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**DRAFT PROGRAMME OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA**

FOR DISCUSSION

**DRAFT PROGRAMME OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA**

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FOR DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

A Programme is a 'must' for any serious political party. A party without a Programme of its own is like a rudderless boat on the high seas. As a matter of fact, it is inconceivable that a revolutionary organisation like the Communist Party can come into existence, function and build itself up without a Programme of its own in which its aims and objectives are clearly set forth and its understanding of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is concretely applied.

The Constitution of the Communist Party of India under Article IV of its Statutes clearly and categorically lays down that "any Indian citizen, 18 years of age or above, who accepts the Programme and Constitution," etc., "shall be eligible for Party membership". Further, it enjoins that "the Party Branch or Party Committee admitting candidate members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, the Constitution and the current policies of the Party and observe their development through providing for their functioning as members of a Party Branch or Unit." Such is the crucial and key place the Programme is allotted in the building up of the Communist Party.

It is strange, however, and sad to note that the Communist Party of India during the existence of full four decades till now has remained and functioned for the greater part of its life without a Programme of such a character. We are constrained to observe that 99 per cent of our Party Members have no knowledge of any Party Programme except the one that was drafted in 1951 and adopted finally at the Third Congress of the Party in 1953. But, hardly two years after that, the then Central Committee found that certain criticisms which the Programme contained, some assessments made in it and some of its political-theoretical formulations were unbalanced and even wrong. Since then, that is 1953-56, this

programmatic document was virtually set aside as wrong and out-of-date in many vital respects. During these eight years following the suspension of the Programme, the central leadership often assured the Party members that it would work out the Party Programme and commissions were also set up for this job. As a result of this, three drafts of the Party Programme were submitted by different groups of comrades to the Sixth Congress of the Party held at Vijayawada in 1961. But the Party Congress could not and did not discuss or finalise the Programme. The Congress authorised the National Council to take necessary immediate steps within six months to draft the Programme and circulate it to Party Members before finalising it at the Party Congress. In spite of such a specific Party Congress mandate, this decision was not carried out and in fact was shelved till now by Dange and his group who were controlling the majority in the CEC and National Council. Only under severe pressure from a section of the Central Executive Committee, did this leadership agree to prepare a draft for the next Party Congress. So far it has not seen the light of day.

In this connection, mention also should be made that as early as in 1929-30, when the then leaders of the Communist Party of India wanted to affiliate our Party to the Communist International, the leadership of the International made it clear that the Statutes and rules of the International demanded that the Programme of the Party was to be submitted to it for its approval and endorsement before the question of its affiliation could be decided. It was under this pressure that a Programme was drafted and forwarded to the Communist International. It was never discussed or adopted by a Conference or Congress. Consequently, it remained a draft only, for the archives of the Communist International and the records of the Communist Party of India. Its existence itself is not known to thousands of Party Members who joined the Party later.

It may be asked how the Party could get along all this

while and on what basis the work was carried on and how the Party was built. True, from time to time, the Party was adopting some sort of Political Resolution-cum-Programmes like the Dutt-Bradley Thesis in 1935-36, the Proletarian Path during the first period of the Second World War, Forward to Freedom during the anti-fascist war, the Political Thesis of the Second Congress of our Party, the "Tactical Line" document of the Polit Bureau in 1948, the report on "Left Deviation" by the CC in 1950, etc. All these documents contain certain Programmatic aspects and also immediate tactics for the then prevailing political situations. But none of them precisely defined the stage, strategy, nature and tasks of the revolution as Marxist-Leninists should lay them down. More or less, it has been a period of hand-to-mouth existence and none of these documents had any sustaining character for the whole stage of the Revolution. A programmatic document is nothing but translating and concretely applying the ideological political understanding of the Party based on the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. The monolithic unity of the Party that we often speak of is built precisely around such a programmatic document. The long-accumulated differences leading to the present grave disunity in the Party is certainly due largely to the lack of such a Programme and the failure to educate and unify the Party around it.

