement and occupation.

(14) Equal rights for all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality, equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex.

(15) Removal of social disabilities from which women suffer, equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, enforcement of marriage and divorce laws, admission to professions and services.

(16) Abolition of social oppression of one caste by another, untouchability to be punished by law. Special facilities for the scheduled castes, tribes, and other backward communities shall be provided in the matter of services and other social and educational amenities.

(17) Separation of the state from all religious institutions, the secular character of the state will be guaranteed. Interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the political life of the country shall be prohibited ;

—Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

(18) Right of people to receive instructions in their mother-tongue in educational institutions ; the use of the national language of the particular state as the language of administration in all its public and state institutions, as well as its use the medium of education in the state up to the highest standard ; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region where necessary in addition to the language of the state. Use of Hindi as an all-India language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between the people of different states. Adhere to the principle of replacing English by the regional languages at the state level and Hindi at the centre as administrative language. Transition from English to Hindi at the centre should be simultaneous with the same from English to the regional languages in the states ; the preparation for this transition which is being made by the centre with regard to Hindi should also be made with all necessary central assistance in states in regard to regional languages. At the same time, for the transition period the duration of which should be decided with the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, English should be given the status of an associate administrative language. Equality of all national languages in parliament and central administration will be recognised. Members of parliament will have the right to speak in any national language and simultaneous translation will be provided in all national languages. All acts, government orders and resolutions will be made available in all

national languages. Urdu language and its script will be protected ;

—Free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage.

(19) Establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity services, free of cost, as well as rest homes and recreation centres for the people.

(20) The people's democratic state and government will undertake the important task of unleashing the creative talents of the people for creating and extending the new progressive people's culture which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic in character. Necessary measures to foster, encourage and develop such literature, art and culture as will—

—help each nationality including the tribal people to develop their own distinctive way and in unison with the common aspirations of the democratic masses of the country as a whole ;

—help the democratic masses in their struggle to improve their living conditions and enrich their life ;

—help the people to get rid of caste and communal hatred and prejudices and ideas of subservience or superstitions ;

—help all people to develop feelings of brotherhood with the peace-loving peoples of all countries and discourage ideas of racial and national hatred.

(21) The people's democratic government will take measures to consolidate the unity of India by fostering and promoting mutual cooperation between the constituent states and between the peoples of different states in the economic, political and cultural spheres. It will pay special attention and financial and other assistance to economically backward and weaker states, regions and areas with a view to helping them rapidly overcome their backwardness.

89. In the field of agriculture and the peasant problem :

(1) Abolish landlordism without compensation and give land gratis to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants ;

(2) Cancel debts of peasants, agricultural labourers and small artisans to moneylenders and landlords ;

(3) Ensure long-term and cheap credit for the peasants and

artisans and fair prices for agricultural produce; assist the peasants to improve methods of farming by the use of improved seeds and modern implements and technique ;

(4) Provide guaranteed irrigation facilities ;

(5) Ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers ;

(6) Encourage cooperatives of peasants and artisans on a voluntary basis for farming and for agricultural services and other purposes.

90. In the field of industry and labour :

Our industry suffers not only from an extremely low purchasing power of the peasants but also from the depredations of foreign capital. We cannot be a strong and prosperous country unless we are industrialised on a wide scale ; but industrialised to such an extent we shall never be so long as British, U.S and other foreign capital exists in India and is given further opportunities of penetration, for the profits of their invested capital are taken out of the country and we are unable to use them.

In the field of industry, therefore, the people's democratic government will :

(1) Take over all foreign capital in plantations, mines, oil refineries, and factories, shipping and trade. It will nationalise all banks and credit institutions and other monopolistic industries. Foreign trade will be nationalised.

(2) Develop the state sector with the utmost rapidity so as to quickly overcome economic dependence and expand continuously the industries of the country. This together with the setting up of new state-owned industries will make the state sector dominant and decisive.

(3) Assist the small and medium industries by providing them with credit, raw materials at reasonable prices and by helping them in regard to marketing facilities.

(4) Regulate and coordinate the various sectors of the economy in order to achieve balanced and planned economic development of the country in the interest of the people.

(5) Democratise the management of the state sector by

removing persons connected with big business from the management and by ensuring the creative participation of the workers and technicians in the management and running of industries.

(6) Improve radically the living standards and working conditions of workers by (a) fixing a living wage, (b) progressive reduction of hours of work, (c) social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every kind of disability and unemployment, (d) provision of decent housing for workers, (e) recognition of trade unions and their right of collective bargaining as well as the right to strike.

(7) Effectively implement a price policy in the interest of the common people.

91. In the sphere of foreign policy :

In order to ensure that India plays its rightful role for the preservation of world peace, for peaceful coexistence and in the struggle against colonialism, the people's democratic government will :

(1) Strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way ; further develop friendly relations and cooperation with the socialist countries and all peace-loving states in the interests of peace and freedom ; support to all colonial peoples' struggles against imperialism.

(2) Strive for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems based on the panch sheel.

(3) Do everything in its power in cooperation with all peace-loving forces to deliver mankind from the threat of a nuclear-missile war ; demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass annihilation and work for the destruction of all nuclear and atomic stockpiles ; work for agreements for nuclear-free zones.

(4) Work for preventing war, for preserving peace and making it secure ; work for the conclusion of a treaty on general and controlled disarmament ; demand the abolition of all military pacts and all foreign military bases as well as withdrawal of all foreign troops from other countries ; exercise the greatest vigilance

against the imperialist warmongers and their intrigues and manoeuvres and inspire the masses in the spirit of such vigilance.

(5) Withdraw India from the British Commonwealth, renounce all agreements and commitments with Britain and the USA which are against the interests of the nation or not in keeping with national dignity.

(6) Always make special and concerted efforts to peacefully settle the existing differences and disputes and establish friendly relations with India's neighbours—Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and China on the basis of the panch sheel.

VIII. BUILDING OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT

92. It is obvious that for the complete and thorough-going fulfilment of the basic tasks of the Indian revolution, in the present stage it is absolutely essential to replace the present bourgeois-landlord state headed by the big bourgeoisie by a state of people's democracy led by the working class.

93. It is evident that without dislodging the present big bourgeois leadership which has allied with landlordism from the leading position of state power and in its place establishing the hegemony of the working class over the state, no radical agrarian reforms in the genuine interests of the peasantry can be carried out, which alone can ensure enough food for our starving people, adequate raw material and expanding market for our industrial goods and surplus capital formation for the country's development.

