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DOCUMENTS OF
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
IN INDIA

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IN INDIA

VOL. X-B
1964—Part II



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Members of the Editorial Board

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Buddhadev Bhattacharya

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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	—The Communist International
ECCI	—The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	—Communist Party of India
LM	—The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	—Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	—Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	—Communist Party of China
INPRECOR	—International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	—Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	—Central Committee
PB	—Political Bureau
INC	—Indian National Congress
AITUC	—All India Trade Union Congress
AIWPP	—All India Workers' and Peasants' Party
INTUC	—Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	—All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	—Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	—World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	—All India Students' Federation
CSP	—Congress Socialist Party
CPI(M)	—Communist Party of India (Marxist)

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. X B) includes documents of the Second Part of 1964, i.e., Documents of the 7th Congress held in Calcutta from October 31 to November 7, 1964. Four hundred and twenty-two delegates representing 1,04,421 Party Members from all over India participated in the 7th Congress held in Calcutta and they represented 60% of the total membership existing on the rolls of the Communist Party of India at the time of 6th Party Congress held in Vijayawada in 1961. In view of this fact the 7th Congress held in Calcutta represented majority of the Communist Party of India and, therefore, it is to be accepted that this Congress was the continuation of the Communist Party of India and it represented the main trend of the Communist Movement in India.

After thorough discussion in the 7th Congress the 'Programme of the Communist Party of India' was re-adopted with certain modifications. The main document of the 7th Congress was "Fight against Revisionism"; it was actually a political and organizational report. The main resolution of the Congress was: "On the Task of the Party in the Present Situation" and in reality it was the political resolution of the 7th Congress. The Constitution of the Communist Party of India and the 'Statement of Policy' of the Communist Party of India were re-adopted in the 7th Congress with some modifications.

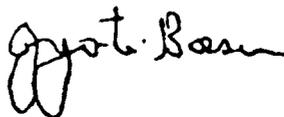
"Two Programmes—Marxist and Revisionist" by B. T. Ranadive and the "Programme Explained" by E. M. S. Namboodiripad are most valuable documents of this Volume. We have also given in this Volume the draft programme of the Dange group of the Communist Party of India to enable the readers to make a comparative study of the two programmes.

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To be fair to the views of other side we have also included in this Volume “Comments on the two Draft Programmes” by Bhupesh Gupta.

We have given the views of both sides in this Volume to enable the readers to make their own assessment as to the justification of convening the 7th Congress in Calcutta in 1964 and opposing the programme formulated by the Dange group of the Communist Party of India.

The division within the Communist Movement in India is now a historic fact. The Communist Movement was an inseparable part of the political movement in India. Even now the Communist Movement is a vital part of the political movement in India. In this respect the division within the Communist Movement in India is a very important development. The students of Political Science and serious political workers who want to understand the past developments of the Communist Movement in India will be greatly benefited by the documents included in this Volume.



(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

October 18, 1997

Foreword

The decade-long fight against revisionism had culminated into total break with it in the Seventh Party Congress of the Party held in Calcutta in 1964. Documents relating to this split and the formation of Communist Party of India (Marxist) have been incorporated in this Volume. Of great importance in the initial phase was the statement of the thirty two members of the National Council who walked out on April 11, 1964. This statement contributed to the emergence of a stronger Communist Party of India which has been built and steeled by great sacrifices. Explaining the reasons for final break with the revisionists headed by Dange who rejected all rational proposals for discussions on unity, the statement noted, "Having reviewing the situation for two days, we have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle against this factional approach of the followers of Dange is an integral part of our struggle against their anti-Party factional method of preparing for and convening Party Congress as well as against the reformist political line." It was not that there were no differences among ourselves on certain ideological issues but we were united on the draft programme which had been provisionally accepted. It was decided to have further exchange of views on the ideological and political questions associating the entire Party membership in these discussions. The response from the Party members across the country was encouraging. We met in convention at Tenali to give a call for convening the Seventh Congress and to finalise the draft programme of the Party over which the debates continued for the preceding ten years.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Calcutta in December 1964 marked the culmination of our

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struggle against revisionism within the United Party. It marked a programmatic and organisational as well as ideological break with revisionism, accompanied by complete demarcation on tactics. The Seventh Congress of the Party was truly a turning point in the history of the Communist Movement in the country. It adopted a new Party Programme and a Resolution on Tasks in which strategy and tactics of Indian revolution were enunciated and elaborated. The Programme repudiated all the revisionist formulations in relation to the Indian situation and correctly described the character of the State as a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie. It rejected the position of the CPSU that the Indian Government represents the national bourgeoisie which has to be supported. The Party Congress at the same time did not also accept the stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party. It did not accept that the government of India led by Jawaharlal Nehru was a puppet representing the comprador bourgeoisie. It also did not accept that it relied upon US imperialism behind the facade of the policy of non-alignment.

Our Party's struggle for a Marxist-Leninist line was conducted in extremely difficult circumstances. In the wake of the India-China conflict in 1962 our Party leaders. Then in the United Party, were arrested and kept in detention for a long period. It became a God-sent for the champions of this line of class-collaboration who, under the new circumstances, got a majority in the National Council. They used this opportunity to launch a political and organisational offensive against those who resisted that reformist line of Congress-Communist unity.

The Seventh Congress adopted, on the whole, the tactical line of 1951 and effected some changes in the Constitution which was necessary for a revolutionary Party.

In the resolution on the tasks of the Party adopted in the Seventh Congress gave a concrete direction for developing the movement in that situation. The resolution directed to rapidly overcome the weaknesses prevailing in the trade union movement, kisan movement and in the Party organisations, and that political consciousness be inculcated in every way. In order to build a genuine revolutionary party the Resolution made a caution:

“These tasks cannot be fulfilled without building the Party on the secure foundation of Marxism-Leninism as the initiator, builder and leader of mass movements and struggles. Our activity should be oriented towards taking up the problem of the basic classes which alone can forge the link that can revitalise the whole Party.

“The struggle against the revisionism must be systematically carried on inside the Party. At the same time, the Party must vigilantly guard against manifestations of sectarianism. For this purpose the Central Committee must prepare a detailed document showing the manifestations of these inside the Party, their political and ideological roots, the weaknesses in the struggle against revisionism, and educate the entire Party on it.

“The Party must organise and encourage study of classics as well as undertake systematically a study of the concrete problems of our country and movement and learn to apply Marxist theory to these problems.”

Engel’s assertion in this respect may be recalled. In the Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany* he pointed out that class struggle was conducted in a three-fold way—theoretical, political and the practical-economic. He stressed the importance of the concentric attack wherein lay the strength and invincibility of the movement.

The Seventh Congress stands the most important and decisive Party Congress since the formation of the Party in the final count. Still, we are to learn more how to apply Marxism and Leninism perfectly in the concretely new and newer situation. The resolve of the Seventh Congress as contained in this Volume underlines the importance of this awareness.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)
General Secretary

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

October 18, 1997

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Address of Welcome to Delegates of Seventh Congress of Communist Party of India*

—West Bengal State Committee

Held in Calcutta October 31—November 7, 1964

Delegates to the Seventh Congress of the
Communist Party of India

Dear Comrades,

We deem it an honour and a privilege to extend our warmest welcome to you—delegates from different States of India to the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India. As worthy leaders and organizers of the Communist Party, the highest organisation of the working class and the fighting people, you have remained undeterred by all the slanders, conspiracies and attacks of imperialism, native reactionary forces and the ruling clique. In quite a difficult and intriguing situation you have held high the world-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism and have untiringly organized the people and their struggles. It is as the beloved leaders of a militant people that you have come to this great city, Calcutta, the city with a tradition of heroic and glorious struggles of the working class and militant people. Calcutta, “the city of processions” and a nightmare to the ruling class—Calcutta, the city blessed with the affection of the fighting people of other States of India, feels it a privilege to welcome you. Calcutta—the city of Rabindranath, the great humanist and world-poet, of Nazrul, the poet who championed the cause of the

*422 Delegates representing 1,04,421 Party members from all over the country participated in the seventh Congress held in Calcutta and they represented 60% of the total membership existing on the rolls at the time of the Sixth Party Congress held in Vijayawada in 1961. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was thus formed in the Seventh Party Congress.

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oppressed, and of young Sukanta, the stormy petrel of Indian revolution—is glad to receive you as fighters for the noblest cause, the liberation of man. West Bengal and Calcutta, hallowed by the sacred memories of countless martyrs who, even when facing the gallows or the bullets in struggle for freedom and independence against imperialism and the reactionary ruling clique, sang of the triumph of life, are honoured at your presence. Today, the life of our people is crushed under the weight of a crisis imposed upon them by the ruling class, and our people are waging a difficult struggle against it. On the eve of fiercer class struggles the militant people of West Bengal and Calcutta feel assured to have you in their midst as fellow-fighters and comrades in the same struggle. On behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party of India, all members of the Party in West Bengal and the militant workers, peasants and people of this State, we greet you with all the warmth of our heart. Warmest welcome to you, comrades!

Comrades! our Party has been passing through a fiery ordeal for the last two years. This has been a period of extraordinary significance in the history of India's democratic revolution and in the life of the people and the Party. At this time the people and the Party were confronted with simultaneous attack from the ruling class and ideological, political and organisational attack from the revisionist clique within the Party. Never before did the Party face such simultaneous and virulent attacks.

Our people and Party had to wage struggles against this two-pronged attack. A majority of Party members have faced it with courage and determination, held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism refusing to surrender to national chauvinism and terror, and have thus preserved the Party and organised the people's movements in a new way. Today, after a firebath, the Party is indeed reborn. Comrades! you have assembled at this historic Seventh Congress of the Party as the leaders and organisers of the struggle for the remaking of the Party. We offer you our warmest greetings.

Comrades! you have come to our State and its chief city, Calcutta. So we cannot resist the temptation of taking this

opportunity to speak a few words on our problems and our people's tradition of struggle. While coming here, you have surely seen the green paddy-fields soothing to the eye and the sky-kissing chimneys of many factories. You have seen quiet villages and bustling towns humming with activity. But behind them lies hidden the deep anguish of the common man. The life of the people here is disrupted by the ruthless exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital, the food crisis and spiralling prices which are the concentrated expression of this exploitation. This is but one side of the picture : beside it there is the spirited protest of the people—their brave struggle which knows no surrender to the forces of oppression and exploitation. Ever-increasing exploitation and the people's struggle against it growing ever stronger and more sweeping—this is the history of Bengal since the days of the British.

It was here in Bengal that the British established their first base for the conquest of the country. It was here that "the merchant's scales turned overnight into a royal sceptre". Since then the country has been bled white through exploitation by imperialism and the feudal system set up under the Permanent Settlement. During the Second World War, our people were plagued with a new curse—the curse of hoarding and profiteering—which, in 1943, sent to death three and a half million men. When a huge wave of anti-imperialist mass struggle swept through the land at the end of the Second World War, the big bourgeoisie leadership of the Indian National Congress betrayed the struggle instead of leading it on and assumed power through compromise with British imperialism. The country attained independence but the people of Bengal had to pay a heavy price for the compromise effected by the capitalist class. Bengal was partitioned. The land overflowed with blood, the darkblood of fratricidal strife, not the sacred blood that is shed in a liberation war. Hundreds of thousands of men and women were uprooted from their native soil. The economic and social life of partitioned West Bengal—a base for the operation of British Capital, the happy hunting grounds of the native big bourgeoisie, the domain of unbridled exploitation by landlords,

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jotedars and hoarders—was ridden with a more acute crisis. Here, in this State, the number of the unemployed is very large and the number of the educated unemployed is the largest; the landless peasants, share-croppers and poor peasants who constitute seventy-five per cent of the peasantry live in extreme penury and wretchedness. Every year they are the main victims of the food crisis. Here, industries are monopolised by British and native monopoly capital; agriculture, dominated by the jotedars, is in a state of disintegration; and the market is in the grip of hoarders and profiteers. So, here, the need was all the greater to put a quick end to the imperialist and feudal exploitation. But in the course of the Congress rule during the last seventeen years of independence, nothing towards that end has been achieved. Though the zamindari system set up under the Permanent Settlement was formally abolished, the agrarian system has remained basically the same. As a consequence of the concentration of land in a few hands, the exploitation by the jotedars continues unabated; the condition of the landless agriculturists, share-croppers and poor peasants has become even more dismal. Because of opportunities to exploit them without hindrance and to earn super-profits through hoarding, jotedars have not at all taken to large-scale farming in this State as in some other States. Here, as a result, the crisis in agriculture is profound, the unemployment problem appalling, exploitation by hoarders acute and the food crisis chronic. Things have come to such a pass that there is no hope of escape by stereotyped methods. Today, history has faced us with the duty of completing speedily the democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. The struggles of workers, peasants, students and labouring masses and their tradition of struggle are creating concrete conditions for undertaking this historic task.

The people of Bengal, and of West Bengal since independence, have not submitted to oppression and exploitation without protest. They have raised again and again the banner of revolt against injustice; they have been waging a ceaseless struggle for freedom and democracy.

In the middle of the 19th Century the peasantry rose in revolt

against the inhuman exploitation and oppression by British indigo planters. This struggle is known in history as the Indigo Revolt. In these days the question of providing leadership by the working class or the bourgeoisie did not arise. But this revolt of the peasantry shook the foundations of British rule in this country. Then, in the second half of the 19th Century, the peasantry carried on isolated struggles against landlords and usurers. These struggles also contributed to the enactment of the Bengal Tenancy Act by the British Government. From the beginning of the 20th Century the youth of this part of the country plunged into the revolutionary terrorist movement against British rule. With their lives in the palm of their hands, they fought, endured persecution, and sang of the triumph of life while facing the gallows. Thousands and thousands of young people spent their best years in the darkness of the prison and slowly their lives ebbed away. Mass movements were still a far cry but their idealism, death-defying courage and self-immolation electrified the country. This special revolutionary trend found its most organised expression in the famous Chittagong Armoury Raid of 1930. The people have rebelled against the partition of Bengal effected by British imperialism in 1905 and forced it to annul it in 1911. The common people of this land participated in thousands in the Congress-led struggle for independence at its every stage. When, with the clarion call of the November Revolution, the message of Communism and liberation of mankind reached this land, the people's movements began to take a different course. A Communist group was formed in Calcutta. Calcutta was one of the places which witnessed the beginnings of the Communist Party of India. Comrade Muzaffar Ahamad, centering whom the Party first grew, though seventy-six now, is still providing us with inspiration by working actively among us. There was a new tide in the organisation and movement of the working class in Calcutta and the industrial belt; the working class made its first appearance as an independent force on the stage of Indian politics. In 1930-32 appeared the peasant movement and organisation, independent of the bourgeois leadership. The workers and peasants

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independently fought many glorious battles before the Second World War. And the Communist Party grew stronger in the course of these battles. The revolutionary terrorist movement, the struggle for independence, and the struggles of the workers, peasants and students contributed their best fighting elements to enrich and strengthen the Communist Party. All the traditions of revolutionary and mass struggle in Bengal rallied under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The movement and struggle of workers, peasants, middle-class employees and students assumed larger and larger proportions.