Our present endeavour to prepare this draft is precisely to meet this long-felt need. The present draft is the outcome of preliminary discussions among two to three hundred comrades in several states. Some fifty of us representing different parts of India, gaining from the valuable contributions made available to us, have tried to incorporate this collective understanding in the draft. Among the fifty were thirtyone members of the National Council and some more members of the National Council who could not participate have informed us of their agreement with the draft. Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad who did not participate in the discussions for the preparation of the present draft, had submitted a draft of his own to the CEC in January last. He has suggested that this

document also be made available to Party units for discussion. We are getting it printed separately. Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad's critique of the present draft and our critique of his draft will also be made available to all Party units whenever they are ready.

We are aware that the Programme can be more concise than it is and also some formulations can be made more precise and sharp than they are in the present draft. Our hope is that this can be accomplished when the document is finalised after inner-Party discussions. We hope you would make your contribution to the discussions to finalise this Programme and make it an invaluable weapon in the hands of our comrades to build a powerful Marxist-Leninist Party and a mighty revolutionary movement worthy of our great country and our great people.

M. BASAVAPUNNIAH

New Delhi,
April 21, 1964.

DRAFT PROGRAMME

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 bellicose powers of German, Italian and Japanese fascists 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. International 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.

2. In the face of the mounting tide of the struggles which threatened to develop into a general national revolt, British imperialism realised that it would be no longer possible to continue its direct rule. The bourgeois leadership of the national liberation movement, on the other, 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 new class, namely the Indian bourgeoisie, came to power. With this the first stage of the Indian revolution, the stage of the general National United Front, chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule, had come to an end.

4. The British imperialists hoped that, despite the transfer of political power, they would be able (to perpetuate their hold over our economy, continue their exploitation of our wealth and labour and) ^{to} make our independence formal.

5. However, the course of historical development since then has been utterly disappointing to the imperialists. The historic victory of the great Chinese revolution, the formation and consolidation of the powerful socialist camp embracing one-third of humanity, with its constant and uninterrupted growth in economic and military might, the emergence of strong working class movements in the capitalist countries, the rising tide of national liberation struggles in Asia and Africa and the further weakening of the imperialist camp under the impact of ever-deepening contradictions, had radically changed the world balance of forces and created extremely favourable conditions for the people of India to increasingly assert India's sovereignty and to consolidate its independence.

6. The completion of the first stage of the Indian revolution, viz. the political emancipation from British yoke, was viewed by the masses not as the journey's end. It was meant to open a new, glorious era in the history of our beloved land. They have naturally looked forward to carrying forward the process of political independence and to the remaking of the nation on the foundations of social justice and happiness, of all-round rapid progress. They have longed for solutions to the problems of want and poverty, and of economic dependence and backwardness.

7. Happily our people face the tasks of national rebirth in an epoch vastly changed in favour of those who have newly won their freedom like ourselves or are still fighting for their national liberation. One-third of humanity has broken away from capitalism and is now under the world socialist system. 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. On the ruins of colonialism, new independent nations are arising. These newly liberated nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have emerged on to the stage of history, and our own country, India, occupies an important place among them.

8. 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.

9. No longer is it possible for imperialism to hold back the march of history; no longer is it possible for the imperialists to subjugate nations at will, or browbeat and bully them into submission; no longer is it possible for the imperialists to use their erstwhile monopoly of capital goods and technical know-how to totally block the way of national regeneration of the underdeveloped countries. If only the peoples of these countries 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 their people.

^{People expected to be}
10. Political independence and the new national state that came into existence was expected to wipe out all ugly legacies of the colonial past, of shattering all fetters on the

productive forces and releasing them, thus enabling our country to emerge as a prosperous industrial power, increasingly satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people.

11. This 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, provide 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.

7.1.1.¹⁰ 12. But these basic tasks of our revolution remain far from completed. The leaders of the Congress Party who have been in control of the state have failed to fulfil these urgent national tasks. The balance-sheet after nearly two decades of unbroken, monopoly rule of the Congress Party would leave no doubt on this score.

13. 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 big national bourgeoisie that remained in the leadership of the liberation movement. Afraid of the possible outcome that might follow such a thorough-going completion of the basic tasks of the democratic revolution, the Congress

leaders, the political representatives of the Indian bourgeoisie, compromised with imperialism and agreed not only that British finance capital would be allowed to continue its plunder, (but facilitated the further penetration and growth of U.S. and other imperialist capital into our economy.) Huge concessions were offered to feudal princes and their alliance sought to buttress bourgeois class regime. (The agrarian legislative measures of the Congress Government only modified feudal and semi-feudal landlordism. They hit the landlords least and benefited only a small upper stratum of the peasantry. The vast majority of the peasants received no benefits from them.) 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.

