

BASIC PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BURMA

1. Character of the Revolution:

Burma was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. The revolution that is to be waged in Burma in the present stage is a democratic revolution. It is not a socialist revolution. The object of the revolution is to gain complete freedom from imperialism, to uproot the feudal system, remnants of which are still prevailing in the country and to transform the backward agricultural country into a modern industrial country. The democratic revolution that occurs in Burma is beyond times (sic). It is a democratic revolution that occurs in a period when the rule of the proletariat prevails after the success of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union. That is why the peoples liberation, democratic revolution in Burma is part of the worlds proletarian revolution. The democracy that will arise after the revolution in Burma will not be the old democracy but a new democracy. It will not be the old capitalism but a new capitalism.

2. Who would seize power? The role of the various classes:

The democratic republic that will be established by the democratic revolution will not be a state under the rule of the capitalist class like America and England. It will not also be a state under the rule of the proletariat as in the Soviet Union. It will be a state ruled by the all anti-imperialist and revolutionary classes. These classes are the proletariat, peasantry, and urban petty bourgeoisie as in the democratic revolution of the Western countries. Only the hegemony of the proletariat shall prevail. In the national united front led by the proletariat the peasantry will be the main force. In this united front intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie will be included. Among the national bourgeoisie, there are compradore bourgeoisie has always opposed national interest. They must be destroyed both politically and economically. The industrial bourgeoisie has two tendencies. At times they capitulate to the imperialists and do according to the wishes of imperialism. Whenever the mass upsurge gains momentum, they capitulate to imperialism and when the class revolution approaches, they totally betray the national interest and pass over finally to the camp of counter-revolution. Hence the influence of the national bourgeoisie in the national movement must be unconditionally destroyed. In doing so, it must be made clear to differentiate attacking the national bourgeoisie politically and attacking the national bourgeoisie economically. It must be understood that it is not attacking the national economically. Because our democratic revolution is not the complete annihilation of capitalism, because it will establish a new capitalism. The correct role of the respective classes in our society must be understood and must be correctly approached. Only then, the democratic revolution will be victorious with the minimum of mistakes and mishaps. As much as the working class can lead, as much as a correct approach of the various classes is made, our democratic revolution will rapidly change into socialist revolution. To consolidate the unity of all classes participating in the democratic revolution, a centralized, political organization of masses, viz. the peoples front as strong as granite must be built. The peoples front will be the main weapon in the changeover of the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

3. The main axis of the revolution:

The main axis of the revolution is the agrarian revolution. Feudal-landlordism must be

completely destroyed. All tillers of land must own land. The peasantry must be free from payment of rent and heavy taxation. All land must be distributed equally according to the population and size of the household, and must be allowed to be worked as private property. Among these connected with land we must classify as follows: /a/ landlords /b/ rich peasants, /c/ middle peasants, /d/ poor peasants. Landlords must be destroyed politically and economically, Among the rich middle and poor peasantry rich peasants must be reduced to the middle peasantry, and the poor peasants raised to middle peasantry. The poor peasantry includes tenant farmers and agricultural workers, the middle peasantry includes peasant owners. For the success tenants and peasant owners must be formed. The backbone of the united front is the agricultural workers. Agricultural workers union must be organized separately. The agricultural workers are builders of unity inside the peasants union, builders of strength and are those who give leadership. The poor peasants such as the tenant farmers and agricultural labourers must have correct understanding with the middle peasantry and must establish firm alliance. The democratic revolution will destroy the feudal landlord system and establish the middle owner cultivator system. Collectivization which is a part of the socialist revolution will not immediately be established. But the people's democratic government will encourage to the utmost all tasks which have the way for the realization of that system.

4. The economy that will be established by the revolution:

The capitalist system which we will establish will accelerate the development of the industries. Private enterprises, cooperatives, the enterprises will be developed from all sides. The correct relationship between the workers and the capitalists will be established. The living standard of the working class must be raised. Private monopoly capitalist system must be unconditionally destroyed. The whole capitalist system is in a crisis in a worldwide scale. Political power is in the hands of the united masses led by the proletariat. All over the world revolutionary strength of the proletariat has become immeasurably greater especially after the second world war. In comparing the forces of socialism with the forces of capitalism, the balance has noticeably shifted for the forces of socialism. For these reasons, the new capitalism following the democratic revolution led by proletariat will not harm the people.