94. It is equally clear that our economy cannot get rid of foreign monopoly capital and its predatory exploitation as long as the present government with its policy of compromise and collaboration with foreign imperialist capital continues to rule. To uproot and summarily expel the foreign monopoly capital from our country and place our independence on firm and secure foundations, there can be no other guarantee than that of firmly establishing a government of the people's democratic front led by the working class.

95. Above all, it becomes increasingly evident to one and all that until and unless the present government with its anti-people

policies is rejected and decisively defeated and is replaced by an alternative government with alternative democratic policies, it is neither possible for our people to escape the tortuous path of capitalist development which is historically outmoded, nor liberate our people from the clutches of growing monopoly capitalism, a phenomenon that inevitably arises out of such a path of development.

96. The stage of our revolution and the basic tasks facing it not only determine the nature of the revolution but also the role of the different classes in the struggle to achieve it. The nature of our revolution in the present stage of its development is essentially anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic. Of course, it cannot be democratic in the traditional sense of the term when the bourgeoisie was heading the democratic revolution in different countries. Ours is a democratic revolution in an entirely new epoch of world history, where the proletariat and its political party is destined to assume its leadership and not leave it to the bourgeois class to betray it in the middle. In the present era, the proletariat will have to lead the democratic revolution as a necessary step in its forward march to the achievement of socialism. Hence it is not the old type bourgeois-led democratic revolution, but a new type of people's democratic revolution organised and led under the hegemony of the working class.

97. The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution will have to take upon itself, first and foremost, the task of carrying out radical agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, so as to sweep away the remnants of feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our production forces of agriculture as well as industry. This will have to be supplemented by sweeping measures of reforming the social system through which such remnants of pre-capitalist society as the caste and other social systems keep the villages tied to age-old backwardness. The task of making such sweeping reforms in the social system, however, are inextricably bound up with the completion of the agrarian revolution which in fact is the axis of the democratic revolution. Any failure to grasp its full significance and import is to miss the very essence of the

democratic revolution. The second urgent task of our democratic revolution is the total eradication and summary expulsion of the foreign monopoly capital from our national economy and thus free the economic, political and social life of our people from all its disastrous influences. Thus these two fundamental tasks face the democratic revolution to be fulfilled. With these is also related the task of breaking the power of monopoly capital.

98. However these basic and fundamental tasks of the revolution in today's context cannot be carried out except in determined opposition to and struggle against the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives who occupy the leading position in the state. They resist and oppose the carrying out of radical and genuine agrarian reforms and have embarked upon the path of reforming feudal and semi-feudal landlordism to serve their narrow class interests, of allying with them in order to buttress their class domination. They also are utilising their state power to protect foreign monopoly capital and facilitate its further penetration unhindered. Further, with their policies of compromise and collaboration with foreign monopolists and alliance with big Indian landlordism, they are vigorously pursuing the path of capitalist development which in turn is immensely facilitating the growth of monopoly capital in our country. Hence the people's democratic revolution is not only in irreconcilable opposition to feudal landlordism and foreign monopoly capitalism but together with them it is opposed to the big bourgeoisie which is leading the state and is pursuing the policies of compromise and collaboration with foreign finance capital and alliance with native landlordism.

99. Naturally, under these circumstances, the people's democratic revolution inevitably comes into clash with the state power of the big bourgeoisie of India. Such being the case, the people's democratic front that is to be forged to achieve the revolution cannot be the old over-all general national united front, as in the days of the first stage of our national liberation struggle when the edge of the revolution was chiefly directed against the alien rule of British imperialism. The democratic agrarian stage of the revolution and the new correlation of class forces obtaining in this

stage of development demand a new content for the democratic front to be forged.

100. The people's democratic front cannot successfully be built and the revolution cannot attain victory except under the leadership of the working class of India and its political party, the Communist Party of India. Historically no other class in modern society except the working class is destined to play this role and the entire experience of our time amply demonstrates this truth.

101. The core and the basis of the people's democratic front is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It is this alliance that constitutes the most important force in defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformation and ensuring all-round social progress. Further, it should be noted that the extent to which the different sections of the national bourgeoisie participate in carrying out the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks also depends to no small degree on the strength and stability of the workers' and peasants' alliance. In short the success or otherwise of building the broad people's democratic front to lead the revolution to victory hinges upon forging the unshakable worker-peasant alliance.

102. It is common knowledge that our peasantry is not a homogeneous mass, that capitalism has made decisive inroads in it and brought about definite classification among them. The different sections of the peasantry play different roles in the revolution. The agricultural labourers and poor peasants who constitute 70 per cent of the rural households and are subjected to ruthless exploitation by landlords, by their very class position in present-day society, will be basic allies of the working class. The middle peasantry, too, are the victims of the depredations of usurious capital, of feudal and capitalist landlords in the countryside and of the capitalist market, and landlord domination in rural life so affects their social position in innumerable ways as to make them reliable allies in the democratic front.

103. The rich peasants are another influential section among the peasantry. The Congress agrarian reforms have undoubtedly benefited certain sections of them and to some extent they have

gained under the rule of the new post-independence regime. They aspire to join the ranks of capitalist landlords and by virtue of their engaging agricultural labour on hire for work in their farms, they entertain hostility to them. Nonetheless, heavy taxation, high prices for industrial goods and inflation constantly harass them so as to make their future uncertain. Subjected to the ravages of the market under the grip of the monopolist traders, both foreign and Indian, they come up often against the oppressive policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord government. By and large, they can also, therefore, be brought into the democratic front and retained as allies in the people's democratic revolution.

104. The urban as well as other middle classes with inadequate salaries and other meagre incomes suffer heavily under the capitalist-landlord rule and its pursuit of the capitalist path of development by compromising with foreign monopoly capital and allying with landlordism. The ever-rising prices of food, clothing and other necessities of life, the high house-rents they are compelled to pay, the increasing cost of education for their children and the impact of daily-mounting direct and indirect taxes imposed by the state are hitting them hard. Unemployment is another scourge that constantly plagues them. This class can and will be an ally in the democratic front and every effort should be made to win them for the revolution.

105. The Indian bourgeoisie as a class, coming as it is from an underdeveloped and newly liberated country as ours, has its conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and also with the feudal and semi-feudal agrarian order. But the bigger and monopoly section, after attainment of independence, seeks to utilise its hold over the state power to resolve these conflicts and contradictions by compromise, pressure and bargain. In that process it is developing strong links with foreign monopolists and sharing power with landlords. This section while not hesitating to utilise the aid of the socialist world to bargain with the imperialists on the one hand and build themselves up on the other is anti-people and anti-Communist in character and is firmly opposed to the people's democratic front and its revolutionary objectives.