14. The historical experience of 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/ it compromises 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.

III

15. During the years of the freedom struggle, the dual character of the national bourgeoisie manifested itself in the policy it pursued of mobilising the people for the struggle against imperialism while actually balancing between imperialism and revolution. This policy has been carried to a new level since the achievement of independence, with the control over

the State by the bourgeoisie as its main weapon. Despite the growth of conflict between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the people, including the bourgeoisie, on the other, the bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its position not by decisively attacking imperialism and feudalism to eliminate them, but by attacking the people and compromising with and conciliating imperialism and feudalism.

16. 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 national bourgeoisie mostly the bigger sections, amassed enormous fortunes and considerably enhanced their economic positions.

17. 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.

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

19. 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 pleadings 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.

20. The emergence and strengthening of the world socialist system presented to the newly liberated countries certain new opportunities for rapidly overcoming economic backwardness. But our bourgeoisie refuses to completely break with the past and do away with all the legacies of the colonial rule. While utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industrial projects, it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with the imperialist monopolists.

IV

21. The Government has resorted to economic planning in its efforts to build capitalism in India and three five-year plans by now have been designed and executed with the same objective. It must be made clear at the outset that this planning has nothing to do with socialist planning despite the loud talk of socialism indulged in by the leaders of the Congress Party. Only an insignificant part of our economy is under the state sector and vast fields of industrial, commercial activities and ~~(the entire sphere of agriculture are left)~~ under private individual enterprises. 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 for any appreciable length. The five-year plans under the Congress Government instead of mobilising the total material and manpower 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. It is precisely because of all this that our capitalist planners are not ashamed of openly asking the people to patiently wait until 1975 to reach the level of per-capita income which Ceylon had attained by the year 1960. 7.2.20 p.v. m.m.2.

22. 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 available resources of the country in the interests of capitalist industrialisation. 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. This has enabled the bourgeoisie to overcome the obstacles put by the imperialists and secure, in some cases, favourable deals from them. In addition, there has been considerable expansion in transport, communications, and power in the state sector.

23. 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 undertakings 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.

24. 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 goes uninterrupted. 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.

25. 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.

26. 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 Development 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 big bourgeoisie. They also adorn the boards of directors of credit institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation and many other state sector undertakings.

27. These and similar other government policies have led to increasing concentration of wealth.

[—Ten top business groups, who produced 50 per cent of the total industrial product in 1948 increased their share to 60 per cent in 1960.

—Ten top banks had Rs. 280 crores i.e. 50 per cent of total deposits in all banks in 1948. They increased their deposits to Rs. 900 crores or 70 per cent of total deposits by 1960.

—A study of 4174 directorships revealed that 44 persons held 2,000 directorships, of which the top ten business houses control 620. The remaining 2174 directorships were held by 520 persons.

—Out of the total capital assets of about Rs. 3,000 crores in the private sector, the two houses of Tatas and Birlas control Rs. 600 crores i.e. one-fifth.

—A thousand companies with a paid-up capital of about Rs. 1,000 crores in 1950 had increased their paid-up capital to Rs. 2,000 crores and profits before taxes increased from Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 200 crores per year.]

Thus the enormous growth of concentration of capital on the one hand and the interlocking of industrial and bank capital on the other, has been rapidly developing under Congress rule and its five-year plans.

28. As a result of all these policies and by virtue of the state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, 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 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 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.

29. 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 private 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, chemicals, oil refinery and others are being freely granted to the private capitalists. No wonder such policies are leading to enormous concentration of wealth since independence. A recent survey by the Planning Commission revealed that 10 per cent of the population get more than two-thirds of the national income, whereas another 10 per cent at the bottom rung of our society received less than 2.5 per cent of the national income. Strange indeed is the slogan of building a socialist state, which is often raised by the Congress rulers.

