

VII. PROGRAMME OF NON-CAPITALIST PATH

The new national-democratic state power, which is the strategic objective of the present stage of our revolution, will implement a programme of national regeneration for rapid economic growth, raising living standards of the masses and their

active participation in production. This is the programme of the non-capitalist path. In essence, there is no difference here between those who uphold the concept of national democracy and those who adhere to the view of people's democracy as the more suitable state power in India after the success of the national-democratic revolution. Why is a non-capitalist path postulated?

First, because the present capitalist path pursued by the national bourgeoisie as a whole has conclusively demonstrated that the national regeneration of India, that the carrying out of the national-democratic programme, is impossible along it. Without the defeat and reversal of the capitalist path, India cannot advance as a nation in the direction of complete economic freedom and full democracy. Just as the national bourgeois state power has to be overthrown to achieve this end, so also has its programme of capitalist development to be reversed and defeated.

Second, to effect the transition to socialism proper material and subjective conditions have to be created. This transitional stage is the national-democratic state implementing a non-capitalist path. Just as in this state power the national bourgeoisie, shorn of its monopoly elements, will be a participant, so also the non-capitalist path will not mean the immediate liquidation of all capitalist relations. The non-monopoly national bourgeoisie, both urban and rural, will have a definite scope for development and role to play in the accomplishment of the task of the national regeneration of India. What is the concrete essence of the non-capitalist path in the specific conditions of India?

(i) Foreign monopoly capital will be completely eliminated. The economic basis of imperialism in our country will be totally shattered. No further entry of private foreign capital will be permitted.

(ii) The state sector will be rapidly strengthened and made the dominant element in the national economy. This will be done by developing key and heavy industries in the state sector. In addition, extensive nationalisation of existing units in banking, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines as well as plantations will be immediately undertaken. Further.

all such units and enterprises where control measures have proved inadequate to check corruption, profiteering and mismanagement will be taken over in the interests of the nation. State trading will be greatly extended in the sphere of commodities essential for the people's livelihood. This vast state sector will run on democratic lines, with full workers' participation and democratic control and freed from the bureaucratic and monopolist influences.

(iii) The existing concentration of economic power in a few Indian monopoly groups will be totally broken and no further tendency towards such concentration allowed to develop. The non-capitalist path, as the programme of the national-democratic state in India, has a clear and sharp anti-monopoly edge. At the same time facilities will be provided to all non-monopoly national bourgeois enterprises in the sphere of raw materials, credit, marketing and reasonable profits. This section of the national bourgeoisie will be helped to contribute fully towards rapidly increasing the national wealth of India. It will be freed from the grip and the opposition of both foreign and Indian monopolies.

(iv) All forms of landlordism will be abolished, the grip of usurers and wholesale traders (parasitic, semi-feudal, commercial capitalism) will be broken. Land will be distributed free to the tillers and the agricultural labourers. All possible help will be extended to helping individual peasant economy and attempts made to gradually draw them into cooperatives on a voluntary basis. More state farms will be set up. While protecting the interests of the agricultural labourers and preventing any tendency to concentration of land ownership, the rich peasant economy will also be helped to contribute to raising agricultural production.

(v) Through a proper wage policy, social security and welfare measures, growth of employment opportunities, ceilings on income and profits, graded tax on agricultural and industrial and other income, the livelihood of the overwhelming majority will be rapidly raised together with a sharp reduction in existing disparities.

These features in their interconnected totality give us the

essence of the non-capitalist path of transition to socialism. While capitalist relations of production and the objective economic laws of capitalism are not totally eliminated; they are sharply restricted. Non-monopoly national bourgeois industrialists as well as the rich peasants are given facilities and are permitted to make reasonable profits. At the same time, the laws of relative improvement, the centralisation and concentration of capital, as well as the inherent tendency towards absolute impoverishment of the masses, are not allowed free play. Capitalism is restricted.

Simultaneously, other objective economic laws come into the picture. These are the laws of socialist economy—the dominant position of the state sector under a national-democratic state and on a democratic basis, the gradual cooperativisation of petty commodity production, especially in the field of agriculture. The inherent tendency of the non-capitalist path, based on these new relations of production, is in the direction of socialism.

The national-democratic state and the non-capitalist path should not be viewed as monolithic, as free from sharp struggle and conflict between its constituent elements, even though there is unity on a broad programme of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly national regeneration. Through the struggle as well as the unity in the implementation of this programme, the working class increasingly comes to occupy the leading role and the socialist laws of development the dominant position, bringing India to socialism.

Doubts about the possibility of the non-capitalist path arise, partly, because its sharp break from the present capitalist path and its transitional character are sometimes not sharply enough stressed. It is caricatured as more or less the same as the capitalist path with some patch up here and there. The right deviation on the non-capitalist path blurs its revolutionary meaning and edge.

Doubts also arise because of the relatively greater degree of capitalist development in India compared to other newly-independent states. The non-capitalist path is equated with developments in Mongolia, Soviet Central Asia and some African states. The non-capitalist path is depicted as entirely skipping

the capitalist stage of development. Such skipping is, however, only one of the possible forms of the non-capitalist path. The UAR and to a lesser extent, Burma, have given us other examples of the same path. In the former, for instance, capitalism had developed to the stage of monopoly.

Specific features apart, the non-capitalist path is perfectly feasible for all countries facing the task of completing the national-democratic revolution and where mature, fully developed capitalism has not yet come into being as the basis of the entire national economy.

The relevant question here is: can the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie, both urban and rural, still play a role in the completion of the national-democratic revolution? Or has it exhausted all its progressive potential? If it can no longer play any role, the stage of the revolution is that of socialism. Neither people's democracy nor national democracy will then be appropriate. What will then be required is one or another form of proletarian statehood to carry through a socialist programme.

This would be skipping a necessary stage in the revolutionary process. This would be ignoring a necessary transitional period through over-anxiety to at once rush to socialism. This would lose the working class important allies, would split the revolutionary ranks and isolate the working class and its party. This would be a familiar enough 'left' deviation, characteristic of the ideology of Trotskyism. For all those who agree that the national-democratic revolution is yet to be completed in India, the non-capitalist path is an inevitable corollary.