106. The other broader sections of the national bourgeoisie which are either having no links altogether with foreign monopolists or having no durable links, which are not by themselves monopolistic and suffer at their hands in a number of ways, are objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. As the general crisis of the world capitalist system deepens, as the contradiction between foreign monopolists and them grows in all its intensity and as the big bourgeoisie using its economic power and leading position in the state attempts to solve its crisis at the expense of its weak class-brethren in the country, this stratum of the bourgeoisie will be compelled to come into opposition with the state power and can find a place in the people's democratic front. But it should be borne in mind that they are still sharing state power along with the big bourgeoisie and entertain high hopes of advancing further under the same regime. Notwithstanding its objectively progressive character, by virtue of its weak class position vis-a-vis Indian big monopolists and foreign imperialists, it is unstable and exhibits extreme vacillation between the imperialists and their Indian big bourgeois accomplices on the one hand and the people's democratic front on the other. Owing to its dual nature, its participation in the revolution depends on a number of concrete conditions, on changes in the correlation of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people and on the depth of the contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie and the remaining sections of the national bourgeois class.

107. Every effort must be made to win them to the democratic front and by a diligent and concrete study of their problems no opportunity should be lost by the working class to render them support in all their struggles against both the Indian monopolists and foreign imperialist competitors.

108. The working class and the Communist Party, while not for a moment losing sight of its basic aim of building the people's democratic front to achieve the people's democratic

revolution and the fact that this has to inevitably come into clash with the present Indian state led by the big bourgeoisie, does take cognisance of the contradictions and conflicts that do exist between the Indian bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialists. They express themselves on the issues of war and peace, on the economic and political relations with socialist countries, on the terms of aid from foreign monopolists, on the question of finding adequate markets for our exports, and on the question of foreign policy and defence of our national independence. In the background of the daily intensifying general crisis of world capitalism, the different contradictions obtaining in the national and international sphere are bound to get intensified. The Communist Party, while carefully studying this phenomenon, shall strive to utilise every such difference, fissure, conflict and contradiction with the foreign imperialists to isolate the imperialists and strengthen the people's struggle for democratic advance. Entertaining no illusions of any strategic unity or united front with the ruling Congress party, the working class will not hesitate to lend its unstinted support to the government on all issues of world peace and anti-colonialism which are in the genuine interests of the nation, on all economic and political issues of conflict with imperialism, and on all issues which involve questions of strengthening our sovereignty and independent foreign policy.

109. Reactionary and counter-revolutionary trends in the country have found concrete manifestation in the programme of the Swatantra party which is trying to unite all reactionary forces under its banner. Also, it is forging links with communal parties like the Jan Sangh. These people carry on vicious attacks against the public sector and demand still greater concessions to monopolists both Indian and foreign. They are openly advocating an almost open-door policy for penetration of foreign capital, particularly from the USA while striving to sabotage trade with the socialist countries. They seek to sabotage all agrarian reforms. After the military conflict with China on the border dispute, they have been emboldened to demand military alliance with the USA.

The Communist Party will firmly combat the reactionary ideology and programme of the Swatantra party.

110. Basing itself on all these factors, the Communist Party keeps before itself the task of uniting with all the patriotic forces of the nation, i. e., those who are interested in sweeping away all the remnants of pre-capitalist society ; in carrying out the agrarian revolution in a thorough manner and in the interests of the peasantry ; in eliminating all traces of foreign capital ; and in removing all obstacles in the path of a radical reconstruction of India's economy, social life and culture.

111. The struggle to realise the aims of the people's democratic revolution through the revolutionary unity of all patriotic and democratic forces with the worker-peasant alliance as its core is a complicated and protracted one. It is to be waged in varying conditions in varying phases. Different classes, different strata within the same class, are bound to take different positions in these distinct phases of the development of the revolutionary movement. The complexities arising out of these shifts in the positions taken by different classes and strata in the same class underline the need and importance of developing the Communist Party functioning as the vanguard of the revolutionary working class and bringing into its fold the most sincere and self-sacrificing revolutionaries. Only such a Party which constantly educates and re-educates its ranks in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism will be able to master all forms of action appropriate to the moment in accordance with the changing correlation of class forces. Such a Party alone would be able to lead the mass of the people through the various twists and turns that are bound to take place in the course of the revolutionary movement.

112. The Party will obviously have to work out various interim slogans in order to meet the requirements of a rapidly changing political situation. Even while keeping before the people the task of dislodging the present ruling classes and establishing a new democratic state and government based on the firm alliance of the working class and peasantry, the Party will utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence

governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front. It, however, would not solve the economic and political problems of the nation in any fundamental manner. The Party, therefore, will continue to educate the mass of the people on the need for replacing the present bourgeois-landlord state and government headed by the big bourgeoisie even while utilising all opportunities for forming such governments of a transitional character which give immediate relief to the people and thus strengthen the mass movement.

113. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of people's democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, the working class and its allies will try their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and to bring about these transformations through peaceful means.

However, it needs always to be borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily. They seek to defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawlessness and violence. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to be vigilant and so orientate their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twist and turn in the political life of the country.

IX. BUILDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

114. Vigorous struggles on the ideological front are essential to free the masses from the influence of bourgeois ideology, heighten their political consciousness and draw them to the positions of scientific socialism. Anti-Communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in an extreme decline of bourgeois ideology constitutes the principal ideological weapon of the ruling class. With this weapon they try to carry out the ideological sabotage of the democratic movement, isolate the Communists from the rest of

the democratic forces. Anti-Communism resorts to monstrous distortions of the Marxist doctrine and crude slanders against the socialist system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations. Anti-Communism is contrary to national interests as well as the interests of the democratic movement. The Communists expose and fight anti-Communism with the utmost energy.

Religious obscurantism, communalism and casteism as well as bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism are all exploited by the reactionary vested interests to disrupt and retard the growth of the democratic movement of our people. Hindi chauvinism has already raised its head and in resistance to it other linguistic groups are raising separatist demands. Both of them are harmful to the united working class and revolutionary movement and as such the Communist Party will fight against them.

Many bourgeois leaders including the leadership of the ruling party demagogically use socialist phraseology for deceiving the masses. While declaring for socialism, these bourgeois leaders actually try to keep the people away from the struggle for a genuine socialist path. They use socialist slogans as a cover for their attack on Marxist-Leninist theory and the Communist Party. The Communist Party explains to the masses that the measures of the Congress government are not in the least socialist, that there is not an iota of scientific socialism in the theories of bourgeois leaders.