When, at the end of the second World War, a mighty wave of mass struggle swept through the whole of India, the people of Bengal too, threw themselves into it. In 1946-47, the famous *Tebhaga* struggle of six million share-croppers shook up the imperialist-feudal regime. Though the struggle was fought to realise the demand for a bigger share of the produce for the share-cropper, its significance was much deeper. This struggle, waged in defiance of the lathis and bullets of the police, soon culminated in a revolt of the peasantry and strengthened the fight for liberation. In 1945-46, Calcutta was in a state of insurrection. Calcutta had a terrifying look on the Azad Hind Day after the Police had stopped a procession of students and fired upon it. Workers, employees, students and ordinary people were all out in the street. Then on the Rashid Ali Day, Calcutta rose in defiance on a bigger scale embracing more sections of the people, and registered a thundering protest. For a few days, Calcutta and the entire industrial belt were transformed into something like a battlefield. On the historic 29th of July, 1946, the whole of Bengal participated in a General Strike and Hartal to lend her support to the Post and Telegraph workers, then on strike. The workers and employees of Calcutta constituted the main force of the struggle. Calcutta grew to be the centre of the mass struggles in Bengal; its workers and employees became the vanguard of the militant people of Bengal. That is why, Calcutta is the beloved of the struggling masses and a terror to imperialism and native reaction. Calcutta still occupies this glorious position.

Then came the imperialist conspiracy, its compromise with

the bourgeois leadership, the onslaught of communal riots, the partition of the country and, through these, national independence.

In the new period, under altered conditions, the people imbibing a new consciousness, again, began to take part in struggles. The sectional and class struggles of the workers, peasants, employees and students began to gather strength. During 1948-50 we made certain mistakes but the people participated in the mass struggles and gave us protection. Like the mother who forgives her son's faults and protects him from danger, the workers, peasants and the common people of Bengal, not only preserved the Party, a comrade in their struggles and a sharer of their joys and sorrows, but also broadened its base. That is why, with their support, our Party became the main Opposition after the General Elections of 1952 and grew increasingly strong.

West Bengal and Calcutta, in particular, have played an important role in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles. In 1953, on the Day of Solidarity with the Liberation Struggle of Vietnam, the students of Calcutta went on strike, came out into the street and shed their own blood to register their protest against the Indian Government's policy of appeasement of French imperialism. Again, the people of all classes in West Bengal defied the Police lathi and waged successful and glorious struggles against one pice increase of fare by the British Tramways Company in 1953 and the plot in 1956 to wipe out, in the name of the merger of Bengal and Bihar, the existence of West Bengal as a separate State. Calcutta was the centre of these two struggles too. In 1954, the state-wide struggle of secondary teachers contributed a new army to the mass struggles of West Bengal. Today, the secondary and primary teachers constitute an important part of the mass movement.

Every year the people have fought against the food crisis which became most acute in 1959. That year the police made a sudden attack on a peaceful procession of more than one hundred thousand men and women from Calcutta and rural areas, fired upon it and murdered a number of persons. But the workers,

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employees and students of Calcutta rose in defiance instead of submitting to this savage oppression. In this struggle eighty persons became martyrs, about two hundred men were wounded and twenty thousand people suffered imprisonment.

Our people were not cowed even by such oppression. In 1960, West Bengal and Calcutta took part with greatest determination in the India-wide strike of Central Government employees. In support of their demands, the workers, employees, students and the common people here observed on the 14th July a General Strike and Hartal. Only two days after, they again went on a General Strike demanding security for the minorities in Assam and protesting against the communal machinations in West Bengal.

During the last few years the peasantry of West Bengal, enduring much oppression and persecution, has conducted quite a remarkable movement to realize the demand for agrarian reforms and for bringing out excess lands. At least three to four hundred thousand acres of excess land have been procured as a result of this pressure.

The people of this State have acquired much experience from these glorious struggles. In 1962, the national chauvinist propaganda of the ruling class and the repression let loose under the Emergency confused and frightened our people, too, but their militant tradition of the past helped them to overcome this situation quickly. In 1963, they made a success of the General Strike held to voice the demand for food; on the 28th September they organised a rally of one hundred thousand men on the Maidan to demand political prisoners' release and food; they showed a new path of struggle for food—the path of consumer resistance. This year when communal riots were vitiating the atmosphere, the heroic strike of the seven thousand workers of the Jay Engineering Works for long five months in the face of brutal repression bore testimony to the new strength of the working class and the democratic movement. The workers, employees, peasants and common people came forward to help them with more than a hundred thousand rupees. The sympathetic strike of all Engineering workers on the 16th June, the General

Strike and Hartal of the 20th July in support of the demands of the Jay Engineering workers and the demand for food in spite of the Government policy of severe repression, the General Strike and Hartal of the 25th September in protest against the food crisis and high prices, the strike of the students of entire West Bengal on the 1st September to pay tribute to the memory of the martyrs of the food movement of 1959, etc. reflect the militant mood of our people.

West Bengal and Calcutta, rich with experience and tradition of these various struggles, and their fighting people extend to you their warmest welcome.

Comrades! the people have not only gained experience in the course of these struggles but have also strengthened their beloved Communist Party. We, too, have made mistakes; we, too, have been under the influence of revisionism. But the militant tradition of the working class and people here has saved the Party from falling into the grip of the revisionist clique. That is why, the attack of the ruling class and the revisionist clique against us was very fierce. Calcutta, "the city of processions", and her people were not their only nightmare, the West Bengal Party also was an eye-sore to them. That is why, the ruling class has launched sharp attacks against us, has spread and is still spreading filthy slanders, and has imprisoned without trial or on flimsy pretexts many leaders and workers of the Party. In keeping with all this, the revisionist Dange clique entered into a deep conspiracy against the Party here and started despicable attacks. You know to what depth of vileness they descended in order to smash the West Bengal Party. Our Party and ordinary comrades fought with determination from the very beginning in an organised manner against this two-pronged attack. Refusing to yield to the slander and terror they held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and disowned the revisionist Dange-Sen-Lahiri clique; they rather isolated them, still further. When, after the arrest of the leaders, S. A. Dange himself came to secure allegiance of the Party members of West Bengal, they forced him to return in complete disgrace. They not only saved the Party, they also built up a wide movement for an end to the Emergency and for the release of

political prisoners. It was this movement which compelled the Government to set the prisoners free. Today, our Party is more closely united under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Eighty per cent of the comrades who were Party members at the time of the Sixth Congress are now actively with us. Many others have already acquired necessary qualifications to become Party members, but we have not yet been able to admit them formally to the Party on account of our weaknesses.

Comrade Delegates! the Party members and sympathisers of West Bengal and Calcutta have earned the right to be your fellow-fighters through the struggle against revisionism. By convening the great Seventh Congress of the Party in Calcutta, you have accorded recognition to this struggle and shown respect to the militant tradition of Calcutta. For this, we are grateful to you. The West Bengal and Calcutta Party which forced S. A. Dange, the big leader of the revisionist clique, to return in disgrace, now offers you a warm and respectful welcome.

Comrades! we are aware that you have come to the Party Congress with a heavy responsibility. It is our duty to make proper arrangements for your stay and for your deliberations. These arrangements, we are afraid, suffer from many defects. Here prevails an acute food crisis and a crisis of high prices. Besides, we ourselves have many limitations and weaknesses. So, we have been unable to make suitable arrangements and we feel you will have to put up with much inconvenience during your work for the Party Congress. We beg you to forgive us for many unintentional shortcomings.

Before we conclude, we again offer you, Comrades, a most hearty welcome.

**LONG LIVE THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA!**

**West Bengal State Committee
Communist Party of India**

Programme of the Communist Party of India

**Adopted by the Seventh Congress held in Calcutta,
October 31 – November 7, 1964**

I. India Attains National Independence

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

2. In face of the mounting tide of the struggle which threatened to develop into a general national revolt, British imperialism realised that it would be no longer possible to continue its rule. The Congress leadership, on the other, was apprehensive that if the struggle against the imperialists developed into a general

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revolt, the hegemony over the mass anti-imperialist movement would slip away from its hands. Under these circumstances, a settlement was reached between the British imperialists on the one hand and the leaders of the National Congress and the Muslim League on the other.

3. As a result, the country was partitioned into India and Pakistan and political power was transferred in India to the leaders of the Congress party on August 15, 1947. Thus ended the political rule of the British in India and a state headed by the Indian big bourgeoisie was established. With this, the first stage of the Indian revolution, the stage of the general national united front, chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule came to an end.

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

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

6. No longer is it possible for imperialism to hold back the march of history or block the way of national regeneration of the underdeveloped countries. It is the world socialist system, and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. The world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. If only the peoples of these countries that have won their independence take their destinies in their own hands, they can, with the disinterested assistance of the mighty

socialist system with its ever-increasing capacity, rapidly overcome their economic dependence and backwardness, defend and strengthen their national independence and trail a bright future for the people.

7. Our people hoped that the new national state would wipe out all the ugly legacies of the colonial past, would shatter all the fetters on our productive forces and unleash the creative energies of the people. They fondly hoped that India would rapidly overcome her economic dependence and backwardness, abolish want and poverty, and emerge as a prosperous industrial power, increasingly satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people. Their hopes were belied.

8. 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, provided food for our people, abundance of raw materials and ever-expanding market for our industries and would have turned our agriculture into a major source of capital formation for our industries. Similarly, the confiscation and nationalisation of British capital would have placed in the hands of the newly born national state a vast sector of industry and foreign trade, whose profits would turn from a drain on the country as in the past, into an ever-expanding source of investment in industry.

9. Although the working class, peasantry, middle classes and the progressive intelligentsia constituted the main fighting force against imperialist rule and bore the brunt of its fury, it was, however, the bourgeoisie that remained in the leadership of the liberation movement. After independence, the national state, headed by the big bourgeoisie, has failed to fulfil these urgent tasks of the Indian revolution. Afraid of the possible outcome

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that might follow such a thorough-going completion of the basic tasks of the democratic revolution, the big bourgeoisie compromised with imperialism and agreed that British finance capital would be allowed to continue its plunder, besides its acceptance to become a member of the British Commonwealth. In the background of mass upheaval in the native states which threatened to completely overthrow princely autocracy and feudalism, huge concessions were offered to feudal princes and their alliance sought to buttress bourgeois class regime. Landlords, the erstwhile supporters of British rulers, were welcomed into the Congress party. The Congress rulers kept intact the British-trained bureaucracy to suppress the masses. Thus the democratic revolution was neither allowed to gather momentum nor were its basic tasks fulfilled.

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

II. Bankrupt path of capitalism leads to growth of monopolies and danger of neo-colonialism

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

12. After independence, the ruling bourgeoisie proceeded to

develop the country's economy on the lines of capitalism, to further strengthen its class position in society. It should be noted here that the capitalist path of development the Indian bourgeoisie has chosen is in the period when the world capitalist system is fast disintegrating and has entered the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. But possessing neither the technical base of a heavy industry, nor a colonial empire whose loot gave the imperialists vast capital accumulation, the bourgeoisie employed the state power it had won for appropriating the fruits of labour of the common people for its own capital requirements and for developing the economy along the lines of capitalism. The economic policies of the Congress Government since independence have been consistently directed to this end.

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

14. But in the years after independence, the British and American imperialists, far from satisfying the needs of the Indian bourgeoisie, began to put all manner of pressure in order to draw the new Indian state into their war plans, began to set afoot plans which would undermine even the political freedom that had been won. Despite repeated 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. With the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries, it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with the imperialist monopolists.

15. Thus the dual character of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself during the years of the freedom struggle in the

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

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

17. However, economic planning in an underdeveloped country like India, backed by the state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, certainly gives capitalist economic development a

definite tempo and direction by facilitating more expedient utilisation of the resources available under the limitations of the policies of the Government. The most outstanding feature of these plans is to be seen in the industrial expansion, particularly in the setting up of certain heavy and machine-building industries in the state sector. This noteworthy gain would not have been possible, but for the disinterested aid from the socialist countries—mainly from the Soviet Union. In addition, there has been considerable expansion in transport, communications and power in the state sector.

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

19. The Banks, whose deposits swell as a result of deficit financing, insurance companies—even the nationalised Life Insurance Corporation—and special credit institutions created by Government like the Industrial Finance Corporation, National Industrial 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 the big bourgeoisie. They also adorn the boards of directors of credit institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation and many other state sector undertakings. As a result, enormous growth of concentration of capital on the one hand and the interlocking of industrial and Bank capital on the other have been rapidly developing under Congress rule and its five-year plans.

20. In the conditions prevailing in India, such heavy machine-

building and other vital industries as have been built in the state sector, would not have otherwise come to fruition, for private capital was not in a position to find the required resources for these huge industrial projects. The building of these 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.

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

22. As a result of all these policies pursued by the Government and by virtue of the fact that the big bourgeoisie heads the state, the influence of big business in our state sector has steadily grown, leading to increasing utilisation of it for further bolstering up big capitalists. The bulk of credit facilities from the financial institution has gone to build them up still further. All major contracts under the plan and otherwise emanating from Government go to big business. It is big business again that

controls the distribution of the products of several state undertakings. Apart from the growing links between state capitalism and the monopolies, Government now invites capitalists including foreign monopolists to participate in the share capital of state-owned undertakings. This further distorts the growth of the public sector. Moreover, the state-owned concerns are placed in the charge of bureaucrats who are anti-democratic and hostile to labour. State capitalism loses its progressive character and becomes a weapon in their hands if the influence of big business and the control of the bureaucrats grow in the public sector. Both these harmful tendencies are already there in the affairs of our state-owned industries.