30. 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 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. *

* [As a result, foreign private investments have increased from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to Rs. 830 crores in 1962, i.e., have more than trebled. While British capital investments doubled from Rs. 206 crores to Rs. 446 crores in this period, U.S. investments have shot up from Rs. 11 crores in 1948 to Rs. 191 crores, i.e. increased elevenfold.] The rapid rate of growth of American investments in certain key sectors brings to the forefront the growing danger of American penetration in our economic and consequently political life. The increasing penetration of this foreign private capital and its collaboration with Indian big business are openly encouraged and backed by the state. [Such collaboration agreements in the private sector sanctioned by Government which were only 71 before 1958 had increased to over 1,442 by 1962.] Today matters have come to

1713 by 1962

such a pass that it is next to impossible to get an industrial licence unless prior proof of foreign collaboration can be given.]

31. [It is interesting to note in this connection how] the growth of Indian monopolies is accompanied by huge influx of British, U.S. and other foreign imperialist capital. It is evident that nearly two decades of independence, three five-year plans and the building of key industries in the state sector with the disinterested aid of the socialist states in every possible manner, have not been utilised by the Congress Government to drastically restrict and altogether eliminate the impact of foreign imperialist capital from exploiting our national resources. [According to reliable estimates, if the total private capital investments in India in the year 1950-51, stood at Rs. 900 crores foreign capital amounted to Rs. 300 crores in the same year. By the end of the year 1962, it is again found that, if the total private capital investments in India have gone up from Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 2500 crores, the foreign private capital of British, USA and others has grown into Rs. 830 crores. Thus, the foreign capital component which stood at 33.3 per cent of the total private capital investment in India in the year 1950-51 at the beginning of the first five-year plan, continues at the same level of 33.2 per cent in the year 1962.]

32. This menacing growth of foreign private capital has a series of evil consequences on our economic, political and social life. It distorts the whole growth of our economy. The hundreds of collaboration agreements which are crazily reached by Indian big business with foreign capital, accompanied by all sorts of overt and covert strings imposed on these agreements, spell serious danger for our country's future.

33. The full import of the depredations of foreign capital and its role in our national life cannot be grasped, if we leave out of the picture how it is entrenching in the state and its state sector in a very big way. Enormous amounts of foreign capital from Britain, USA, West Germany

and other western capitalist powers in the name of aid are coming into our country. Everybody knows what the real purport of the imperialist 'aid' is to an underdeveloped country like ours.

[The total aid which the Indian Government utilised upto the end of 1962 from imperialists was Rs. 2220 crores (including Rs. 320 crores of free grants) while the total promised aid by them is Rs. 3435 crores. It should be noted in this connection, that in the same period, the Government of India had utilised only Rs. 125 crores, out of the total promised aid of Rs. 455 crores, by the Socialist countries.] Apart from numerous other repercussions on our social, political life, these huge amounts of foreign monopoly capitalist aid will necessitate our country paying more than Rs. 100 crores annually for servicing debts for a long period to come.

34. Thus the capitalist industrialisation that the big bourgeois leadership of the state has launched upon with its five-year plans and the building up of the state sector is paving the way for the growth of Indian big business and together with it to perpetuation of the plunder by the foreign monopolies, through its 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 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.

35. The richest of the imperialists of the world, the U.S.A. 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 in 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. All this has posed a serious threat to our social, economic and political life.

36. As long as this foreign capital remains in its present entrenched position and as long as our gates are kept open for free and unfettered export of this monopoly capital into India, our country can neither overcome her economic dependence nor can its all-round progress be ensured. Nor can her political life be made safe from pressure, interference and blackmail from the imperialists. [Direct and indirect pressure frequently exercised by foreign imperialists and their reactionary allies in India, on India's independent foreign policy of non-alignment and the agonising process through which it is passing

through all these years, is evident for one and all who study it.] 49-52, 53, 54, 55

V. AGRARIAN REFORM

37. 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. ^{Seven years} ~~Seventeen years~~ 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 ^{develop} transform feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and to ^{develop} create a stratum of rich peasants, ^{who can be depended upon} to produce necessary surplus of agricultural products to meet the requirements of capitalist development and who can constitute the main political base of the ruling class in the countryside.

38. The abolition of princely feudal states was carried out with the assurance of paying the ex-princes and their families huge privy-purses 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 rights 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.

39. 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 legislation 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 million of tenants from the land and throwing them into the ranks of pauperised peasants and agricultural labourers.