For the unity and consolidation of the democratic forces in our country it is imperative to wage unrelenting ideological and political struggles against the disruptive anti-Communist position of the right-wing socialists and revisionists.

115. The establishment of a people's democratic government, the successful carrying out of these tasks, and the leadership of the working class in the people's democratic state will ensure that the Indian revolution will not stop at the democratic stage but will quickly pass over to the stage of effecting socialist transformation.

116. The Communist Party of India places this Programme before the people and sets forth the principal urgent tasks of

the day in order that our people have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for as of the course of a democratic national advance.

Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in a truly democratic development and in creating a prosperous life to unite in a single people's democratic front for the fulfilment of these immediate tasks and for attainment of the objective.

117. Carrying forward the fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and in all its activities and struggles the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of man by man, to their complete emancipation. The Party unites in its ranks the most advanced, the most active and most selfless sons and daughters of the working people and ceaselessly strives to develop them as staunch Marxist-Leninists and proletarian internationalists. The Party devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—to the great task of building a mighty people's democratic front for the realisation of the Programme.

118. Fighting thus for democratic advance of our country the Communist Party of India takes its place in the worldwide struggle for national independence, democracy, socialism and peace. Our Party firmly upholds the Statement of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, as also the earlier Declaration of 1957 which embody the revolutionary analysis of the present world situation. These two great Marxist-Leninist documents are an invaluable guide for all Communists, the working class and all progressive forces the world over. The Communist Party of India upholds the revolutionary principles of these two documents and defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism, guarding itself against the danger of all revisionist and dogmatist deviations. The Party, while pledg-

ing to fight the menace of modern revisionism which has presently engulfed the world Communist movement and has become the main danger, simultaneously warns against dogmatic errors. Our Party strives for strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement which alone is the reliable guarantee for transforming into a reality in each country and the world over the possibilities opened up by this new epoch.

119. The principles of Marxism-Leninism and the leadership of the Communist Parties have already led more than one-third of humanity to socialism, to freedom, to real democracy, to universal happiness. With more than 90 Communist Parties and a total membership of over 43 million, the world Communist movement marches triumphantly to its goal as the noblest and the mightiest progressive movement of mankind in all history. The complete triumph of socialism in the world is inevitable.

120. The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country, led by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, will achieve this Programme. Our Party is confident that our great country, India, too, will emerge as a victorious people's democracy and advance on the road to socialism.

APPENDIX to paras 18 and 75

TABLE (1)

TAX BURDENS AND SOARING PRICES			
	Money supply with the public (Rs. in crores)	Wholesale price index* (Base 1952-53—100)	Consumer prices index (Base 1949-100)
1950-51	2016	112	101
1960-61	2869	125	124
1965-66	4529	165	169
1967-68	5350	212	213
1968-69	5779	212	212

* Between 1947 and 1950, the wholesale price index has shot up from 197 to 401 with 1939 as base 100. Arithmetically the price level in 1947 (the year of independence) was 81, with 1952-53 as base (100).
—Reserve Bank of India Bulletins

TABLE (2)

COMBINED REVENUE OF CENRTE AND STATES (IN RS. CRORES)				
	Direct taxes	Indirect taxes	Others	Total tax revenue
1950-51	231	396	159	785
1960-61	402	948	367	1710
1965-66	577	1819	526	2922
1967-68 (R.E.)	620	2209	604	3433
1968-69 (B.E.)	640	2408	671	3719

CAPITAL RECEIPTS (IN CRORES)

	Domestic borrowings	Foreign borrowings	Small savings, Provident fund, etc.	Miscellaneous receipts	Total (net)
1950-51	3.6	3	45	80	125
1960-61	138	349	183	291	961
1965-66	247	662	258	279	1446
1967-68 (R.E.)	207	955	257	273	1692
1968-69 (B.E.)	167	861	195	228	1451

—Economic Survey 1968-69

TABLE (3)
FOODGRAINS

	Average annual gross production (Lakh tons)	Total imports of foodgrains during the period (Lakh tons)	Per capita daily availability of foodgrains
1947-50 (3 years)	500*	87	350 gms or 12.5 oz.
1950-55 (June) (5 years)	630	122	418 gms or 15 oz.
1955-60 (5 years)	725	172	440 gms or 15.5 oz.
1960-65 (5 years)	825	254	458 gms or 16 oz.
1965-68 (3 years)	806	247	408 gms or 15 oz.

Total imports of foodgrains from the time of independence till December 1967 is about 860 lakh tons costing about Rs. 3500 crores.

*Statistical coverage is not complete. The estimates are not based on crop cutting surveys, as was the case fully after 1954.
—Economic Survey 1968-69

TABLE (4)
UNEMPLOYMENT

	Number of exchanges	Number of registrations (in lakhs)	Applicants on live registers (in lakhs)	Registered unemployed matriculates & above (in lakhs)
1950	123	12.10	3.31	—
1955	136	15.84	6.91	2.16
1960	296	27.32	16.06	5.07
1966	396	38.72	26.22	9.17
1967	399	39.12	27.40	10.87

—Labour Statistics

TABLE (5)

NATIONAL INCOME (i.e. net national product) AT CONSTANT (1948-49) PRICES.

	(Rs. crores and percentages)			
	1948-9	1950-1	1960-1	1966-7
Agriculture and ancillary activities	4250	4340	5900	5730
Mining, manufacturing and small enterprises	49.1%	49.0%	46.4%	38.4%
Commerce, transport and communications	1480	1480	2110	2720
Other services (Professions, liberal arts, Govt. services, house properties)	17.1%	16.7%	16.6%	18.2%
Net factor income from abroad	1590	1660	2460	3020
	18.5%	18.8%	19.3%	20.2%
	1340	1390	2370	3650
	15.5%	15.7%	18.1%	24.4%
Net national product	8650	8850	12730	14950

NATIONAL INCOME (net national product), CONVENTIONAL SERIES.