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

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

penetration into our economic and consequently political life.

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

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

27. Far from this dependence getting reduced, it is actually increasing year by year. About a third of the total investments in the third plan will have to be found from foreign aid—mostly from the west. Apart from the foodgrains aid, India increasingly

looks to the U.S. and other western countries for aid even for maintenance imports.

28. Simultaneously with our increasing needs of foreign aid, concessions after concessions are being given to foreign capital. Hundreds of collaboration agreements between Indian and foreign capitalists are being sanctioned.

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

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

In these circumstances, the penetration of American capital in India and our growing reliance on American 'aid' are creating a dangerous situation for our country also. They are utilising it to wrest more concessions for exploiting our country, for establishing collaboration with Indian big business, for putting

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

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

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

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

III. Balance-sheet of Bourgeois Agrarian Policies

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

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

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

37. Coming to the much talked of 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.

38. 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.

39. 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 banjars, heavy penalties are levied and collected from them year after year. In certain states, peasants evicted from project sites and sites of industrial enterprises have not been provided with alternate land and have swelled the ranks of landless labourers.

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

promise and waiting is nothing but a piece of decoration for the statute book. The scale of wages and other conditions of work prescribed in these legislations are such that they are either much below the wage rates prevailing in the concerned areas and where higher rates have been fixed, they have not been enforced. The vast bulk of these labourers neither possess 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Foreign Policy

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

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

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

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

49. Later, with the debacle of imperialist arms in Korea and Vietnam, with the growth in the economic and military might of the socialist world and the breaking of western—chiefly U.S.—monopoly of nuclear weapons, with the new unprecedented upsurge in the liberation struggle in Asia and Africa, all of which further altered the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, peace and national independence, with disillusionment in its hopes of getting massive aid for industrial development from the imperialists, with the growing possibilities of receiving from socialist countries disinterested aid for building industries of key importance, with the growth of the peace movement and mass radicalisation inside the country as revealed in the first general elections, and with the conclusion of the U.S.-Pakistan agreement to enter into the SEATO military bloc with a view to pressurising India, began a new phase in the Government of India's policy of non-alignment. This was the phase when the Government came out against military blocs, against imperialist aggression, in support of colonial peoples' 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 agreements on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in the signing of the Sino-Indian treaty on Tibet embodying the five principles of peaceful co-existence, 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 co-existence. India's own relations with the socialist countries became closer and more cordial and her international prestige rose, particularly in the countries of Asia and Africa.

50. Beginning from about the year 1958, however, the foreign policy of the Government of India has been passing through a new phase. Its role in the Congo, its refusal to recognise the

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

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

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

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

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

55. Although the government's foreign policy continues to be within the broad framework of non-alignment and opposition to world war, its increasing reliance on western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans of capitalist development, its growing economic collaboration with foreign finance capitalists, its

continued membership of the British Commonwealth and as a result of all this, its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U.S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and lead to India's isolation from the powerful currents of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism and as such is harmful to our interests. It is thus evident that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies.

V. State Structure and Democracy Under Congress Rule

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

57. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of republican India on the basis of linguistic states, full autonomy to these states and regional or local autonomy to the tribal regions. Although it abolished the feudal states and merged them in the Indian Union under popular pressure and in the background of people's struggles, yet, under the influence of the 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.

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

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

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

61. In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct languages, culture and traditions. These people are undergoing transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness, which finds no opportunity for expression in their present condition of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union. They demand regional or full autonomy to advance their regions where their numbers and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility. But the bourgeoisie for whom 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 disrupts them by some concessions to their top leaders.

62. The big bourgeois leadership loudly proclaims that ours is a secular democracy and is opposed to religious and obscurantist principles being imported into it. But the truth is, far from

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

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

63. In conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights to the minorities provided in the constitution are also not

implemented. The bourgeois-landlord state thus fosters centrifugal and disruptive forces and fails to build the unity of the country on secure foundations.

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

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

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

67. When this power and its class interests begin to come into open conflict with the interests of the exploited masses, the Government tends to rely more and more on the armed forces and the police to preserve its order. Hence the bourgeoisie keeps the hundreds and thousands of the rank and file of these forces away from the people, away from all political consciousness and all democratic rights. Even when they are allowed the right to vote as citizens in election, 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 whatsoever.

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

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

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

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

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

VI. Conditions of People

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

74. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially, as most of the increasing wealth is concentrating in the hands of the exploiting

classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle-classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen resent the policies of the Government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

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

76. The workers through determined and bitter struggles in the last few years have forced the employers and the Government to establish some machinery like wage boards, minimum wages committees, tribunals, etc., for wage settlement. Though some standardisation has taken place in certain organised industries, wage anarchy which is characteristic of the capitalist system still continues and though certain norms for minimum wages have been laid down, they still remain unfulfilled, the Government itself refusing to give its employees wages based on these norms. The right of recognition of trade unions and collective bargaining are still denied or made a mockery of by the employer at his will. Any number of legislations have been enacted but they are brazenly violated by the employers and the industrial relations machinery set up by the Government is mainly directed against the strikes and struggles of the workers. A section of the workers have won their right to social security but its implementation by the bureaucracy has been more a cause of irritation than of help to them, while the so-called housing schemes of the employers and the Government have not liberated the workers and their families from the appalling slums to which they are condemned.

The conditions of employees in the state sector undertakings are particularly bad with the Government itself showing scant respect for its own laws and established practices. Not only is the wage level lower in these undertakings, even trade union rights are virtually non-existent. Police verification of employees in Government factories and establishments is among the worst features in the state sector used to intimidate workers and suppress the trade union movement.

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

78. The communal partition of the country into Indian Union and Pakistan had brought in its wake the huge problem of refugees whose numbers rose to several millions. Further the continued tension and conflict between the two newly created states is periodically resulting in reinforcing their numbers. This problem is far from satisfactorily settled. The Government has gone back on many of its promises and no adequate provision is made for their rehabilitation. Their condition is extremely miserable. This problem is still acutely affecting the life of the people in several parts of India and particularly the state of West Bengal. The schemes of rehabilitation and their practical implementation by the Government belie all the hopes entertained on this score.

79. The capitalist path of development that our ruling classes have embarked upon without effecting radical agrarian reforms and the elimination of foreign capital from our economy, is

hitting hard the life of millions of artisans such as handloom weavers and other handicraftsmen. They are either being summarily thrown into the ranks of the army of paupers and unemployed or squeezed dry under the impact of extremely low incomes, high prices of food and raw materials and varied burdensome taxes. The meagre subsidies provided in the states' and central budgets fail to bring any real relief to the vast masses of tormented artisans and their families. The anti-people policies of the Government offer no solution to this problem and discontent is rapidly growing amongst the artisans of our land.

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

81. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the 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.

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

and the bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie on the other are steadily getting intensified.

VII. Programme of People's Democracy

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

84. In the historical conditions we are in, with the existence and rapid growth of the powerful world socialist system and with the fast disintegration of the world capitalist order, new bid 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.

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

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

87. Faced with these tasks the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to place before our people these practical tasks and the political programme as the only correct way out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present Government.

The Communist Party of India firmly adheres to its aim of building socialism and Communism. It is not deceived by the false claims of the big bourgeois leaders of the present ruling party and its Government that they are intent on building

socialism in India. It is elementary knowledge that real and genuine socialism can be built only when all principal means of production in society are owned by the state, where the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" prevails as a step to building Communism where the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" will come to prevail. This, it is evident, cannot be achieved under the present state and bourgeois-landlord Government led by the representatives of the big bourgeoisie. The establishment of genuine socialist society is only possible under proletarian statehood.

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

88. In the sphere of state structure

(1) The sovereignty of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives who will be elected by the people on the basis of proportional representation and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of the electorate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

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

—Free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) Ensure long-term and cheap credit for the peasants and artisans and fair prices for agricultural produce; assist the peasants to improve methods of farming by the use of improved seeds and modern implements and technique;

(4) Provide guaranteed irrigation facilities;

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

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

90. In the field of industry and labour:

Our industry suffers not only from an extremely low purchasing power of the peasants but also from the depredations of foreign capital. We cannot be a strong and prosperous

country unless we are industrialised on a wide scale; but industrialised to such an extent we shall never be so long as British, U.S. and other foreign capital exists in India and is given further opportunities of penetration, for the profits of their invested capital are taken out of the country and we are unable to use them.

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

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

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

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

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

(5) Democratise the management of the state sector by removing persons connected with big business from the management and by ensuring the creative participation of the workers and technicians in the management and running of industries.

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

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

91. In the sphere of foreign policy:

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

(1) Strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way; further develop friendly relations and co-operation 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.

(2) Strive for peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems based on the Panchsheel.

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

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

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

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

VIII. Building of People's Democratic Front

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

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

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

Above all, it becomes increasingly evident to one and all that until and unless the present government with its anti-people policies is rejected and decisively defeated and is replaced by an alternative government with alternative democratic policies, it is neither possible for our people to escape the tortuous path of capitalist development which is historically outmoded, nor liberate our people from the clutches of growing monopoly capitalism, a phenomenon that inevitably arises out of such a path of development.

96. The stage of our revolution and the basic tasks facing it not only determine the nature of the revolution but also the role of the different classes in the struggle to achieve it. The nature of our revolution in the present stage of its development is

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

97. The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution will have to take upon itself, first and foremost, the task of carrying out radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry, so as to sweep away the remnants of feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our production forces of agriculture as well as industry. This will have to be supplemented by sweeping measures of reforming the social system through which such remnants of pre-capitalist society as the caste and other social systems keep the villages tied to age-old backwardness. The task of making such sweeping reforms in the social system, however, are inextricably bound up with the completion of agrarian revolution which in fact is the axis of the democratic revolution. Any failure to grasp its full significance and import is to miss the very essence of the democratic revolution. The Second urgent task of our democratic revolution is the total eradication and summary expulsion of the foreign monopoly capital from our national economy and thus free the economic, political and social life of our people from all its disastrous influences. Thus these two fundamental tasks face the democratic revolution to be fulfilled. With these is also related the task of breaking the power of monopoly capital.

98. However, these basic and fundamental tasks of the revolution in today's context cannot be carried out except in determined opposition to and struggle against the big

bourgeoisie and its political representatives who occupy the leading position in the state. They resist and oppose the carrying out of radical and genuine agrarian reforms and have embarked upon the path of reforming feudal and semi-feudal landlordism to serve 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 collaboration with foreign monopolists and alliance with big Indian landlordism, they are vigorously pursuing the path of capitalist development which in turn is immensely facilitating the growth of monopoly capital in our country. Hence, the people's democratic revolution is not only in irreconcilable opposition to feudal landlordism and foreign monopoly capitalism but together with them it is opposed to the big bourgeoisie which is leading the state and is pursuing the policies of compromise and collaboration with foreign finance capital and alliance with native landlordism.

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

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

101. The core and the basis of the people's democratic front is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It is

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

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

103. The rich peasants are another influential section among the peasantry. The Congress agrarian reforms have undoubtedly benefited certain sections of them and to some extent they have gained under the rule of the new post-independence regime. They aspire to join the ranks of capitalist landlords and by virtue of their engaging agricultural labour on hire for work in their farms, they entertain hostility to them. Nonetheless, heavy taxation, high prices for industrial goods and inflation, constantly harass them so as to make their future uncertain. Subjected to the ravages of the market under the grip of the monopolist traders, both foreign and Indian, they come up often against the oppressive policies pursued by the bourgeois-

landlord government. By and large, they can also, therefore, be brought into the democratic front and retained as allies in the people's democratic revolution.

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

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

106. The other broader sections of the national bourgeoisie which are either having no links altogether with foreign monopolists or having no durable links, which are not by themselves monopolistic and suffer at their hands in a number of ways, are objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. As the general crisis of the world capitalist system deepens, as the contradiction between foreign monopolists and them grows

in all its intensity and as the big bourgeoisie using its economic power and leading position in the state attempts to solve its crisis at the expense of its weak class brethren in the country, this stratum of the bourgeoisie will be compelled to come into opposition with the state power and can find a place in the people's democratic front. But it should be borne in mind that they are still sharing state power along with the big bourgeoisie and entertain high hopes of advancing further under the same regime. Notwithstanding its objectively progressive character, by virtue of its weak class position vis-a-vis Indian big monopolists and foreign imperialists, it is unstable and exhibits extreme vacillation between the imperialists and their Indian big bourgeois accomplices on the one hand and the people's democratic front on the other. Owing to its dual nature, its participation in the revolution depends on a number of concrete conditions, on changes in the correlation of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people and on the depth of the contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie and the remaining sections of the national bourgeois class.

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

108. The working class and the Communist Party, while not for a moment losing sight of its basic aim of building the people's democratic front to achieve the people's democratic revolution and the fact that this has to inevitably come into clash with the present Indian state led by the big bourgeoisie, does take cognisance of the contradictions and conflicts that do exist between the Indian bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialists. They express themselves on the issues of war and peace, on the economic and political relations with socialist countries, on the terms of aid from foreign monopolists, on the question of finding adequate markets for our exports, and on the question of foreign policy

and defence of our national independence. In the background of the daily intensifying general crisis of world capitalism, the different contradiction obtaining in the national and international sphere are bound to get intensified. The Communist Party, while carefully studying this phenomenon, shall strive to utilise every such difference, fissure, conflict and contradiction with the foreign imperialists to isolate the imperialists and strengthen the people's struggle for democratic advance. Entertaining no illusions of any strategic unity or united front with the ruling Congress party, the working class will not hesitate to lend its unstinted support to the government on all issues of world peace and anti-colonialism which are in the genuine interests of the nation, on all economic and political issues of conflict with imperialism, and on all issues which involve questions of strengthening our sovereignty independent foreign policy.

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

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

removing all obstacles in the path of a radical reconstruction of India's economy, social life and culture.

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

112. The Party will obviously have to work out various interim slogans in order to meet the requirements of a rapidly changing political situation. Even while keeping before the people the task of dislodging the present ruling classes and establishing a new democratic state and government based on the firm alliance of the working class and peasantry, the Party will utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front. It, however, would not solve the economic and political problems of the nation in any fundamental manner. The Party, therefore, will continue to educate the mass of the people on the need for replacing the present bourgeois-landlord state and Government headed by the big bourgeoisie even while utilising all opportunities for forming such governments of a transitional character which give

immediate relief to the people and thus strengthen the mass movement.