40. Coming to the much talked of legislation 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.

41. Consolidation of land-holdings 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.

42. Let alone acquiring landlords' land for distribution to the tillers of the soil, the Congress Governments 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 peasants doggedly stick on to the cultivation of these 'waste-lands' otherwise called *banzars*, 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 alternative land and have swelled the ranks of landless labourers.

43. 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 swollen 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 a 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.

44. The Community Development Scheme and Panchyat Raj the Government has initiated, 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 Community Development and NES 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.

45. With the rapid expansion of money economy in the rural areas, forward trading and speculative holding of food-grains 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.

46. All this has led to a considerable increase of usurious capital. According to the Rural Credit Survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India in 1956, total rural indebtedness which stood at Rs. 900 crores has been increasing. 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 peasants to obtain credit for agricultural operations at normal rates of interest. Co-operative 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 credit.

47. The bankruptcy of these agrarian policies is revealed in the failure to solve the chronic agrarian 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 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 1,800 crores of rupees during the years of Congress rule.

48. Today, nearly after two decades of independence and Congress rule with all its multitude of agrarian reform

laws, the land concentration remains intact and 5 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 break-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 prerequisites 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 moneylenders 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.

VI. CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

49. 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.

50. Not only total production but even the productivity of the worker has increased. Yet his share in the increasing wealth has fallen, while that of his employers has risen. The rise in prices depresses the wages of the worker. When he fights and succeeds in getting a wage-rise, it proves to be unstable due to rising prices of essential goods.

51. During these last few years, the working class has succeeded in forcing the employers and Government to introduce some order and standard in the anarchy of wages prevailing in the capitalist system, by means of wage boards, commissions, tribunals, tripartite conventions and collective bargaining. Sickness insurance, provident fund schemes, holidays with pay have been secured in the organised industries. A well-defined national minimum wage has been accepted as a necessity. But it is yet to be fulfilled.

52. Yet for securing the implementation of these gains, the worker has to pay a high price in sacrifices and struggles. The right of recognition to trade unions and collective bargaining can still be denied by the employers at their will. While the worker is forced to accept his obligation to production, the employer can deny his with impunity. While employment has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment is growing faster, thus depressing the living standards of the families of the working people. The real wages of the workers do not seem to have gone up much beyond their 1939 level. The perpetual slums and the slogans about their clearance are a standing commentary on the housing conditions of the workers, while there is no dearth in the number of the palaces of the bourgeoisie. Trade union rights which are the essence of democracy have no sanctity attached to them and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In Government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. Even the elementary right of collective bargaining is not secured to the working class. Government denies to the workers the right to choose the unions in which they have confidence. Instead, under certain acts and otherwise, Government-sponsored unrepresentative unions which enjoy the backing of employers, are imposed on the workers and thus collective bargaining is made a farce. The position is no better in the undertakings in the public sector.

53. 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 of the state 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.

54. 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 employment 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.

55. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operations of the foreign and Indian monopolies and financiers. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, 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.

VII. BALANCE-SHEET OF PLANNING

56. Thus, under the five-year plans, instead of re-organising our agriculture through radical agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry and fully mobilising the resources from the foreign and Indian mono-

lists 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 today is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on western assistance and particularly U. S. assistance.

57. 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.

58. 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.

59. 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 industrial raw materials, 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. This so-called 'aid' is one of the main instruments which U.S.A. uses in its frenzied drive to neo-colonialism.

60. Despite all this massive aid from both the west and the socialist countries, despite the overfulfilment of the targets of taxation, the plan is in crisis; per capita income has remained stationary during these three years of the third plan, and no one expects the fulfilment of the targets of the plan.

61. Moreover, under these plans which have failed to harness the patriotic enthusiasm of the masses but solely relies 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.

62. Experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, 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.

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY

63. 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 of compromise and conciliation 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. Faced with a world sharply divided between the war camp of imperialism on the one hand and the camp of socialism, the Government of India embarked upon a policy of (neutrality or non-alignment) (to safeguard national independence and) as suited to the development of the bourgeoisie itself. At the same time, it seeks to utilise for advancing its own interests, the contradictions between British and U.S. imperialisms as well as the conflicts and contradictions between the imperialist war camp and the camp of socialism. [It is within this broad framework of neutrality and non-alignment that there have been different phases, depending upon economic, political, internal and international factors and developments.]