	1948-9	1950-1	1960-1	1966-7
At current Prices :				
Net national product Rs. crores	8650	9530	14140	23120
Index No.	100.0	110.2	163.5	267.3
Per capita product Rs.	249.6	266.5	325.7	465.2
Index No.	100.0	106.8	130.5	186.4
At 1948-9 Prices				
Net national product Rs. crores	8650	885	12730	14950
Index No.	100.0	102.3	147.2	172.8
Per capita product Rs.	249.6	247.5	293.2	300.8
Index No.	100.0	99.2	117.5	120.5

ANNUAL GROWTH RATE AT 1948-9 PRICES

	national income	per capita income
During First Plan (1951-2 to 1953-6)	3.5	1.6
Second Plan (1956-7 to 1960-1)	4.0	1.8
Third Plan (1961-2 to 1965-6)	2.9	0.6

—Economic Survey 1968-69

TABLE (1)
FOREIGN BUSINESS INVESTMENTS IN INDIA
(in crores)

	June 1948	December 1961	March 1965
Plantations	52	102	121
Mining	12	12	12
Petroleum	22	152	178
Manufacturing	71	295	459
Services	108	117	166
Total	265	678	936
of which			
U. K.	180	446	529
USA *	10	172	262
Others	75	62	145

* Including international institutions

TABLE (2)
FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL DEBT POSITION OF INDIA
(in crores)

At the end of	1950-51	1960-61	1965-66	1967-68 (R. E.)
USA *	20	694	2292	4370
	—	(240)	(562)	(630)
U. K. **	12	122	263	573
West Germany	—	103	206	368
Japan	—	10	62	171
Other capitalist countries	—	14	71	160
USSR and other Socialist countries	—	58	258	388
Foreign debt	32	1001	3154	6030
Internal debt and other liabilities	2833	5543	8177	9829
Total	2865	6544	11329	15859

* Includes loans from international institutions and also investments of U. S. Government PL 480 funds shown in brackets.

** Sterling and other foreign balances of Indian Government in mid-1948 were Rs. 2009 crores.

—Handbook of Economic Information and Budget Memorandums

TABLE (3)

FOREIGN COLLABORATION AGREEMENTS

	1957-60	1960-66	Total
USA	81	369	450
UK	223	480	703
West Germany	79	290	369
Japan	51	165	216
Other capitalist countries	266	435	701
Socialist countries	14	107	121
Total	714	1846	2560

—Economic Survey

TABLE (1)
CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL

Size Class of paid-up capital	1951-52		1960-61	
	No. of companies	Paid up capital (crores)	No. of companies	Paid up capital (crores)
Below 5 lakhs	26785	202	22363	185
	91.8%	25%	86%	14.6%
5 to 50 lakhs	2170	337	3222	410
	7.4%	41.6%	12.4%	32.3%
50 to 100 lakhs	148	109	239	158
	.5%	13.3%	.9%	12.4%
Over 100 lakhs	80	162	185	517
	.3%	20.1%	.7%	40.7%
	29183	809.4	26009	1170
	100%	100%	100%	100%

—Company Law Administration Report

TABLE 2

(a)

In 1963-64

- * 10 big business houses controlled 22% of total paid-up capital, Rs. 1465 crores ; and 24% of total assets of Rs. 5522 crores of all corporate sector excepting government and banking companies.
- ** 20 big business houses controlled 30% of paid-up capital and 32% of total assets.
- *** 2 big business houses (Tatas & Birlas) own 1/8 of paid-up capital and assets of all corporate sector excluding government and banking companies.

Name of business group	Total no. of Cos. in the group	Total no. of Cos. in the group with not less than Rs. 1 crore assets	Paid up capital, assets and turnover of Cos. in the group (Rs. in lakhs)		
			Paid-up capital	Assets	Turn-over
1. Tatas	53	27	10231	41772	32498
2. Birlas	151	54	7634	29272	29024
3. Martin Burn	21	9	2228	14961	10872
4. Bangur	81	15	1968	7791	6529
5. A.C.C.	5	3	2423	7736	4413
6. Thapar	43	16	1429	7190	7061
7. Sahu-Jain	26	12	1962	6769	6106
8. Bird Heilgers	64	18	1492	6010	5829
9. J. K. Singhanian	46	14	1419	5920	5443
10. Soorajmall Nagarmall	76	18	1248	5737	4483
11. Walchand	25	8	1441	5517	5402
12. Shri Ram	16	7	959	5468	5985
13. Scindia	8	2	1240	4696	2062
14. Goenka	52	13	1284	4695	4356
15. Mafatlal	21	10	1026	4591	4311
16. Sarabhai	27	8	614	4316	5429
17. Andrew Yule	29	14	1067	4189	3430
18. Killicks	14	7	1539	4150	2445
19. I.C.I.	5	5	941	3689	3816
20. Kilachand	12	5	929	3513	2430

—Monopoly Commission Report

(b)

Report of the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee gave the details of the top 20 houses as of 1966 as follows :—

Industrial House	controlling no. of companies	assets (1966) Rs. crores
1. Tatas	84	531.9
2. Birlas	276	442.9
3. Martin Burn	24	152.9
4. Bangur	93	104.3
5. Soorajmall Nagarmull	110	96.9
6. A. C. C.	6	95.7
7. Mafatlal	34	92.7
8. Thapar	63	88.8
9. Walchand	29	81.1
10. Shri Ram	54	74.4
11. Bird Heilges	76	68.5
12. J. K. (Singhanian)	51	67.0
13. Goenka	69	64.3
14. Sahu Jain	29	68.7
15. Sarabhai	29	56.7
16. Scindia Steam Navigation	8	56.0
17. Killick	17	51.4
18. I. C. I.	6	50.0
19. Andrew Yule	43	46.7
20. Kilachand	24	37.2

TABLE (3)

LAND CONCENTRATION—1960-61

	Number of holdings 000	Percentage area '000 hectare	Land area '000 hectare	Percentage
Less than 1 hectare (about 2.5 acres)	19897	40.7	8777	7
1 to 2 hectares (2.5 to 5 acres)	10879	22.2	16003	12
2 to 5 hectares (5 to 12.5 acres)	11547	23.7	36717	28
Between 5-10 hectares (12.5 to 25 acres)	4245	8.7	29583	22.5
Over 10 hectares (over 25 acres)	2314	4.7	40378	30.5
	48882	100	131508	100

Landless agricultural labour constitute 24% of cultivators and agricultural working people. Even among those classified as cultivators, 63% having holdings of less than two hectares—hold less than 19% of the total operational land, while about 5% having holdings of over 10 hectares hold about 30% of the land.

National Sample Survey
16th Round 1960-61

TABLE (4)

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN INDIA IN
PERCENTAGES OF ALL-INDIA TOTAL.