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

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

Building of the Communist Party

114. Vigorous struggles on the ideological front are essential to free the masses from the influence of bourgeois ideology, heighten their political consciousness and draw them to the positions of scientific socialism. Anti-Communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in an extreme decline of bourgeois ideology constitutes the principal ideological weapon of the ruling class. With this weapon they try to carry out the ideological sabotage of the democratic movement, isolate the Communists from the rest of the democratic forces. Anti-Communism resorts to monstrous distortions of the Marxist doctrine and crude slanders against the socialist system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations. Anti-Communism is contrary to national interests as well as the interests of the democratic movement. The Communists expose and fight anti-Communism with the utmost energy.

Religious obscurantism, communalism and casteism as well as bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism are all exploited by the reactionary vested interests to disrupt and retard the growth of the democratic movement of our people. Hindi chauvinism

has already raised its head and in resistance to it other linguistic groups are raising separatist demands. Both of them are harmful to the united working class and revolutionary movement and as such the Communist Party will fight against them.

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

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

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

116. The Communist Party of India places this Programme before the people and sets forth the principal urgent tasks of the day in order that our people have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for as of the course of a democratic national advance.

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

117. Carrying forward the fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and in all its activities and struggles, the Party is guided by the philosophy and principles

of Marxism-Leninism which alone show to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of man by man, to their complete emancipation. The Party unites in its ranks the most advance, the most active and most selfless sons and daughters of the working people and ceaselessly strives to develop them as staunch Marxist-Leninists and proletarian internationalists. The Party devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—to the great task of building a mighty people's democratic front for the realisation of the Programme.

118. Fighting thus for 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.

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

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

STATISTICAL DATA

Appendix to para 18

MONEY SUPPLY WITH THE PUBLIC

(Rs. in Crores)

Year	Currency in circulation	Deposit Money	Total
1951	1,239.85	564.77	1,804.62
1955	1,450.82	628.29	2,079.11
1956	1,551.60	659.90	2,211.50
1957	1,593.65	712.14	2,305.79
1958	1,673.92	703.56	2,377.48
1959	1,821.77	724.62	2,546.39
1960	1,967.46	743.22	2,710.68
1961	2,059.62	780.86	2,840.48
1962	2,246.30	874.41	3,120.71
1963	2,475.79	1,065.37	3,541.16
1964 August	2,541.08	1,220.23	3,761.31

Source : Reserve Bank of India Bulletin

Appendix to para 18

INEQUALITY OF INCOMES IN RURAL AND URBAN INDIA DURING 1960

Income Group	U R B A N		R U R A L	
	Proportion of Household	Average Income Rs.	Proportion of Household	Average Income Rs.
1. Under Rs. 500	13.6	300	23.1	263
2. Rs. 500— 999	28.9	753	38.3	718
3. Rs. 1,000— 1999	32.5	1,390	25.5	1,366
4. Rs. 2,000— 2999	10.6	2,387	7.5	2,367
5. Rs. 3,000— 3999	5.6	3,469	2.9	3,430
6. Rs. 4,000— 4999	3.1	4,474	1.3	4,392
7. Rs. 5,000— 5999	1.7	5,436	0.5	5,302
8. Rs. 6,000— 7999	1.7	6,732	0.3	6,867
9. Rs. 8,000— 9999	0.7	8,881	0.4	8,823
10. Rs. 10,000—14999	0.8	12,208		
11. Rs. 15,000—24999	0.5	18,660	0.2	16,540
12. Rs. 25,000 and over	0.3	51,519		
All Classes	100.0	1,935	100.0	1,126

Source : Mahalanobis Committee Report.

Appendix to para 19**GROWTH OF CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL
IN PRIVATE SECTOR COMPANIES***

Size class of Paid-up Capital	No. of Companies		Paid-up Capital (Rs. in crores)	
	1951-52	1960-61	1951-52	1960-61
1. Below 5 lakhs	26,785 (91.8)	22,363 (86.0)	202.0 (25.0)	185.1 (14.6)
2. 5-50 lakhs	2,170 (7.4)	3,222 (12.4)	337.2 (41.6)	409.7 (32.3)
3. 50-100 lakhs	148 (0.5)	239 (0.9)	107.6 (13.3)	157.9 (12.4)
4. One crore and above	80 (0.3)	185 (0.7)	162.6 (20.1)	517.0 (40.7)
Total :	<u>29,183</u> (100.0)	<u>26,009</u> (100.0)	<u>809.4</u> (100.0)	<u>1169.7</u> (100.0)

Source : Department of Company Law Administration.

*Figures in bracket denote percentages.

Appendix to para 19

**COMMON DIRECTORSHIP BETWEEN THE LEADING INDIAN BANKS
AND THE LARGE INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS**

Name of the Bank	Nil	One industry	2-4 industries	5 industries and more	Total No. of Directors	% of Industrial Directors of banks to total
1. State Bank of India	11	5	1	4	21	48
2. Bank of India	1	2	6	2	11	91
3. Central Bank of India	2	—	7	1	10	80
4. Punjab National Bank	3	1	4	1	9	66
5. United Commercial Bank	3	5	5	—	13	77
6. Bank of Baroda	2	2	4	4	12	83
7. Allahabad Bank	2	1	1	1	5	60
8. Indian Overseas Bank	1	4	1	—	6	83
9. United Bank of India	4	2	4	1	11	64
10. Union Bank of India	5	1	3	—	9	44
Total:	<u>34</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>696</u>

Source : Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living.

Appendix to para 24

FOREIGN LIABILITIES OF INDIA

(Rs. in Crores)

	Private Business Investment	Official Sector Investments*	Banking	Total
1948	256	256	32	544
1953	392	233	16	641
1956	493	225	61	779
1961	761	1470	61	2292

Source : Reserve Bank of India Bulletin.

*Official sector includes public sector and other Government investments.

Appendix to para 25

PRODUCER CONCENTRATION IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES

Name of the Industry	Year	Percentage Share of top-few units in total production	No. of groups controlling the production
1. Finished Steel	1958	93.36	2 groups
2. Pig Iron	1958	90.08	2 groups
3. Electric Lamps	1960	88.70	14 units
4. Sewing Machines	1960	88.00	1 unit
5. Soda Ash	1958	84.68	2 groups
6. Electric Fans	1961	82.00	4 units
7. Paper & Paper Board	1958	77.90	5 groups
8. Bicycles	1959	72.72	4 units
9. Cement	1960	71.90	3 groups
10. Soap	1957	69.11	4 groups
11. Superphosphate	1958	53.04	5 groups
12. Hydrogenated Oil	1958	47.09	6 units
13. Paints & Varnishes	1957	45.90	6 units
14. Ceramics	1957	39.72	4 groups
15. Jute Textiles	1958	37.61	4 groups
16. Matches	1960	60.00	1 group

Source : Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living (Mahalanobis Committee)

Appendix to para 29

FOREIGN COLLABORATION AGREEMENTS IN INDIA

Country	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964 Jan. Sept.	Total
U.S.A.	6	4	10	61	77	57	67	55	337
U.K.	17	34	52	120	126	79	70	76	574
West Germany	2	6	13	58	67	42	48	58	294
France	2	1	2	9	16	14	16	11	71
Italy	4	4	4	9	13	11	6	5	56
Japan	1	3	8	39	30	24	32	24	161
Sweden	1	—	1	13	—	6	1	2	24
Canada	—	1	—	1	3	6	—	2	13
Holland	1	—	—	6	10	7	4	5	33
Belgium	—	—	2	4	2	4	3	5	20
Denmark	—	—	2	6	4	2	3	7	24
Finland	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	4
Austria	—	—	1	3	5	4	2	4	19
Switzerland	—	2	1	13	19	19	19	17	90
East European									
Socialist Countries	—	—	1	13	17	8	18	25	82
Others	47	48	53	23	13	14	9	6	213
Total:	<u>81</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>403</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>302</u>	<u>2015</u>

Source : Economic Times

Appendix to para 29

FOREIGN COLLABORATION AGREEMENTS IN INDIA

(Industrywise)

Industry	Agreements up to Sept. 1964
1. Plantations	13
2. Sugar	9
3. Cotton Textiles	22
4. Jute Textiles	3
5. Silk & Woollen	12
6. Iron & Steel	37
7. Transport Equipment	77
8. Electrical Machinery, apparatus appliances, etc.	314
9. Machinery other than transport & electrical	537
10. Aluminium	7
11. Basic Industrial Chemicals	32
12. Medicines & Pharmaceuticals	47
13. Other Chemical Products	120
14. Cement	18
15. Rubber & Rubber Products	21
16. Paper & Paper Products	34
17. Electricity Generation & Supply	4
18. Trading	14
19. Shipping	3
20. Bank & Insurance	10
21. Others	681
Total:	<u>2,015</u>

Source : Economic Times

Appendix to para 30**UTILIZATION OF EXTERNAL 'ASSISTANCE' UP TO 31st DECEMBER, 1963†**

(Rs. in Crores)

	Source of Assistance	Loans	Grants	Other Assistance*	Total
1.	U.S.A.	1002.8	150.3	881.8	2034.9
2.	Canada, Australia and New Zealand	15.7	118.4	—	134.1
3.	U.K.	194.0	0.5	—	194.5
4.	West Germany and West European countries	240.5	5.0	—	245.5
5.	U.S.S.R. and Socialist countries	165.0	1.2	—	166.2
6.	Japan	49.5	—	—	49.5
	Total:	<u>1667.5</u>	<u>275.4</u>	<u>881.8</u>	<u>2824.7</u>

Source : Report on Currency & Finance (1963-64) and External Assistance.

* This includes PL 480 and PL 665 assistance.

† Total authorisation up to 31 December, 1964 works out to be Rs. 4326.7 crores which includes Rs. 2846.6 crores as loans, Rs. 318.8 crores as grants and Rs. 1161.3 crores as authorisation under PL 480 and PL 665.

Appendix to para 31

NATIONAL INCOME
(1948-49 Prices)

Year	National Income (Rs. in crores)	Per Capita Income Rs.	Index No. of National Income	Index No. of per capita Income
1948-49	8,650	249.6	100.0	100.0
1949-50	8,820	250.6	102.0	100.4
1950-51	8,850	247.5	102.3	99.2
1951-52	9,100	250.3	105.2	100.3
1952-53	9,460	255.7	109.4	102.4
1953-54	10,030	266.2	116.0	106.7
1954-55	10,280	267.8	118.8	107.3
1955-56	10,480	267.8	121.2	107.3
1956-57	11,000	275.6	127.2	110.4
1957-58	10,890	267.3	125.9	107.1
1958-59	11,850	280.1	134.7	112.2
1959-60	11,860	279.2	137.1	111.9
1960-61	12,750	293.7	147.4	117.7
1961-62	13,060	294.3	150.9	117.9
1962-63	13,370	294.7	154.6	118.1
1963-64*	13,940	300.4	160.1	120.4

*Preliminary Estimates.

Source : Central Statistical Organisation.

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Appendix to para 33

BREAKDOWN OF NET NATIONAL OUTPUT
(1948-49 Prices)

	Percentage 1948-49	Distribution 1962-63
1. Agriculture, animal husbandry and ancilliary activities	49.1	43.4
2. Mining, manufacturing and Small Enterprises	17.1	17.3
3. Commerce, Transport and Communications	18.3	19.1
4. Other Services	15.5	20.2
Total:	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source : Central Statistical Organisation.

Note :—The proportion of industrial production and commerce is not materially changed during the entire period despite rise of new industries. The increase in the national income in “other services” is partly due to increase in Govt. expenditure.

Appendix to para 44

PL 480 LOANS

India's growing dependence on U.S. for supply of agricultural commodities can be seen from the fact that she is the largest single recipient of the U.S. PL 480 aid, representing as much as 22 per cent of the aggregate PL 480 shipments so far. The total PL 480 "assistance" to India according to agreements signed up to 15th July, 1964 is as follows.

	(in million dollars)
Wheat	1,630.7
Foodgrains	41.3
Rice	165.3
Cotton	272.7
Tobacco	13.8
Non-fat dry milk	3.57
Soyabean Oil	1.00
Evaporated milk	4.12
Whole milk powder	0.27
Cheese (Processed)	0.08
Canned Fruit	0.40
Total market value	<u>2,133.3</u>
Ocean transportation	<u>356.37</u>
Total:	<u>2,491.65</u>

Appendix to para 59

DISPARITIES IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

States	No. of Factories	Total Pro- ductive Capital (Rs. in crores)	No. of per- sons emp- loyed (in 000's)	Salary, wages & benefits (Rs. in crores)	Total output (Rs. in crores)	Value added by Manufacture (Rs. in crores)
Andhra	448	85.8	142.0	15.7	128.3	27.6
Assam	441	65.8	61.2	8.3	84.6	27.3
Bihar	278	271.8	175.8	42.6	306.4	67.1
Gujarat	850	188.4	307.8	56.0	323.2	100.7
Jammu & Kashmir	40	3.6	7.8	0.6	3.5	1.0
Kerala	554	46.7	139.8	12.1	84.2	23.9
Madhya Pradesh	631	71.2	102.1	14.5	105.3	28.5
Madras	805	145.5	227.2	39.6	280.2	80.6
Maharashtra	1,837	537.2	649.8	138.8	903.0	266.4
Mysore	396	86.3	115.9	16.4	107.4	34.1
Orissa	102	58.1	24.5	4.0	41.7	12.0
Punjab	385	74.0	75.7	11.3	113.4	24.2
Rajasthan	116	25.3	43.7	6.5	37.5	10.5
Uttar Pradesh	602	167.6	252.3	35.9	289.5	62.6
West Bengal	1,484	519.3	679.4	123.3	814.2	203.4
Delhi	164	25.7	42.2	9.4	65.2	16.1
Himachal Pradesh	7	1.5	1.6	0.2	3.1	0.1
Tripura	13	0.4	0.6	0.04	0.4	0.1
Total	9,161	2,374.2	3,049.7	535.7	3,693.3	987.9

Source : Annual Survey of Industries 1961.