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

65. 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 pressurise India, began a new phase in the Government of India's policy of non-alignment. This was the phase when the Government came out (sharply) against military blocs, (against imperialist aggression) in support of colonial peoples' struggles, 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 agreement on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in the signing of the Sino-Indian 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.]

66. 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 Cairo preparatory meeting and at the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned powers in 1961 which put India in opposition to most of the Afro-Asian countries, and its approving recognition of imperialist-inspired Malaysia were all evidences of this new phase.

[67. 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 the 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.]

68. The growth of monopolies and big business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies, which is

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

69. 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 air forces, 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, 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.]

70. 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.

71. Although the Government's foreign policy continues to be within the broad framework of opposition to world war and non-alignment, its increasing reliance on western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans and its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U. S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and leads to India's isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests.

IX. STATE STRUCTURE AND DEMOCRACY UNDER CONGRESS RULE

72. The present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, led by the big bourgeoisie. This class character essentially determines the role and functions of the state in the life of the country.

73. 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, yet under the influence of the shortsighted 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.

74. 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 instruction. 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.

75. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a Parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise and confers certain fundamental rights on the people. But these fail to protect the people or change the situation in their favour, as parliamentary power itself is used by the bourgeoisie in its own favour and in favour of other exploiting classes and not in the interests of the people.

76. 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.

77. 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 unevenness of economic development under capitalism.

78. 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 autonomy to advance their regions where their numbers and geographical layout permit such a possibility. But the bourgeoisie for whom these 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 disrupt them by some concessions to their top leaders.

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79. 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.

80. 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 Panchayat Raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the ruling classes seeking to consolidate their power in the countryside. Real functional democracy of the people can have no place in such a bourgeois democracy run by the exploiters and their bureaucrats.

81. 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.

82. The bourgeoisie and its landlord allies are a 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.

83. 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 servicemen are denied the

right to contact even their parliamentary representatives for any reason whatever.

84. 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 curtain.

85. The constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, but the people can exercise them only to a 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 become particularly savage against the workers, the peasants and other democratic masses when they act in defence of their political and economic rights and demands.

86. 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.

87. However, universal adult franchise and the 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 an advance for the people. It affords certain opportunities to them to defend their vital interests, intervene in the affairs of the state to a certain extent, to carry disillusionment to the masses and mobilise them to carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

88. 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, a dangerous illusion to imagine that our country is free from all such threats. Communists defend parliamentary and democratic institutions. They strive to preserve and develop them further and to make democracy full and real for all.

X. PROGRAMME OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

89. 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 stands 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.

90. 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 under-developed countries, on achieving independence, for the establishment 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.

91. 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 native^{ly} bourgeoisie which headed the national liberation movement and the new independent state after 1947 has been continuously 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 this bourgeois-landlord Government headed by the big bourgeoisie from power.

92. Faced with these tasks the Communist Party of

India feels it its duty to place before our people these practical tasks and this 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, and 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 the 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 Peoples' 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 the ^{people} ~~working people~~ 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

all anti-imperialist & anti-feudal & anti-bourgeois classes

Democratic Government will carry out as a prerequisite to the building of socialism are :

93. In the sphere of state structure

(i) 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.

(ii) 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.

(iii) Widest autonomy for the various states comprising the Indian federation.

(iv) There shall be no Governors for the states. Nor shall there be the so-called upper houses// At the Centre, the House of States and the House of People will have equal powers. The President shall act in accordance with the decisions of the Houses and shall have no other power.

(v) 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 governments within the state concerned and shall receive full assistance for their development, or full autonomy as other States.

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

(vii) 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.

(viii) 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 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.

(ix) Inviolability of person and domicile; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination, freedom of movement and occupation.

(x) Abolition of capital punishment as well as detention without trial.

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

(xii) 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.

(xiii) Abolition of social oppression of one caste by another.

All religious and caste differences shall be removed
production against this 39 will be made

As the institution of
shall be controlled
by the people
the state
and the people

disparities in state income & will be abolished

Schedule 1
a further amendment
to be by

Linguistic and
94. Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

XV
(1) Right of people to receive instruction 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 as 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. Use of Hindi as an all-India language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between Governments of different states. 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 important acts, Government orders and resolutions will be made available in all national languages. Urdu language and its script will be protected.