	Population (1961 census)	Workers employed 1966	Productive capital 1966	Value added by manufac- ture 1966	Per capita electricity consum- ption 1965-6	Index of electricity consum- ption *
Maharashtra	9.0	19.0	16.5	26.0	108	180
West Bengal	8.0	21.9	18.3	19.5	115	190
Madras	7.6	9.3	8.7	7.9	89	150
Gujarat	4.7	8.3	6.0	8.5	83	140
Bihar	10.5	5.4	8.2	7.0	59	100
Uttar Pradesh	17.0	7.2	8.2	6.3	30	50
Andhra Pradesh	8.2	5.7	4.2	3.3	30	50
Assam	2.7	1.9	2.3	1.8	7	11
Kashmir	0.8	0.3	0.1	1.0	27	45
Kerala	4.0	3.8	1.9	2.4	39	65
Madhya Pradesh	7.3	3.7	8.4	3.2	36	60
Mysore	5.3	4.3	3.8	5.1	54	90
Orissa	4.0	1.8	5.4	1.8	79	130
Punjab (& Haryana)	4.6	2.1	3.5	2.1	100	160
Rajasthan	4.6	1.8	2.0	1.4	21	35
Other territories	1.7	3.5	2.5	3.6	15	25
India	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	60	100

* All-India per capita electricity consumption as 100.

—Mainly from Annual Survey of Industries
(Provisional results)

TABLE (5)
INEQUALITY OF INCOMES IN RURAL AND URBAN
INDIA DURING 1960

Income group of a household having in Rs.	Percentage of householders (urban)	Percentage of householders (rural)
Under 500	13.6	23.1
500-999	28.9	38.3
1000-2999	43.1	33.0
3000-5999	9.4	4.7
6000-9999	2.4	.7
10000 and above	1.6	.2
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE 6

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE PER MONTH IN RS. IN 1963

	Rural	Urban	Cities
Foodgrains	10.05	8.36	8.26
Milk and Milk Products	1.61	3.08	5.41
Other food items	4.01	8.21	14.70
Total Food	<u>15.67</u>	<u>19.65</u>	<u>28.32</u>
Clothing	1.82	2.08	2.58
Fuel & light	1.48	2.08	3.10
Rent Taxes and miscellaneous	3.34	9.15	18.03
Grand Total	<u>22.31</u>	<u>32.96</u>	<u>52.03</u>

—*Handbook of Economic Information*

STATEMENT OF POLICY

NOTE

The Statement of Policy which is being printed here was adopted by the Communist Party of India at the All-India Party Conference in October 1951. It accompanied a Programme for the Party which was also adopted by the same Conference. The Statement of Policy was later endorsed by the Third Party Congress at Madurai.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has reiterated this Statement of Policy.

But the Statement of Policy, based as it is on the old Programme, contains some formulations regarding the stage, strategy and class alliance of the Indian Revolution which have since been corrected by the Party in its new Programme adopted at the Seventh Congress.

The old programme describing the stage of the revolution as anti-imperialist and anti-feudal had advocated a General United Front in which the big bourgeoisie was also to be a participant. The present Party Programme correctly characterising the present stage of the Indian revolution as the second—agrarian—stage of the revolution which is directed not only against the landlords and imperialists but also against the Indian big bourgeoisie, has laid down that the big bourgeoisie has no place in the People's Democratic Front.

It is necessary to keep this in mind while studying this Statement of Policy which essentially deals with the path of the Indian revolution.

OUR OBJECTIVE

The experience of the last four years has taught the people of our country that the present Government and the present system cannot solve their main problems of life. It cannot give them land and bread, work and wages, peace and freedom. They are coming to realise the necessity of changing the present Government, which mainly serves the interests of feudal landlords and big monopoly financiers and the hidden power behind them all, the vested interests of British imperialism.

The Communist Party of India, therefore, has adopted a Programme, in which it says, that it "regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular Government by a new Government of People's Democracy".

Who should form such a Government? The Programme says that it will be created "on the basis of a coalition of all democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country".

And this Government and the forces who form it, must be "capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people of unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence". Thus, the Programme outlines the practical tasks which have to be carried out by the People's Democratic Government.

The immediate main objective being defined, the question then asked is, how is it to be achieved, with what methods, what forces?

OUR PAST POLICIES

There are a large number of people who think that this Government can be replaced by a People's Democratic Government by utilising the parliament ushered in by the new Constitution. Such feelings are encouraged and fed not only by this Government and

the vested interests but even by the right-wing socialists, who preach that the very fact of a strong opposition party on the parliamentary floor will shake the Government and make it topple down.

But hardly had the people started to believe in the efficacy of the new Constitution, which they thought was the outcome of their anti-imperialist struggles of the past, than even the fiction of the fundamental rights and guarantees is thrown out of that very Constitution and the freedom of person, the press, speech and assembly, which the masses wanted to use to shake up this anti-democratic Government, are subjected to the rule of the police baton and the bureaucrats. Even a liberal would now feel ashamed to maintain, let alone the Communist Party and other democrats and revolutionaries, that this Government and the classes that keep it in power will ever allow us to carry out a fundamental democratic transformation in the country by parliamentary methods alone. Hence, the road that will lead us to freedom and peace, land and bread, as outlined in the Programme of the Party, has to be found elsewhere.

History, enlightened for us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, places before us its vast experience, arising out of struggles which have led nearly half of humanity to socialism, freedom and real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union and in which the great Chinese and People's Democracies join hands.

Thus, our main road is already charted out for us. Even then each country has to seek its own path also. What is the path for us?

The communists in India have been working with the people for the last thirty years first as communist groups and later as a party. During these years, they built a mighty movement of the working class, fought their struggles and won their demands. They built a kisan movement and in vast areas, as for example in Telangana, led them out of landlessness to land and from forced labour to freedom. They have fought for the rights of the people, and in these struggles hundreds and thousands have been killed, hanged, imprisoned, tortured and ruined. Naturally, while leading

the working masses, many a time, at crucial points in our history, we were confronted with the question : which path to follow, what tactic would best secure the interests of the country and the people ?

We do not refer here to the path that we traversed all these years, except in recent times, so that we can be clear as to what the path would be henceforth to lead us to achieve the Programme.

After the Second Party Congress, differences and controversies arose inside the Party about the path that the Indian revolutionary movement must adopt. For a time, it was advocated that the main weapon in our struggle would be the weapon of general strike of industrial workers followed by countrywide insurrection as in Russia. Later, on the basis of a wrong understanding of the lessons of the Chinese revolution, the thesis was put forward that since ours is a semi-colonial country like China, our revolution would develop in the same way as in China, with partisan war of the peasantry, as its main weapon.

Among comrades who at different periods accepted the correctness of the one or the other of these views, there were differences on the estimate of the situation in the country, on the degree of isolation of the present Government from the people, and on many other vital issues. It was clear that these differences had to be resolved in order that the Party could lead the people to victory.