Appendix to para 75

INDEX NUMBER OF PRICES

Year	Wholesale Prices General Index		Working class Consumer Prices General Index	
	base 1952-53	base 1939	base 1949	base 1939
1949	99.1	376.2	100	356
1956	102.7	390.9	105	374
1957	108.7	413.7	111	395
1958	111.0	422.5	116	414
1959	115.5	439.6	121	431
1960	122.9	467.8	124	441
1961	125.8	478.8	126	449
1962	127.2	484.1	130	463
1963	132.5	504.3	134	477
1964 August	155.4	590.5	156	555
September	158.8	604.4	159	566

Source : Monthly Abstract of Statistics. (Central Statistical Organisation)

Appendix to para 75**GROWTH OF UNEMPLOYMENT**

Year	No. of Exchanges	No. of Registration	No. of Applicants on Live Registers	Registered unemployment of Matriculates & above
1950	123	12,10,358	3,30,743	...
1951	126	13,75,351	3,28,719	...
1952	131	14,76,699	4,37,571	...
1953	126	14,08,800	5,22,360	...
1954	128	15,65,497	6,09,780	...
1955	136	15,84,024	6,91,958	2,16,157
1956	143	16,69,895	7,58,503	2,44,392
1957	181	17,74,668	9,22,099	3,07,558
1958	212	22,03,888	11,83,299	3,64,392
1959	244	24,71,596	14,20,901	4,33,111
1960	296	27,32,548	16,06,242	5,07,220
1961	325	32,30,314	18,32,703	5,90,230
1962	342	38,44,902	23,79,530	7,08,356
1963	353	41,51,781	25,18,463	7,39,066
1964 (Aug.)	365	26,61,700	26,80,805	8,01,094

Source : Director General of Employment and Training.

N.B. :— These figures are only those of registered unemployed persons in urban area. They only indicate the extent of rise in unemployment in the country. Figures for 1964 are only up to August.

Fight Against Revisionism Political-Organisational Report

**Adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist
Party of India, October 31—November 7, 1964,
Calcutta**

I. Long-Standing Differences

This Congress will go down in history as the Congress of struggle against revisionism, as the Congress which made the decisive break with revisionism and class collaboration in the Communist movement of our country.

Inside the Communist Party of India, a struggle has been going on for the last ten years against the repeated attempts to take the Communist Party and the working class movement on to the path of class collaboration. Due to the stiff resistance inside the Party, these attempts to take the Party along the line of class collaboration did not succeed. In successive Congresses of the Party, the line advanced by this group was rejected. However, when this group got an opportunity in November 1962 to be in charge of the Party apparatus, it threw to the winds all the norms of Communist Party organisation and adopted bourgeois organisational methods with a view to imposing its own line on the Party. And when all attempts to make this group give up its anti-Party methods were frustrated, it has become absolutely indispensable to hold this Congress of the Communist Party, independently of the Dange group.

The differences that have been persisting and gathering momentum in the Party have certainly been accentuated by the ideological differences that have broken out in the world Communist movement. But it must be realised that the differences inside the Party have been accumulating long before the

ideological differences in the world Communist movement came into the open and these relate to the assessment of the political-economic situation in India, on the role of the bourgeoisie in our democratic revolution, on the shifts inside the bourgeoisie, on the class character of the Government of India, on the attitude that the working class and its Party should adopt towards the bourgeoisie, its Party and Government, and on the role of the working class in our democratic revolution.

Differences existed inside the Party on the role of the bourgeoisie during 1948-50. They were resolved in 1951 when the Programme was adopted at a Special Conference. However, these differences came to the forefront again during the inner-Party discussions that took place before the Fourth Congress at Palghat in 1956. At that time, the Government of India, due to great changes in the international situation as well as the internal situation, had made a shift in its foreign policy, and also had published the second five-year plan draft. The bourgeoisie had to take into account the mood of the people who were getting more and more radicalised and, therefore, adopted at the Avadi session of the Congress Party the goal of "socialistic pattern of society".

All this was taken to signify that the national bourgeoisie had split into two, the monopolist sections standing for out-and-out collaboration and compromise with imperialism and native feudalism, while the other section was made out to be opposing imperialism and feudalism.

Bhowani Sen, one of the chief protagonists of this line, stated:

"The pro-imperialist and pro-feudal circles amongst the big bourgeoisie and in Government are not interested in India's independent capitalist development. They fear the people more than the imperialists and know that Nehru's progressive policies will ultimately strengthen the popular forces and hit themselves."

(Fourth Party Congress Document—No. 2, p. 8)

Thus, in the period of strengthening of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, when India could look forward to getting their disinterested aid and use it as a bargaining counter with the imperialists, at a time when there was no threat of

internal social revolution which would threaten the big bourgeoisie, we are told that a section of the big bourgeoisie was not interested in independent capitalist development and was objectively pro-imperialist and pro-feudal! We are told that the Nehru Government represented not the bourgeoisie as a whole, but “only the anti-imperialist anti-feudal, progressive section of the Indian bourgeoisie”!

And this is stated without any ambiguity. In the same document he says :

“The Nehru Government, representing the progressive section of Indian big business, in the main, abandoned collaboration with imperialism and embraced the policy of peaceful co-existence and established co-operation with socialist States.”

(Fourth Party Congress Document—No. 2, p. 3)

He then refers to “the promotion of national bourgeois interests in trade and industry (drive for industrialisation, export drive, nationalisation of the Imperial Bank, the Companies Bill against the managing agency system) and draws the conclusion: “These measures are undoubtedly steps towards eventual liquidation of semi-colonialism, leading to economic independence.” And what is more, he asserts that “Nehru has been able to take these steps only by moving towards an alliance with the camp of peace and anti-imperialism.”

Thus, it is made out that the Nehru Government has given up collaboration, is liquidating vestiges of semi-colonialism, viz., grip of foreign capital in the economy and feudal and semi-feudal relations in agriculture, and in foreign policy, given up non-alignment and moved over to alliance with the socialist, peace camp against the imperialist camp.

From this, the following tactics was worked out:

“This tactics, translated in terms of demands, means ‘radical reorganisation of the government’ and in terms of central political task it means ‘building the united national front’. Our movement for a united national front will pave the way for a government of national unity, as an emergency alliance to resist the pro-imperialist and pro-feudal offensive.”

(Ibid, pp. 17—18)

P. C. Joshi, S. S. Yusuf and others also came to the same conclusion. They concluded their note thus:

“In our opinion the slogan of a national democratic coalition Government will, in the present circumstances, most effectively enable the Party to defeat and isolate the pro-imperialist and pro-feudal reactionaries, forge an alliance with national bourgeois elements and help realise the hegemony of the proletariat over the national movement.” (Ibid, p. 54)

At the Fourth Party Congress itself, these people, viz., P.C. Joshi, C. Rajeshwar Rao, Ravi Narayan Reddy, S. S. Yusuf, H. K. Vyas, L. R. Khandkar, Bhowani Sen, Somnath Lahiri, K. Damodaran and Ramesh Chandra, moved an alternate resolution. It stated in the end:

“The CPI believes that as a result of the development of national unity and on the basis of the changed correlation of forces in favour of the progressive forces, an alternative Government of national unity can be brought into being.”

This alternate resolution was defeated.

Despite the defeat suffered in the Congress, within a few months, they sought to reopen the question. The opportunity was provided by an article by Modeste Rubinstein published in two issues of ‘New Times’ dated July 5 and August 2, 1956. In this article, Rubinstein had made out that the Nehru Government had embarked upon the path of non-capitalist development towards socialism.

Immediately, these same people demanded of the CC that the political line adopted at Palghat should be reopened and revised in the direction advocated by Rubinstein in that article.

The Central Committee discussed the article and firmly rejected the understanding behind it. On the basis of this rejection, Comrade Ajoy Ghose, the then General Secretary, wrote an article in the party organ which concluded thus:

“To conclude there undoubtedly exists a non-capitalist path for underdeveloped countries like India. But it would be an illusion to think that the present Government, headed by the bourgeoisie, can advance on that path. The Communist Party of India does not suffer from such illusions. Therefore, while fully

recognising certain possibilities of advance in the existing situation and while fully supporting all measures of the Government which help to realise these possibilities and strengthen the cause of peace, national freedom and national economy, the Communist Party simultaneously strives to strengthen the forces of democracy and socialism in our country so that power passes into the hands of the democratic masses led by the working class. That alone can complete the tasks of the democratic revolution with the utmost rapidity and advance the country towards socialism.''

Then came the second general elections. It resulted in considerable strengthening of communal and feudal reactionary forces as well as separatist forces. The same question was now raised in a different form. In view of the emergence of these forces, they argued, the understanding of the Party of the national political situation must be revised. The main fire must be concentrated on right reaction and to that end, the Party must unite with the Congress. In view of the fact the Kerala Government led by the Communist Party was sought to be removed by Congressmen themselves they could not put forward the old slogan of a coalition government.

The controversy was settled at the Fifth Congress of the Party held at Amritsar in 1958, which decided in favour of 'simultaneous battle' against the forces of right reaction on the one hand, and against the policies of the Government which have 'strengthened the position of these anti-national elements in our economic life and offered them opportunities of building links with foreign monopolists on the other'.

Even this only resolved the differences in a formal sense. For, the ideological and political moorings of that section remained the same. Their tendency to align with the bourgeoisie naturally found expression in bourgeois nationalistic and even chauvinistic stands, whenever such issues arose. During the days of the attempts made by the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary with the aid of U. S. imperialism, to overthrow the socialist regime and return to capitalism, S. A. Dange, in a statement to the 'Times of India', echoed the statements of Pandit Nehru. He

said that the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries' attempt—overthrow of socialism was a “national upsurge of the Hungarian people”. One of the important members of this revisionist group, C. Achuta Menon who was then a member of the Central Committee, resigned not only the positions he held in the Party but his membership of the Party itself saying that the Hungarian events had shattered his faith in the Communist movement.

This bourgeois nationalism found expression on the question of boundaries of linguistic states also. Several State Committees came out with public statements on the question of state borders contradicting each other. Bourgeois nationalism found expression on the question of language as well. In 1957, the Maharashtra Committee, under the direction and guidance of S. A. Dange, decided to demand that Balgaum district should be detached from Karnataka and included in Maharashtra and for this purpose it was decided in 1958 to conduct a satyagraha. All this was done without any consultation whatsoever with the Karnataka Committee or with the Central Executive Committee or National Council. At its Madras meeting in 1958, the National Council had to intervene and issue a mandate to the Maharashtra Committee countermanding the decision to go on satyagraha. Dange who was away in Europe when the National Council took this decision, on his return sabotaged the decision of the National Council.

Later, in 1959, when the border dispute between India and China came out, S. A. Dange, in open defiance of the Party made statements, whose only purpose was to drag the Party to line up behind the bourgeoisie. At the Meerut session of the National Council, he was publicly censured for such gross violation of Party discipline. That meeting of the National Council adopted resolution on the India-China border issue which categorically pointed out that the entire border question was a disputed one and as such the question of aggression does not arise. The resolution urged that the entire border should be settled by negotiations, taking into account the existing relations.

However, S. A. Dange organised a virtual revolt against these decisions of the National Council. The Meerut National Council

resolution on the India-China border dispute was, for all practical purposes, put in cold-storage.

What was worse, the bourgeois press was utilised by this group, to spread tendentious reports against those who would not toe their bourgeois-nationalist line, as the "anti-national, pro-China-wing" of the Communist Party.

The differences inside the Communist Party went on getting accentuated. In may 1960, when the National Council met in Calcutta, the Executive Committee's draft resolution for the Party Congress could not be considered. Earlier this draft was opposed by S. A. Dange on the ground that it overestimated the penetration of foreign capital, particularly U. S. capital, which according to him was a false picture. In a note prepared by him and circulated to the National Council, he pooh-poohed the talk of penetration of foreign capital and stated foreign capital investments were after all in "Baby Johnson Powder". Nonetheless, the resolution had been passed by a big majority in the Executive Committee.

Due to Dange's opposition, the General Secretary of the Party refused to move the resolution, adopted by a big majority of the Executive, in the subsequent meeting of the National Council which had been called for the specific purpose of discussing the Executive's draft. Ultimately, they pleaded that more time must be taken to study facts, and the National Council that had been called only for discussing the draft, dispersed without considering it!

In the latter part of 1960, ideological differences in the international movement developed and a world conference of Communist Parties was called. Our Party was invited to the preparatory meeting of the world conference. The CEC was called and discussions revealed that sharp differences existed on the ideological questions. However, a decision was taken by a slender majority as brief for our delegation to the world conference. Even when the CEC was divided so sharply, the National Council was not called and the majority decision was reported to the entire Party and imposed upon it as the decision of the Party. After the Moscow Conference no discussion on 81 Parties' Statement was held in the CEC or National Council. No

attempt was made, therefore, to resolve the differences that had been accumulating and getting accentuated.

Without making a principled effort to resolve these differences two Commissions were appointed to draft the Programme of the Party and the political resolution for the Sixth Congress of the Party, which was to be held at Vijayawada in 1961.

At the meeting of the National Council, held early in 1961 to consider the draft resolution and draft programme, two drafts of both the political resolution and of the Programme emerged from these commissions.

On the India-China border dispute, the reports of the official teams of the two Governments had just then been published. Even when the National Council was studying the reports, one of the important members of the group, M. N. Govindan Nair, in Parliament declared that India's case had been proved.

This was sought to be made the basis of a resolution of the National Council. However, the National Council took the only correct position that the dispute cannot be settled by going into these historical data, for each side would produce its own data and would cling to it, and hence demanded that a political settlement at the highest level should be sought.

As was to be expected, this resolution was also put in cold-storage.

After that meeting of the National Council, hectic efforts were made by this group to work up a majority in the Party Congress. For this purpose all manner of anti-Party methods were adopted. Election of delegates took place in those states in which they were in majority in a factional way.

The Programme, drafted by S.A. Dange, P. C. Joshi and G. Adhikari, which they placed before the Sixth Congress was an out-and-out revisionist programme.

Although the drafters of the document proclaimed that they had based themselves on the understanding given by the 81 Parties' Statement and used parrot-like the phrase 'National Democracy', the document had nothing to do with the revolutionary understanding of the Moscow Statement. The Moscow document had pointed out how the national bourgeoisie of under-developed

countries tried to compromise with imperialism and domestic reaction, as social contradictions develop.