5. The political system that shall be established by the revolution:

The democracy that will be established will be a people's democracy. In all cases affecting the people there must be the widest mass participation. In the administration of the affairs of the people, the bureaucratic system must be unconditionally destroyed. Administration must be through the popularly elected people's committees. Whole-time workers serving with the people's committees must be supported by the people, that support must not be more than the income of an ordinary peasant.

6. The social system that shall be established by the revolution:

The new democracy must raise the level of living standard, educational and cultural standards, must give education to all peoples. It must be the education that will in practice solve the problems of agriculture and health. Political consciousness of the masses must be raised. Differentiation of men and women, suppression of women must be destroyed. By raising

educational and economic powers of the women, we must raise the status of women.

7. The Process of Revolution:

In our country because of the geography and economic conditions, historical and cultural traditions, the political development between various parts of the country is not uniform. For example, Lower Burma fell under imperialism fifty years ahead of Upper Burma. Hence there is a great deal of capitalist influence in Lower Burma while in Upper Burma there is a great deal of feudal traditions. Furthermore in places such as Shan states, the Kachin Hills, the Chin Hills there is not only feudal traditions but also traditions of slavery. As the political development is not uniform the democratic revolution will not occur uniformly. Places where political development is higher they will become the bases and after using these as bases the democratic revolution will be extended to the whole country, The victory of the democratic revolution will be a prolonged process and the path will be long and tortuous. It will be full of ups and downs.

As the political development is not uniform, the process of Democratic Revolution among the various peoples — the Burmese, the Shans, the Kachins and the Karens will not be uniform. But the national minorities will, by their rights of self-determination in their respective areas will get united. This is the process of the Democratic Revolution in our country.

8. Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution:

Democratic bases that the masses will establish executing (sic) their rights of self-determination will be attacked by the reactionaries who are trying to preserve landlord-imperialist system. The reactionaries will be aided militarily, materially with arms and men by foreign imperialists. Invasion and attack on the democratic bases must be fought back with arms. The army that arises in defence of the people's liberation and national independence will not be the army of the old type but an army of a new type. Our army is merged with the masses, inseparable and undistinguishable from the masses. It is an army that has the support of the masses. In our liberation struggle we must recognise that the enemy is superior in arms both quantitatively and qualitatively. That is why our military strategy must be new. Our strategy, must be based on the people. We must utilise the help of the people' to the utmost. We must have a strategy that will disintegrate and destroy the strength of the enemy troops to the side of the Democratic Revolution on the other hand, the disintegration and destruction of the enemy and the preservation of our strength shall be made. The enemy troops as we wage the Democratic Revolution will suddenly come over to our side, because the rank and file of the enemy troops desire Democratic Revolution. By this disintegration and destruction of the enemy strength we must increase our own strength. Using the liberated democratic areas as bases, we must liberate the areas which are not yet liberated.

9. The Role of the Party:

The vanguard of the Democratic Revolution is the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, the leader of the peasantry and ally of the petty-bourgeoisie. The Communist Party does not desire to monopolise the political power. Power will be shared with other classes that participate in the revolution such as intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie. The leadership given by the Communist Party does not lie on the use of force or by pure numerical majority but on giving the correct leadership. To give leadership to masses, various

organizations of masses will be formed. People's Committees administration/, Liberation Army /military/, People's Front /political/ Trade Unions, Peasants Unions, Cooperatives, Youth and Women organizations will be organized vertically or horizontally. The Communist Party members will participate in these organizations and will give correct leadership. With these organizations the wishes of the masses will be ascertained and the Communist Party with the agreement of all will carry out the wishes of the masses. In giving the leadership the Communist Party will base on Marxism. The method of the Communist Party is to practice the universal teaching of the Marxism-Leninism, in accordance with the Burmese Revolution. In other words to learn from the masses and to give leadership to the masses in the method of the Communist Party. It is not more (sic) reflection of the wishes of the masses but to analyse these wishes and to give leadership. The Communist Party with these aims, with this program, with this strategy and tactics and with this style of work will wage the Democratic Revolution, to victory and for the transition to Socialist Revolution. This programme is the programme for the whole period of the Democratic Revolution. As we march forward for the achievement of the programme, if conditions change, appropriate changes in tactics will be made. The strategic programme need not be changed. For the whole Democratic Revolution there must be only one programme. After the Democratic Revolution, for the transition to Socialism, it will be necessary to change this programme.

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