XVI
(2) 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.

XVII (3) The right of all persons to sue any official before a court of law ;

—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 ;

—Free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage :

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

XVIII (4) 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 the approval by Parliament, legislatures or appropriate people's organs at different levels.

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

XIX (5) The introduction of graded tax in industry, agriculture and trade ; and maximum relief in taxation for workers, peasants and artisans. Profits shall be controlled and a ceiling on income will be imposed.

XX (6) 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.

(7) 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.

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

The agriculture and peasant problems are of primary importance to the life of our country.

96. 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.

97. We cannot develop our national industries and industrialise our country in a big way because the peasantry constituting 80 per cent of the population is unable to buy even a minimum quantity of manufactured goods.

98. 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'.

99. 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.

100. In order to get rid of all these evils and to create human conditions for the peasants, it is necessary to--

- i) Abolish landlordism and give land gratis to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants;
- ii) Ensure long-term and cheap credit for the peasants and artisans and fair prices for agricultural produce ;
- iii) Cancel debts of peasants, agricultural labourers and small artisans to money-lenders and landlords ;
- iv) Ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers ;
- v) Encourage cooperatives of peasants and artisans on a voluntary basis for farming and for agricultural services and other purposes ;
- vi) Assist the peasants to improve methods of farming by the use of improved seeds and modern implements and technique.

*Agricultural
Labourers
to be helped*

101. 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 exist in India and are 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.

102. In the sphere of foreign policy.

In order to ensure that India plays its rightful role for th

preservation of world peace, for peaceful coexistence and against colonialism, the People's Democratic Government will:

→ —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 stock-piles ; work for agreements for nuclear-free zones ;

—Work for preventing war, for preserving peace and making it secure ;

—Strive for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems based on the *Panch Sheel* ; for the conclusion of a treaty on general and controlled disarmament ;

—Strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way and 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 people's struggles against imperialism ;

—Demand the abolition of all military pacts and all foreign military bases as well as withdrawal of all foreign troops of 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 ;

—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.

—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.

XI. BUILDING OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT

103. 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.

104. 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.

105. 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 compromising with and conciliating 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.

106. 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 in

its place an alternative Government with alternative democratic policies is set up, 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 immediately arises out of such a path of development.

107. 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 and democratic. Of course it cannot be democratic in the traditional sense of the term when the bourgeoisie was heading the democratic revolutions 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 head 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.

108. 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 interests of the peasantry, so as to sweep away the remnants of feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our productive forces of agriculture as well as industry. The agrarian revolution, 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.

109. 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 the 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 conciliation with foreign monopolists and alliance with big native 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 conciliation with foreign finance capital and alliance with native landlordism.

110. 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 nation 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.

111. 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 times amply demonstrates this truth.

112. The core and the basis of the Peoples' Democratic Front is the firm alliance of the working class and 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.

113. 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 percent 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 deprivations of usurious capital, of feudal and capitalist landlords in the countryside and of the capitalist market, and landlord domination in rural life so affect their social position in innumerable ways as to make them reliable allies in the democratic front.

114. 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 kept as allies in the People's Democratic Revolution.

115. 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.

116. 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.

117. 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 viz-a-viz native big monopolists and foreign imperialists, it is unstable and exhibits extreme vacillation between the imperialists and their native big bourgeois accomplices on the one hand and the People's Democratic Front on the other. Coming 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.

118. 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 native monopolists and foreign imperialist competitors.

119. 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 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 getting or not getting aid from foreign monopolists with or without strings, on the question of finding adequate markets for our exports, etc., and above all on the defence of our sovereignty and independent foreign policy. Every such difference, fissure, conflict and contradiction with foreign imperialists should be utilised 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.

120. 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, 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.

121. 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.

122. 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.

122. 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.

123. 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.

124. 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.

125. 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 positions of the right-wing socialists.

126. 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.

127. 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 well as of the course of a democratic national advance.

128. 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.

129. 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 completest 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.

130. Fighting thus for the 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 pledging 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.

131. 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.

132. 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.