The draft programme of Dange, Joshi and Adhikari, completely ignored this compromising role of the Indian bourgeoisie, both at the time of the transfer of power and since it came to wield state power.

Instead, it stated: "India too has accepted the goal of socialism as her final aim of social development, much to the dislike of the imperialists and the exploiting classes." The approving reference to the Congress party and Indian Parliament's resolution on socialistic pattern of society is obvious.

The total dependence of the Congress Government on imperialism in the first few years, its generally siding with the West on all issues that came up in the U. N.—all this was sought to be justified thus:

"There were serious difficulties in finding the correct answer quickly, without pitfalls, sufferings and fiasco. These arose because of the legacies left behind by imperialism and the attitudes of the ruling classes and the ruling party."

The Moscow document sharply underlines the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. There was no understanding of the all-sided nature—political, economic, social and ideological—of this general crisis, particularly in its third acute stage. As a result, what effects the attempt of our bourgeoisie to develop capitalism in India, and that too without eliminating foreign capital and semi-feudal relations in agriculture, has on our entire political, economic, social life could nowhere be found in the document. No understanding of the extremely limited possibilities of such development could be found in the draft.

That the bourgeoisie, while it takes the help of the socialist countries, has been actually seeking more and more 'aid' from the West and particularly the U.S.A., that it is going in for collaboration in the private sector and has adopted a more or less 'open door' policy—all this is totally underplayed.

On the other hand, the draft actually becomes an apology for the bourgeoisie's running after Western aid when it says:

“In its eagerness for rapid development of the Indian economy, it underestimates the danger of the penetration of Anglo-American capital into strategic lines of India’s development. It feels confident to contain the poison, because it thinks imperialism can take away a few crores from the country, but it cannot take away our independence and freedom. Imperialism tried it in Egypt and Iraq and it failed. It uses the existence of the socialist camp as a ready help on call, as the basis of its tactics and confidence.”

It is well-known that in the pre-Congress discussions S. A. Dange also put across the same argument against those who wanted to fight this foreign aid and collaboration. He said: “Why do you see only the dollars coming in? See also the rouble in the till.” He also pooh-poohed this foreign investment as of no consequence by saying they are “investments in Baby Johnson Powder”!

In direct contrast to this is the warning of the Moscow State ment of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties on the question of foreign imperialist aid. According to the Moscow Statement, “The U. S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic ‘aid’. Further, “The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolists try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic ‘aid’....”. A serious warning, one would think, of the grave danger of foreign imperialist economic ‘aid’. But for Dange it constitutes no danger at all !

And as regards feudalism, the draft is silent over the fact that the national bourgeoisie has compromised with the feudal landlords and is actually sharing state power with them.

And the only criticism that the draft makes about the capitalist

path of development the bourgeoisie has embarked upon is that it is not fast enough and gives rise to the inevitable contradictions of capitalism !

All this is necessary for them to give up the struggle of the working class for hegemony in the democratic front, create illusions that the bourgeoisie itself would lead the struggle against foreign capital and semi-feudal relations in agriculture. That is why the draft is silent on the question of the leadership of the front.

In line with this assessment of the role of the national bourgeoisie in today's context in the political-economic developments, the draft also assessed the Congress party. It said that the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie had walked out of the Congress Party into the Swatantra Party, although many of their supporters were still in the Congress.

It stated that the Congress "pursues an anti-imperialist foreign policy", "keeps India in the peace camp and takes anti-colonial positions, carries on independent development of the country, takes the help of the socialist camp and is eager for greater help from foreign imperialist capital".

Thus, the Congress party is pictured as in the main a progressive party with the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie having walked out of it into the Swatantra Party!

Thus the draft programme, if adopted, would take the Party to the path of out-and-out class collaboration.

The political resolution (being the current tactical line) that was placed before the Congress reflected this class collaborationist understanding.

The Party thus faced the most acute crisis at the Sixth Congress at Vijayawada. A split was avoided by making the political report speech of the General Secretary the basis for amendments. The Programme drafts, after introduction, were kept in abeyance and referred to the National Council.

Thus, all the ideological and political differences that divided the Party remained unresolved. The only basis of unity was with regard to the broad tactics that were to be pursued in the elections that were due eight months later.

But when the elections to the National Council came, the Party again faced a crisis because the Dange group had made a determined effort to conduct them on factional lines. The usual practice in putting up the panel for the National Council was for the CEC to allot the number of seats to the various states and get the states, delegations' recommendations. The CEC used to accept these recommendations and put up the panel. The recommendations that came from the states' delegations upset the Dange group. They, then manoeuvred to put up a new panel, in utter disregard of the recommendations of the states' delegations. A split was avoided by some sort of patch-work, for which the Constitution was amended. The National Council could not elect the Executive or the Secretariat, and dispersed after electing the General Secretary only.

At the next meeting of the National Council, the Executive was elected. But Comrades P. Sundaraya, Jyoti Basu and Harkishan Singh Surjeet had to remain out of the Executive. A full-fledged Secretariat could not be elected. However the tactics for the general elections were further concretised.

At the next meeting of the National Council, the detailed election tactics were worked out with near-unanimity, though the conflicting points of view were expressed in the meeting.

With this, the Party went into the third general elections. Meanwhile, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh died. National Council did not meet till April 1962, after the general elections.

II. Election Review

Just as at the time of formulating the electoral strategy and the concrete tactics of electoral alliances, so in the work of assessing the results of the elections, conflicting points of view expressed themselves in the Party after the election campaign was over. These differences were clearly expressed in the two draft reviews of the election results presented to the National Council—one prepared by Bhupesh Gupta and the other by P.C. Joshi. We are giving below some relevant extracts from the two drafts:

P. C. Joshi, for instance, wrote in his note submitted to the National Council: "The Congress losses to the parties of the right also create the pre-conditions for building better and more

friendly relations between the Communists and Congress leaders as also their cadres. The initiative for achieving this new shift cannot obviously come from inside the Congress. It has to be unfolded by the Party. The Party cannot afford to remain sunk in the mire of sectarianism for the simple reason that the discontent against the Congress, which, during the first and second general elections, was going left and mostly towards our Party is now going towards the right. The Party, therefore, has to make a new turn for its sheer survival and the sooner it makes the turn, the stronger it will grow.”

On the tasks of the Party, P. C. Joshi wrote in the same note: “From this National Council it must be clearly formulated that the first and foremost task of the Communist Party is to launch a national crusade against the right on the basis of the correct application of N.D.F. tactics and thus emerge as the most far-sighted and boldest national vanguard of the Indian people. If we fail to differentiate today between the extreme right and the Congress leadership headed by Nehru, if we fail to evolve tactics that will help to isolate the right, we would be failing to rise to the responsibilities of the post-election situation.”

Dealing with the question of allies in this national crusade, against the right, Joshi continued: “It is also necessary to clearly see that the rise of the right has created a new climate inside the Congress itself amongst its thinking and advanced elements and has created the pre-conditions for our winning them as allies in everlarger numbers. A very clear indication of this is the election and post-election speeches of Nehru against the right. Their significance and limitation both should be carefully assessed by us. I think the importance of our seizing Nehru’s positive statements is obvious. It is our task to develop them further.”

Further, “the present alignment in the country has to be changed against the right. The main responsibility is of the Party but it cannot do it alone. It must seek and win allies. If the rise of the right is a big negative factor revealed by the elections, there is also a newly-revealed positive factor which is stronger than ever before and that is a new awakening and far less anti-communism inside the Congress itself.”

Bhupesh Gupta, on the other hand, drew the conclusion from the election results that they “have fully confirmed the correctness of this approach and understanding—the line of the National Council”.

He also underlined the strengthening of the right reactionary forces, but warned, “while there must be no underestimation of the communal and right reaction, there need be no exaggerated or alarmist appraisal either. The first may lead to sectarianism and the neglect of the task of drawing all secular and progressive forces in struggle against right reaction, the other may lead to tailism behind the Congress and bourgeois leaders. Nonetheless, it has to be admitted that these forces have consolidated better and grown faster than the organised forces of the democratic opposition. By all accounts, this is a very dangerous trend in our political life.”

It would be clear from the above extracts that the crux of the differences is the same question which had repeatedly been raised for nearly a decade: against whom—the Congress or against its opponents from the right—is the Communist Party to direct its main fire?

According to one view, the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism had become such a serious danger and threat to national unity, democracy and the working class movement that the Party should take upon its shoulders the task of uniting with the so-called “middle of the road” forces (which, according to this view, included the Congress) in order to thwart the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism.

This view was contested by others according to whom the growing forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism could not be stopped by strengthening the ruling Congress party; for, it was the policies and practices of the ruling Congress party that generated such discontent among the people that a mass political basis was created for the forces of right reaction, communalism and separatism to operate on.

In view of the sharp differences, the National Council had to postpone a detailed review of the general elections to the next meeting of the NC. However, it adopted and issued a short

statement on the election results which rejected the line of united front with the Congress advocated by P. C. Joshi and others. In the resolution reviewing the elections it placed before the NC, the CEC stated:

“While the situation demanded that the most determined efforts to prevent the growth of reactionary and communal forces or separatist trends in the various parts of the country, the Congress is, however, by its policies, facilitating their rise and growth. Furthermore, the deterioration in the living standards, together with the corruption that is rampant in the ruling party, is giving rise to widespread discontent among the masses of the people. This popular discontent provides a fertile soil to all sorts of demagogic and adventurist elements that spell ruin to the country’s future to gather new strength and acquire new bases for their operations. The Council, therefore, came to the conclusion that the general line of the Sixth Congress of our Party of striving to build the unity of all democratic and popular forces in the struggle against right reaction and of directing into popular channels the discontent of the masses against the policies of the Government which hit the people, rather than allow the forces of right reaction to take advantage of this to consolidate themselves, should be carried forward.”

Finding that this resolution was being supported by the majority of the National Council, S. A. Dange and others pleaded that it was unnecessary to go into a post-mortem examination of the elections, and succeeded in having no election review at all.

The differences between these two points of view came to ahead several months later, in March 1963, when a large number of by-elections were sought to be faced by the central leadership of the Party in accordance with the line of “preventing the electoral victory of right reaction at all costs”. But, before dealing with that development, it is necessary to examine the changed inner-Party situation between April and October 1962. For, it was this change in the situation that enabled the central leadership to boldly come out with a line which they were not able to advocate openly either at the Sixth Congress or at the subsequent National Council meetings.

III. Organisational Situation

It is clear from the above that the ideological-political situation inside the National Council had become more serious than it was a year ago, at the Sixth Congress. The differences which divided the Council were now still more clear and sharp. To this was added the organisational situation inside the Council. The death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh raised the question of the leadership that should now be set up. The majority of the Council favoured the election of Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad as the General Secretary. The Dange group would agree to it only on condition that Dange himself was elected Chairman of the Party. A section of the Council stiffly opposed the election of Dange as Chairman. They argued that because of Dange's past, his attitude towards the Party and the trade unions his continuous violation of Party forms, his refusal to submit to Party decisions and his disruptive activities, his election to the post of Chairman would mean the beginning of the liquidation of the Party as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. But Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad insisted on a unanimous election and the Council was anxious to prevent a possible split. A proposal was made for a composite Secretariat. In the end, the section which was totally opposed to Dange's election as Chairman agreed to it in order to give one more trial to a composite Secretariat.

Hence, the decision was taken to break the explicit provision of the Party constitution which provided only for one post of General Secretary. It was thought that the creation of a united leadership was far more important than the observance of certain provisions of the Party Constitution. A "composite Secretariat" with a Chairman and General Secretary was thus set up. For this purpose, the Central Executive Committee was expanded to include Comrades P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu and Harkishan Singh Surjeet who were also elected to the Secretariat. But in order to balance this, the Dange group insisted that three of their group should also be elected to the Executive and this was also agreed to. It would not be out of place to mention here that Dange, to get himself elected as Chairman, gave an assurance to the National Council that he would not interfere in the work of

the Secretariat and the General Secretary would continue to be the spokesman of the Party.

These arrangements worked satisfactorily for some months. The way in which the composite Secretariat tackled the problem of ideology and organisation created the hope that it would be able to unify the Party through collective inner-Party discussions. This hope, however, did not last long.

IV. The Fateful Meeting of the National Council (October-November 1962)

A couple of months before the October 1962 clashes on the India-China border, the National Council which was then meeting at Hyderabad had to take note of the deterioration on the border. It stated in a resolution:

“The armed forces of the two countries are so poised against each other that there is always danger of clashes taking place between them any moment. One incident has already taken place in which personnel on the Indian side were injured which has justifiably evoked resentment from the Indian people.” (Later, Nehru denied in Parliament that any Indian personnel was wounded.)

The question inevitably arose: what should the Party do under these circumstances? Should it support the Government of India in its measures of defending the border? How does support to defence measures against a socialist country square with the basic line of proletarian internationalism? After a good deal of discussion, the Council decided to “support the policy of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of making all efforts to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the border question even while taking necessary measures for the defence of the borders of the country.”

The situation, however, did not remain what it was at the time when the above line was adopted. The first half of September saw a serious deterioration in the border situation. Tension began to mount. Reactionary anti-Communist elements utilised this mounting tension in order to isolate and attack the Communist Party. Still more clashes occurred on the border.

It was against this background that the Central Secretariat meeting in the middle of October discussed the situation prevailing then. After a good deal of discussion in which it was found that the Secretariat was sharply divided the following statement adopted by a majority of the Secretariat was issued.

“The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its grave concern at the serious happenings on the NEFA border. There have been clashes between the Chinese and Indian armed forces, leading to loss of life.

“The situation is all the more alarming in view of the fact that only a few weeks ago strong hopes had risen in the minds of our people that a climate for negotiations was being created and that meetings between the two sides for the necessary preliminaries were in the offing. All these hopes have been belied by the new tensions that developed on the NEFA border.

“This border has been comparatively free from disturbances especially in view of the fact that there has existed the McMahon Line, a virtually demarcated border line, between India and China. Thus one least expected serious differences and clashes on the McMahon Line.

“Reports of the Government of India show that the Chinese forces have crossed to the south of the McMahon Line and thus violated Indian territory, though the Chinese deny this. The Communist Party of India has always maintained that the McMahon Line is the border of India. Hence, all necessary steps to defend it are justified.