After long discussion, running for several months, the Party has now arrived at a new understanding of the correct path for attaining the freedom of the country and the happiness of the people, a path which we do not and cannot name as either Russian or Chinese. It should be, and is, one that conforms to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and that utilises the lessons given by all the struggles of history, especially the Russian and Chinese, the Russian because it was the first socialist revolution in the world carried out by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin in a capitalist and imperialist country ; and the Chinese because it was the first people's democratic revolution in a semi-colonial, dependent

country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in which even the national bourgeoisie took part. At the same time, one has to remember that every country has its own peculiarities, natural and social, which cannot fail to govern its path to liberation.

In what way then shall our path be different from the Chinese path ?

CHINA AND INDIA : SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE

OUR PERSPECTIVE

First, let us see whether we are the same as the Chinese. It is in the character of our revolution. The thing of primary importance for the life of our country, same as the Chinese, is agriculture and the peasant problem. We are essentially a colonial country, with a vast majority of our people living on agriculture. Most of our workers also are directly connected with the peasantry and interested in the problem of land.

Our real freedom today means taking the land from the feudal landlords and handing it over without payment to the peasant. This anti-feudal task, when fulfilled, alone will mean real liberation for our country because the main props of imperialist interests in our country, as they were in China, are the feudal. So, like the Chinese, we have to fight feudalism. Our revolution is anti-feudal, anti-imperialist.

That makes the struggles of the peasantry of prime importance. Drawing upon the fact that in China, the liberation war was fought mainly on the basis of the partisan struggles of the peasantry, during which the peasants took land from the feudal landlords, and in the process, created the liberation army, it was asserted that in India, too, the path will be the same, the path of partisan struggles of the peasantry would almost alone lead us to liberation.

The Central Committee finds that drawing upon the Chinese experience in this way and to come to such a conclusion would mean neglecting to look to other factors of the Chinese revolution and also neglecting to look into our own specific conditions. For example,

✓ We cannot fail to take note of the fact that when the Chinese Party began to lead the peasantry in the liberation struggle, it had already an army which it inherited from the split in the revolution of 1925.

We cannot fail to note that China had no unified and good communication system, which prevented the enemy from carrying out concentrated and swift attacks on the liberation forces. India is different in this respect from China in that it has a comparatively more unified, well-organised and far-flung system of communications.

✓ India has a far bigger working class than China had during her march to freedom.

Further, we cannot fail to note the fact that the Chinese Red Army was surrounded and threatened with annihilation again and again until it reached Manchuria. There, with the industrial base in hand, and the great friendly Soviet Union in the rear, the Chinese liberation army, free from the possibility of any attack in the rear, rebuilt itself and launched the final offensive which led it to victory. The geographical situation in India in this respect is altogether different.

This does not mean that there is nothing in common between us and China excepting the stage of our revolution and its main tasks. On the contrary, like China, India is of vast expanses. Like China, India has a vast peasant population. Our revolution, therefore, will have many features in common with the Chinese revolution. But peasant struggles along the Chinese path alone cannot lead to victory in India.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the Chinese Party stuck to the peasant partisan war alone, not out of a principle, but out of sheer necessity. In their long-drawn struggles the Party and peasant bases got more and more separated from the towns and the working class therein, which prevented the Party and the liberation army from calling into action the working class in factories, shipping and transport to help it against the enemy. Because it happened so with the Chinese, why make their necessity into a binding principle for us and fail to bring the working

class into practical leadership and action in our liberation struggle?

Such an outlook ignores the fact that we have a big working class and that it has a role to play, which can be decisive in our struggle for freedom. The grand alliance of the working class and the peasantry, acting in unison, the combination of workers' and peasants' struggles, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and utilising all lessons of history, for the conduct of the struggles, is to be the path for us.

It can thus be seen that while the previous line of reliance on the general strike in the cities neglected the role of the peasantry, subsequent one of partisan struggle minimised the role of the working class, which in practice meant depriving the peasantry of its greatest friend and leader. The working class remained leader only "in theory", only through the Party, because the Party is defined as the party of the working class.

Both the lines in practice meant ignoring the task of building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, as the basis of the united national front, ignoring the task of building the united national front, ignoring the task of putting the working class at the head of this front in the liberation struggle.

This, it has to be realised, was a wrong approach. The leadership of the working class is not realised only through the Party and its leadership of the peasant struggle but actually, in deeds, through the working class boldly championing the demands of the peasantry and coming to the assistance of the peasant struggles through its own action. The alliance must function in deed and fact, and not only in theory. The working class is the friend in action, that must help the fighting peasants and must ensure victory over the common enemy.

The working class, relying on agricultural workers and poor peasants, in firm alliance with the peasantry, together with the whole people, leads the battles in towns and rural areas to liberation, to land and bread, to work and peace.

The Central Committee wishes to convey to comrades this great

lesson of history, a lesson which is neither only the Russian path nor the Chinese path, but a path of Leninism applied to Indian conditions.

Such an understanding of our perspective gives us a new outlook on how to build our mass movement, our trade unions, kisan sabhas and also a new way to build the Party.

The understanding will also show to comrades that the main question is not whether there is to be armed struggle or not, the main question is not whether to be non-violent or not. It is the reactionary ruling classes who resort to force and violence against the people and who pose for us the question whether our creed is violence or non violence. Such a poser is a poser of Gandhian ideology, which in practice, misleads the masses and is a poser of which we must steer clear. Marxism and history have once for all decided the question for the Party and the people of every country in the world long ago. All action of the masses in defence of their interests to achieve their liberation is sacrosanct. History sanctions all that the people decide to do to clear the lumber-load of decadence and reaction in their path to progress and freedom.

This should also tell us that all our previous understandings have to be discarded as being one-sided and defective.

COMBAT INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM

But one action history does not sanction and that is individual terrorism.

Individual terrorism is directed against individuals of a class or system and is carried out by individuals or groups and squads. The individuals who act may be heroic and selfless and applauded or even invited by the people to act and the individuals against whom they act the most hated. Still such actions are not permissible in Marxism. And why? For the simple reason that therein the masses are not in action. Therein, the belief is fostered that the heroes will do the job for the people. Therein, it fosters the belief that many more such actions will mean in sum total the annihilation of the classes or the system. Ultimately it leads to passivity and inertia of the masses, stops their own action and

development towards revolution and in the end results in defeat. Hence Marxism warns against individual terrorism and bans it.

IMMEDIATE SITUATION AND TASKS

The question that now remains, and an important one, is, we have got the path and the perspective, but what now? The question of the immediate, while certainly influenced by the perspective, is not solely determined by it. It is also governed by the assessment of the present situation. How far is the Government isolated, how far are the people disillusioned, how far are they ready to struggle, are some of the questions that determines talks and slogans for them.