“The National Council Resolution of our Party at Hyderabad lent its support to the Government’s efforts at negotiations, while taking necessary steps for the defence of the borders.”

The publication of this statement and its explanation by the two spokesmen of the Party—the Chairman and the General Secretary—led to certain developments in the organisational field. But, before dealing with them, we may trace the political development of the border question and the way in which the Party reacted to it.

Hardly had a couple of days passed after the Secretariat statement was issued when the fighting on the border intensified

and the Chinese armies crossed the McMahon Line.

The questions then arose: can the Party continue the same line as was adopted at Hyderabad—the line of negotiation for a political settlement even while strengthening defence? There were comrades who held that the clashes of October 20 had qualitatively changed the situation and that it would now be wrong to talk of negotiations since the Chinese were deeply penetrating into our borders. Others, however, felt that the continuing military advance of the Chinese made it all the more important and necessary to tell the people that the problem of relations between India and China had ultimately to be solved through peaceful negotiations; the military measures that are undoubtedly to be taken to defend the border should not be considered as a substitute for, but supplementary to, the measures for a political settlement.

It was these two points of view that clashed against each other at the meeting of the National Council held from October 30 to November 1. Two alternative drafts to the draft by Dange were presented by Comrades EMS and Bhupesh Gupta on the one hand and by Comrade Ramamurti and others on the other.

A comparison of the two drafts with the Dange draft will make it clear that the points of difference between the majority and the minority of the National Council were not related to the need for defence. This, it may be pointed out, was subsequently acknowledged by Dange himself who, in his reply to the Communist Party of China, stated as follows:

“It must be noted here with special emphasis that at the time of the NC meeting of November, when this resolution was adopted, no one had yet been arrested and everyone of the leading comrades was present. The two alternate resolutions moved were in addition to the majority resolution. In these two drafts also, the slogan of defence was acknowledged. One of these drafts said:

‘The NC pays its homage to the memory of those who have fallen in the defence of our borders. The CP has always stood for the defence of the country, including the strengthening of the defence of our borders. In today’s condition, there is no question of any unilateral cease-fire by India. There is no question of surrender to superior might.’

“We are sure this was truly and sincerely meant. The other draft said :

‘The Council pays its humble tribute to officers and jawans of the Indian army, who have had to face heavy odds in defending the country. It salutes the memory of those who have given their precious lives in fighting for the defence of the soil. It conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the families of those who had thus to lay down their lives.

‘The NC, at its Hyderabad meeting, expressed the Party’s support to the policy of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, of making all efforts to bring about a peaceful negotiated settlement of the border question even while taking measures for the defence of the country.

‘Basing itself on that declaration of the Council, the Central secretariat stated on the 17th October that all measures which Government take to defend the territory south of the McMahon Line are justified. Now that the Chinese armed forces are well within the territory south of the McMahon Line and are advancing both in NEFA and in Ladakh, the Council all the more extends its support to the Government in all its requisite defence measures.

‘The Council hopes that every step will be taken to improve the defence position consistent with the dignity, independence and the basic policies of our country.’

“This too was truly and sincerely meant.

“Thus in the National Council no one at that time had any difference of opinion on the correctness of the slogan of defence. The NC was *unanimous* on the slogan of defending the country. Does it mean that the NC was unanimously giving an alibi to reaction, absolving them of their responsibility or was not emphasising or had given up the slogan of peaceful negotiations. Nothing of the kind...”

What then were the differences ?

First, the basic political position adopted by the majority was that of “flowing with the current”, i.e., the current of bourgeois nationalism. The majority resolution is an unambiguous call for all-out (ideological and political as well as military) attack on the

Chinese—an attack which would hardly be distinguishable from the chauvinistic anti-China campaign indulged in by the most rabid anti-Communist elements. The minority was not prepared to take this stand. While it gave support to the Government's measures of defence of the border, it refused to toe the line of the Government in looking upon the Chinese as an invader intent on grabbing our territory or subjugating our people.

It may be mentioned in this connection that Dange himself had, in his reply to the Chinese Party, made a distinction between "aggression in the popular sense" and "aggression in the capitalist-imperialist sense". He said that China committed aggression in the former but not in the latter sense. No such distinction, however, was made in the resolution adopted by the majority controlled by him. On the other hand, a subsequent resolution adopted by the CEC talked of the Chinese advance threatening the plantations and oil fields of Assam. This resolution of the CEC was, in fact, in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the NC. In the draft of that resolution placed by the Dange group, it stated that the Chinese were motivated by bourgeois nationalism and a "peasant mentality". Although they amended the draft and removed the words "peasant mentality", Dange, in his reply speech, still harped upon that "peasant mentality".

Second, the majority was not prepared to consider any negotiation and settlement with the Chinese except on the basis acceptable to the Government of India. For instance, they took the stand that no talks could be initiated unless and until the position held by both India and China on September 8, 1962, was restored. The minority took a more scientific position; it felt that what was necessary was to evolve a formula which would lead to such a settlement of the problem as would not be derogatory to either nation.

It may be pointed out that, year-and-a-half later, the Government of India itself took a more flexible attitude: the old formula "back to the September 8th line" was, for instance, so modified that instead of India advancing to the position she occupied, it would be enough if the Chinese retreated to the

position held by them on that date. As soon as the Government came to accept this position, it may be further pointed out, the Dange group also took that position.

Third, the majority toed the line of the Government in another aspect—with regard to the correctness of securing Western military ‘aid’. The Dange group, of course, qualified the acceptance of ‘aid’ with the condition that it should be only on commercial terms! The minority held the view that receiving military ‘aid’ even on commercial terms would be the beginning of the process through which many other countries lost sovereignty and became dependent on the imperialist powers.

The line adopted by the majority was, in short, one of retreat from the ideological positions of the working class. It meant surrender to bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, renunciation of struggle against our own ruling classes in the name of ‘patriotic defence of the country’, surrender to the ideology of imperialism according to which the role of imperialist powers is not one of subjugating independent nations but of helping them to preserve and further develop their independence and sovereignty. The minority could not naturally accept these policies.

V. The International Background

The political developments centred around the India-China border were taking place against the background of a further deepening of the ideological conflict in the international Communist movement. Despite the unanimous adoption of the 1960 statement, differences persisted in the international movement. Not only did those differences come to the open through polemical pronouncements on both sides, but they affected the approach of the two sides towards some very important practical problems.

The Soviet leaders were, in the beginning of the India-China border war, critical of the “ruling circles” of India with regard to their way of tackling the border question. A sharply worded editorial of the *Pravda*, dated October 25, 1962, expressed its apprehension that “even some progressive-minded people may succumb to nationalism and become jingoist”. Calling upon the

progressive forces in India to be internationalists and “strive not to fan animosity and exacerbate the conflict but settle it peacefully through negotiations”, it emphasised the importance of “showing good will on both sides and not dictate any preliminary terms.” It characterised the Chinese Government’s statement (which was rejected by the Indian Government), “as an expression of its concern for its relations with India and of its desire to end the conflict”. It went on: “They (the Chinese proposals) provide an acceptable groundwork for starting negotiations and for peacefully settling controversies in a way taking account of the interests of both the People’s Republic of China and India”.

The Communist Party and the Government of the USSR, however, changed their position after this. Giving up the position of warning the progressives in India against jingoism (adopted in the Pravda editorial of October 25), they moved, step by step, towards accepting the Government of India’s position.

This change in the Soviet position on the question of India-China relations naturally helped the Dange group, as they could claim with some plausibility that, far from being bourgeois nationalists as pointed out by the minority in the National Council, they were the adherents of really internationalist positions. Encouraged by this, Dr. G. Adhikari, in his review and comment on Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad’s document “Revisionism and Dogmatism”, wrote: “The author.....quotes in his support the editorial of Pravda of October 25, 1962. He complains that we rejected the warning of that editorial that reactionaries in India were taking up war hysteria and wanted the progressive forces to counter it and strive for peaceful negotiations. But the article left many things unsaid. It had not a word to say against the disastrous Chinese invasion which in fact had created the soil for the reactionaries to sow war hysteria. That is why our Party rightfully ignored it. *We had no reason to regret it either. Subsequently, it was the CPSU which had to change and had to do the same open criticism of the Chinese Party which we did earlier.*” It is clear that it was with this “international support” that they went full stream ahead towards the line of unabashed collaboration with the Congress Government.

VI. Disruption Begins

We may conclude this chapter by presenting the developments on the organisational plan.

It would be recalled that the "composite Secretariat", formed in April, was more or less evenly-balanced. The "right", the "left" and those who were then unattached to either were represented on it and hence it collectively represented the will of the NC and of the Party. Furthermore, the first five-and-a-half-months of the functioning of the composite Secretariat was, in a way satisfactory to all concerned.

This, however, was completely upset at the meeting of the Central Secretariat held in the middle of October. The Statement, issued by the Secretariat, completely exposed the actual division within the Secretariat. The General Secretary and the Chairman gave different interpretations to the papers next day. Full advantage was taken of this situation by the enemies of the Party to mount a full-scale offensive against the Party as a whole, particularly against the so-called "Pro-China" section.

The situation inside the Secretariat deteriorated fast. Within twelve hours of the publication of the Secretariat statement, three members of the Secretariat (Yogindra Sharma, M. N. Govindan Nair and Dr. Ahmed) of the Secretariat jointly asked the General Secretary to issue "an explanation" of the Secretariat statement along the lines indicated by them. When this was rejected by him and another member of the Secretariat (Bhupesh Gupta) who said that differences in interpretation could be resolved only by a plenary meeting of the Secretariat, the three of them threatened to issue their own statement.

This was followed by two developments which showed that these comrades had started functioning as a separate faction in the Secretariat and that their faction included the Chairman, Dange, as well.

(a) Dange issued from Delhi a statement "explaining" the Secretariat statement. This was done without the knowledge of either the General Secretary or Bhupesh Gupta but in consultation with the other three.

(b) The whole report of the discussion between the General Secretary and Bhupesh Gupta on the one hand and the other three members of the Secretariat on the other appeared in the LINK. There was sufficient internal evidence to show that it was given out by one of the three.

Not only was Dange's statement issued behind the backs of the General Secretary and Bhupesh Gupta, but it was in content directed against the so-called "pro-China" section of the Party. It was obviously meant to incite the rank and file members of the Party and the people against a section of the leadership of the National Council with whom the Dange group had so far been obliged to make organisational compromises. Dange and his colleagues obviously felt the inner-Party situation to have become sufficiently ripe for them to try to isolate their opponents in the Party leadership by denouncing them as "pro-China". The October 19th statement issued by the four members of the Secretariat was thus the first shot openly fired by them in the factional struggle which they were bent on launching.

Fortunately for them, their salvoes against their opponents in the inner-Party struggle coincided with the developments on the border with Chinese troops crossing the McMahon Line. It was in this tense atmosphere that a series of statements came to be issued by large number of state, district and local units of the Party. While all of them denounced the Chinese, a few of them also denounced the so-called "pro-Chinese elements" in the Party. An atmosphere of real hysteria was thus worked up against a section of the Party leadership.

This whole procedure, it is obvious, was indefensible from the point of view of correct norms of Party organisation. For, here was a grave situation of an all-India character in which, according to the explicit provisions of the Party Constitution, the Party's viewpoint should be expressed only by the National Council after it collectively discussed it. This, however, was not acceptable to a section of the Central Secretariat (which, being only four out of nine was in a minority in the Secretariat). It, therefore, took on its shoulders the responsibility of giving a lead to the entire Party in such a way as to divide it from top to

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bottom into a majority and a minority. The game obviously was to create such a situation that, when the National Council ultimately sat to discuss it, there was no possibility of that calm discussion of the issues involved, which was demanded of the situation if the Party was to work out a correct political line and unify the Party on its basis. This, therefore, amounted to the imposition of a line of a section of the Party on the entire Party without even a pretence of democratic inner-Party discussion.

The description of the situation of the Party leadership would be incomplete without mention of the fact that, between Dange's statement and the actual meeting of the National Council, the Secretariat and the CEC belonging to the Dange group and residing in Delhi functioned as a faction within the central office and demanded of the General Secretary that he should function according to their suggestions since, they claimed, they represented the majority of the National Council. When it was pointed out to them that all this was contrary to the principles embodied in the organisational resolution adopted at Hyderabad, they replied "what are involved here are correct politics; organisation should be subordinated to the implementation of correct politics."

Naturally, therefore, the meeting of the National Council which adopted the Dange-sponsored resolution on Chinese aggression registered the break-up of the inner-Party arrangement made in the earlier (April) meeting. Three members of the Secretariat resigned their positions in the Secretariat. They, in their letters of resignation, stated that it was impossible to have any frank discussions in the Secretariat in view of the fact that every discussion in the Secretariat was systematically being leaked to the bourgeois press, thus making it impossible to function in the Secretariat. The General Secretary and Bhupesh Gupta also requested the National Council to relieve them of their posts, but did not press their requests for resignation. When the majority decided to reject their request, they agreed to continue. It was, however, clear that the composite Secretariat that had been created at the April meeting had now got completely shattered.

The stand taken by the majority of the National Council on the large-scale military conflict in the November 1962 resolution was the logical outcome of their revisionist and class collaborationist outlook.

The consequences which followed the adoption of this resolution have been disastrous. The Party became in every sense of the term a tail of the Government of India—a tail of even such reactionary forces as the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party. The type of jingoist propaganda that was let loose by the Party was not indulged in even by these reactionary parties. The Government of India was presented by these leaders as the paragon of all virtues. It was not for nothing that the Government of India circulated throughout the world through its embassies the speeches made by some Party leaders in Parliament on the border hostilities.

Is it any wonder, then, that in the CEC meeting of December 1962, many members characterised the cease-fire proposals of November 21, as “treacherous” and “diabolical” and demanded its outright rejection? It should be remembered that the Chinese had unilaterally ceased fire and started withdrawal. What did these people want? Did they want that the Indian army should pursue the withdrawing Chinese forces and continue the war across the McMahon Line and Aksai Chin across the Karakoram mountains? Perhaps they were afraid that when the Chinese withdrew and the armed conflict ceased, the ground under their jingoist propaganda would be cut! It is no wonder the resolution of the Executive Committee stated that the fact the Chinese army had come up to Foothills in NEFA before withdrawing showed that the Chinese were after the tea gardens and oil fields of Assam. Even the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Parties did not indulge in this kind of propaganda.