Some say that the Government is thoroughly discredited and isolated, the people are ready to rise in revolt and in places are clashing with the Government, which with the blatant rule of police firing, has already created conditions of civil war in the country. Hence, all our work must be guided by such an understanding of the situation. We do not think it necessary to argue the question in detail.

No doubt, the crisis of the Government is deep, but it is not yet thoroughly isolated. As the Programme of the Party puts it, "the masses have lost faith in the present Government, they are becoming deeply distrustful of it and start to consider it their enemy, who is protecting the landlords, moneylenders and other exploiters against the people". Hence, "the masses are slowly rising in struggle, no longer able to withstand this state of slow starvation and death." But it would be gross exaggeration to say that the country is already on the eve of armed insurrection or revolution, or that civil war is already raging in the country. If we were to read the situation so wrongly, it would lead us into adventurism and giving slogans to the masses out of keeping with the degree of their understanding and consciousness and their preparedness and the Government's isolation. Such slogans would isolate us from the people and hand over the masses to reformist disruptors.

Equally wrong are they who see only the disunity of the popular forces, only the offensive of reaction and advocate a policy of retreat in the name of regrouping of forces, of eschewing all militant actions on the plea that this will invite repression. Tactics based on such an understanding of the situation will lead to betrayal of the masses and surrender before the enemy.

✓
We have to lead the struggle of the people in the context of sober evaluation of the situation. While it should not lead us into adventurism, we must also not forget that the crisis is not being solved but is growing. Hence, we cannot take a leisurely attitude and behave as if no deep crisis is moving the people and furious struggles are not looming ahead. Because insurrection and civil war do not exist, some would like to move and work as if they are living in a democracy with rights and liberties and nothing need be done to protect the Party and the leadership of mass organisations from onslaughts of the law run mad. With such an outlook, we shall get smashed and will be able to build nothing.

But because the crisis is growing, and even a simple food procession like the one in Cooch-Bihar leads to firing and brings thousands on the streets, some would like to do away with the daily humdrum of running mass organisations. Taking fascism to be inevitable or already in power, they would scoff at parliamentary elections or fighting for civil liberties, for which broad sections of the people can and should be mobilised.

We have to realise that although the masses are getting fast radicalised and moving into action in many parts of the country, the growth of the mass movement has not kept pace with the growth of discontent against the present Government and its policies and methods. To ascribe this to repression alone would be wrong. This weakness of the mass movement is due, above all, to the weakness of our Party and the division in the camp of progressive forces. The Party, must strive to overcome this division and must stress the

supreme need for unity of all progressive forces, build this unity in action and itself grow into a mass party by drawing into its fold the best elements from the fighting masses.

We must fight the parliamentary elections and elections in every sphere where the broad strata of the people can be mobilised and their interests defended. We must be wherever the masses are and would like us to be.

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS UNITY AND THE PARTY

The Party has to build the unity of the working class and make it conscious of its tasks in relation to our entire people. The existing split in the working class movement which hampers the development of working class struggles must be overcome at all cost in the shortest possible time and united mass organisations of the working class built.

The class has also to be made politically conscious. Only a united and politically conscious working class can fulfil the role of the leadership of the people.

We have to rouse all sections of the peasantry including rich peasants, for the struggle for agrarian reform and in the course of this struggle, rebuild the mass peasant organisations, basing ourselves firmly on the agricultural workers and poor peasants who together constitute the majority of our agrarian population.

It must be understood that because of the vast expanse of our country, because of the uneven development of the agrarian crisis and of the working class and peasant movement, and the uneven state of organisation and consciousness of the peasant masses and the influence of the Party, the peasant movement will not develop at the same tempo everywhere and different forms of organisation and struggle will have to be adopted depending on the maturity of the crisis, the degree of unification of the peasant masses and their mood, the strength and influence of the Party and other factors.

All these tasks call for the most intense, patient and daily work among the masses, continuous agitation on our basic programme and immediate, simple demands of the people, a concrete working out of such demands for every section of the people according to

general and local conditions, practical leadership of mass struggles, a combination of various forms of struggles, and a systematic building up of a network of mass organisations.

Above all, it is necessary to build up through patient struggle a Communist Party equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, a Party mastering strategy and tactics, a Party practising self-criticism and strict discipline and which is closely linked with the masses.

The mass organisations and the Party that are built up must be able to withstand the fire of repression to which the Government continually subjects them and the people's movement.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

One of the key tasks that faces us in defence of the people is the building of the peace movement. The struggle for peace must become an integral part of our work in all mass organisations, on all platforms. We have to bring it to the active consciousness of the masses that the ruling classes, in order to preserve their power, will ever be ready to embroil us, the people, in a war, so that we may give up our war against them. We must bring to the consciousness of the people the immense danger of the outbreak of a third world war and the possibilities of averting that danger, if the people will it. We must bring into the consciousness of the people that while we support any move of any class or group including this Government for preserving peace, yet we must not forget that this Government under the influence of imperialist warmongers, landlords and profiteers follows, not a consistent and honest policy of peace but plays between America and England to gain from their rivalries and also plays between the peaceloving countries and warmongers. Such inconsistency must be overcome by the action of the masses. We must fight for a pact of peace between Pakistan, India and Ceylon, for banning of the atom bomb and reduction of armaments and military budget. We must, above all, fight for the conclusion of a pact of peace between the five great powers. The peace movement must be made real to the

masses in terms of their own problems of land and bread, work and wages and prosperity for all.

The peace movement must mobilise widest opposition to the colonial wars waged by British, French, Dutch and American imperialists in South-East Asia and prevent all direct and indirect support to these imperialists given by the present Indian Government.

The programme that the Communist Party has placed before the people is a programme which conforms to the interests of all progressive forces and classes in the country, of all sections who desire India to be free, happy and strong. We shall therefore strive to unite our entire people for the realisation of this programme and build their unity in action on all issues facing them. We shall strive to develop the struggles of all sections of our people and merge them into the common movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

While carrying out these tasks, we must learn skilfully to combine the struggles of workers, peasants and other classes and sections in each province and district, and in the country as a whole. From all these struggles, the heroic fighters that will come forth must be transformed into the makers and builders of the Party which then alone will become a real mass Party and yet a well-knit party of tested and tried revolutionaries. With the perspective and path clear, and immediate tasks outlined, we shall surely succeed in our liberation struggle against our feudal and imperialist enslavers and replace this anti-democratic Government by a Government of People's Democracy.