Even after the Colombo Conference and the visit of its representatives to Delhi, the CEC did not give its opinion on these proposals. It was only after the Government of India accepted them and insisted on their acceptance by China ‘in toto’ that the CEC passed a resolution fully supporting the Government of India’s stand!

In fact, a cursory review of the central and state party organs will show that the stuff produced by them is more anti-China than anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly or anti-reaction. In this they have surpassed the parties of right reaction.

Naturally this tailing behind the bourgeoisie reflected itself in the mass movement. Dange, as the General Secretary of the AITUC, immediately wrote to the Labour Minister offering 'industrial truce' and asked that the tripartite committee be convened forthwith. The conference was held on November 3, 1962. And Dange committed the working class to no strike action, however ferocious might be the attacks from the employers. Remember, all this was done without any consultation with the trade unions. And after having agreed to the truce, he presented it as a 'fait accompli' to the General Council of the AITUC, a fortnight later.

And this was justified in the name of the declaration of National Emergency and defence. Mr. Dange stated in the National Council: "The National Emergency, of course, means that most of the ordinary constitutional rights are also suspended. Only one thing has not been suspended which under such conditions generally becomes the first casualty, and that is, Parliament. It still functions. In spite of conditions of war and declaration of National Emergency, Parliament did meet and did have deliberations".

Are we to support Dange? Even at the height of the second world war when Hitler's Luftwaffe was bombing London and throughout the second world war, the British Parliament functioned. To such an extent had the Dange group fallen that they even praise the Government of India for not suspending Parliament when a border conflict broke out!

He made it very clear that the industrial truce as far as the workers are concerned was unconditional. He stated in the Council: "I unconditionally support my obligation but at the same time request others to accept theirs". What if the bourgeoisie does not accept the obligations? Dange has his apologia for that, too. He says: "After all, it is the bourgeoisie. The question of national obligation is more fundamental and real

to exploited classes than to the exploiters. In conditions of war the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes behave differently from the established exploiting classes. We do not lay down conditions for defending our country because the country belongs to the people”.

When the workers were thus handed over to the bourgeoisie, tied hand and foot, the employers made merry of the Emergency, increased their rate of exploitation, made more profits out of overtime and Sunday-work, refused even to share the gains of the overtime work done by the workers and resorted to dismissals, victimisation and other anti-trade union activities. The review of the working of the industrial truce resolution by the Government of India itself listed hundreds of cases of the employers flouting their obligations.

Dange in a “brilliant and fighting speech” according to his Assistant Secretary Satish Loomba, in the 21st Indian Labour Conference, stated: “What were the main items on which the working class was called upon to do its duty? Contributions to NDF? We paid. The AITUC unions collected huge sums. We worked on Sundays and overtime. Strikes and stoppages? Figures collected and placed before the conference by the Ministry of Labour show that this was the most peaceful period in India’s history. Figures also show how production increased and how productivity increased. That is the story of the working class.”

What is the story of the employing class and the States and Central Government? Was it a very happy feature that in the period of emergency prices were rising, real wages falling and Government was totally unable to check them? And when wages were falling the Government says ‘save more’.

And what use is this ‘fighting speech’ when actually no fight was waged when the workers were attacked, when wages were repressed. This was sheer betrayal of the working class, abandonment of the struggle to defend the class and masses.

But the workers did not take it lying down and there were hundreds of cases where this advice of AITUC leaders was disregarded. They went on strikes against unbearable burdens. And when Government resorted to severe repression on the

striking workers by arresting and detaining hundreds of them and even resorting to firing, Dange's AITUC-Communist leadership kept quiet. We mention here some of the most glaring examples of the Dange group's betrayal of the workers and abject surrender to the bourgeoisie.

In Goa, when all negotiations with the port authorities had totally failed, the workers went on strike on the simple demand that they should have the same facilities as the workers in other major ports like Bombay and Madras. After a few days, when the Government found that they could not break the strike, Mr. Nanda requested Mr. Dange over the telephone to get the strike withdrawn. Dange readily agreed to oblige and without even caring to ascertain what the facts of the case were, asked the union leaders over the trunk phone to immediately withdraw the strike unconditionally. The union leaders refused. After this, hundreds of leaders and militant striking workers were detained under the Defence of India Rules. When ultimately Government found itself unable to break the strike despite all its repression, direct negotiations were entered into by the port authorities and the strike was settled on the satisfaction of the major demands of the workers.

In Coimbatore, as many as twenty-one strikes took place in the textile mills within a short period of three months and the AITUC union simply stood by. Many such instances could be given from every state.

At the height of the preparations by the HMS unions for the general strike in Bombay in August 1963, against rising prices and the cost of living index fraud, Dange wrote a letter to them that they must postpone the strike and give time to the Government to implement their promise to have 'fair price shops' opened in every industrial establishment employing fifty or more workers. It should be noted that the Government later repudiated its undertaking and stated that no such undertaking was given. This gratuitous advice was naturally spurned by the HMS leaders and workers and the tempo for the general strike mounted with the heroic strike of the municipal workers. Only when Dange found that his efforts to sabotage the general strike had failed and

that his position was going to be seriously undermined, did he, at the last moment, give a formal call on behalf of the AITUC unions to support the general strike. It is noteworthy that he was nowhere in the picture. However, seeking to hide his shameless role of a saboteur, he later on tried to appropriate all credit to himself on the basis of the last minute formal call that he gave! In fact, Dange himself boasted that in this period, there had been more strikes by the workers of INTUC unions than those of the AITUC.

If this was the case with regard to the working class, the Dange group did no better with regard to the attacks of the Government on the common people. The U.P. Government had imposed a 25 per cent increase in the land levy which was opposed by all other opposition parties of the state and even by some Congressmen. It was left to Dr. Ahmed, a member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the CPI, to give his full-throated and whole-hearted support to this attack on the peasantry and declare that those who oppose this taxation are traitors to the country. March 1963 saw the imposition of the heaviest burdens on the people when the budgets of the Central and State Governments were passed. It imposed new taxation to the tune of over Rs. 250 crores. And what was the attitude of the Communist Party in Parliament? Under instructions from the Secretariat, the Communist Party in Parliament remained neutral in the voting on the Finance Bill imposing the heavy taxation.

A resolution moved by Comrade A. K. Gopalan calling on the Party to lead the people in a campaign against these tax burdens was rejected on the ground that the Party which supported defence cannot at the same time oppose taxation measures to strengthen defence. Many leaders of the Party went about supporting the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and even the Gold Control Order. And when Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was going to the USA and Britain for begging arms aid, the Communist leader in Parliament, Hiren Mukerjee, wished him 'bon voyage'.

A systematic campaign was unleashed through the bourgeois press that those who opposed Dange's resolution in the National Council and who had supported the resolution of either Comrade

P. Ramamurti or of Comrade E. M. S. were pro-Chinese. This was at a time when the bourgeois press and anti-Communist parties were carrying on a systematic campaign to the same effect. The public statements issued by several members and units of the Party who joined this chorus of bourgeois propaganda amounted to giving an alibi to Communist-baiters like the Jan Sangh, PSP and Swatantra Party as well as to the Government to launch their attack on the Party.

Is it, therefore, surprising that the supporters of the National Council did not react at all when the Government on November 7, struck the first blow in Maharashtra, where this vilification campaign had reached the highest pitch? The arrests of the so-called "pro-China elements" in Maharashtra was the first action of the Government to find out the extent of support it could get. Dange did his best to prevent the resolution condemning these arrests and demanding their release being passed by either the CEC or the General Council of the AITUC which met ten days later. Having satisfied itself that it could not only have the support of right reaction and the bulk of the Congress but also the support of people like Dange in the Communist Party, the Government was emboldened to launch the countrywide attack on November 21. Even this, however, failed to wake up these people, they conducted no mass campaign to force the Government to retrace these steps. Every real Communist will feel ashamed that the protest against Government's policy came not from the Indian Party leadership but from our fraternal parties abroad. Even after fraternal parties had repeatedly protested, the Dange group who was then in the leadership refused to launch a mass campaign against repression. This was perhaps the first instance in the history of any Communist Party that the leadership refused to launch a protest campaign when a section of the Party was attacked by the Government.

Not only did they launch any campaign for release but they actually abetted the Government in this repression. Many a memorandum submitted by the state leadership was an invitation to the Government to continue to keep the opponents of Dange's political line in detention. Many State Committees gave mandates

to those in jail to give undertakings to the Government. Although some of the supporters of Dange who were also in the initial stages detained gave such undertakings, the vast majority of the comrades refused to abase their self-respect by giving such undertakings. One of Dange's followers went to the extent of writing to Government from jail that he not only fully supported the National Council resolution but in his unit, had moved a resolution demanding that Comrade B.T. Ranadive should be expelled from the Party! The Secretary of the Tamilnad State Committee ordered the district units to remove the posters they had exhibited in public condemning the detentions and demanding the release of all those detained. When Comrade E. M. S., as editor of *NEW AGE* weekly, had written an editorial in January 1963, in which he had demanded the release of the detained comrades, the two other members of the Editorial Board, by a majority decision, deleted the paras relating to the detention and demand for release.

Dange, in a public speech in Tiruchirapalli, six months after the arrests, openly declared that the defence fund collections in the Golden Rock Workshop and Tiruchi had been sabotaged by the leaders of the trade union. This was an obvious reference to Comrades K. A. Nambiar and Umanath—who were then in jail. The fact was that both these comrades were in Delhi immediately after the armed border clashes began, attending Parliament and there was no truth whatever in the allegation of Dange. It was obvious Dange was asking the Madras Government not to release these comrades.

In June 1963, when Dange attended a meeting of the TUC in Hyderabad, the workers demanded, that the leadership should take effective steps to get the detained comrades released. He got angry at this and shouted, "Heavens will not fall if these 'mahatmas' are in jail". It is noteworthy that the Bombay Committee, under the personal guidance of Dange, suspended some comrades for shouting during the "Great March" in Delhi, "B. T. Ranadive Zindabad".

When Mr. Krishna Menon was removed from the Cabinet, these patriots were bewildered. They could not see the simple and

living connection between the anti-Communist hysteria worked up by right reaction leading up to its campaign for the removal of crypto Communist and the Government's surrender to it. Their 'patriotism' took them to such abject surrender to the bourgeoisie that they welcomed imperialist military aid. In doing this, they forgot the elementary lesson drawn by the international Communist movement that an attack on the Communist movement was the inevitable accompaniment of imperialist aid. They, therefore, could not see the connection between the arrival of the UK-USA military mission and the countrywide arrests of our comrades. Thus, they shamelessly accepted the claim of the Government that these arrests were not directed against the entire Party. Thereby, without any sense of shame, they renounced the position accepted by the world Communist movement namely, attack on Communists is the main weapon used by reactionaries all over the world.

It must be realised that all this took place after the border clashes had ended. The Communist Party did not even ask for the lifting of the Emergency for six long months. On the other hand, many of them had publicly opposed the demand made by other opposition parties for lifting the state of emergency. In June 1963, when the National Council could no longer evade the issue and had to adopt a resolution on the question, it did not categorically demand the withdrawal of the emergency, but requested the Government to review the question of the necessity of continuing the emergency in consultation with opposition parties. It is noteworthy, however, that within two days of the adoption of this resolution, when the General Council of the AITUC met, Dange made a statement that in his opinion, the emergency should continue!

When by-elections were announced, the Central Secretariat gave a directive to the Party units that where the Party could not be sure of its own success, it should not put up its candidates, but support Congress candidates as against other reactionary parties. It is obvious that in no constituency had the Party 100 per cent chances of winning. The Secretariat directive, therefore, amounted to virtually asking the units to support the Congress

Party in the by-elections and it was so interpreted by the Party units without any intervention by the Secretariat. In the by-elections to Parliament from Amroha, Rajkot and Farukhabad constituency from where the Socialist leader Dr. Lohia and not any member of a reactionary party contested, the Communist Party threw its whole weight in favour of Congress candidates. In Tamilnad, in all the three by-elections that took place, the Communist Party threw its whole weight in favour of the Congress candidates. It did not matter as to who the opposing candidate was. Even against an independent candidate who had refused to join the Swatantra or the DMK, the Party supported the Congress candidate.

In Kerala, the State Secretary issued a statement after discussion in the State Council on three by-elections. In that statement, he made it clear that the Communist Party would go in for adjustments of seats in the three by-elections with the Congress Party. He further stated in the statement that it was necessary to support the Congress party in order to safeguard 'non-alignment, planned development and socialism'! If this line could not be implemented, it was not because of lack of efforts by the leadership of the Party in Kerala. Events so developed that it could not be implemented. And the fact remains that it was in Kerala that the Party won one of the by-elections—precisely in the seat which the Dangeites wanted to give to the Congress in the name of defeating the PSP. Thus, complete lining up behind the Congress party had become the general line of the Dange group. The Vijayawada Party Congress line was thrown completely overboard.

But the people moved. They expressed their resentment and anger against the Congress Government, which utilised the emergency for fattening big business, speculators, hoarders and landlords and threw unbearable burdens on the common people, by defeating the Congress candidates in the Parliamentary by-elections, despite the Communist Party's support to the Congress. In the absence of a Communist Party resolutely fighting against these anti-people policies of the Government and face of its support to the Congress, people had no other choice

before them but to express their resentment by voting for whoever stood against the Congress. Thus, in practice, the Communist Party's line was throwing the people into the hands of Right reaction, strengthening Right reaction in the country. How worthless was the Dange group's claim that they were fighting Right reaction?

The by-election results gave a great shock to the Dange group. They had to wake up. The Congress Government's attacks on the people had led to people losing confidence in it. In great haste, they gave notice of resolution of no-confidence to be moved in Parliament.

Later on, they wanted to riggle out of this and what acrobatics they had to perform ! In Parliament, they knew that with the support of the Communist MPs alone they could not get the leave of the House to discuss their resolution. Even then, they deliberately did not approach any party or individual for support.

Their aim was thus clear. They wanted to tell the people that they had moved the no-confidence but at the same time, they did not mobilise enough support to have the motion discussed. Unfortunately for them, there was another resolution of no-confidence moved by Acharya Kripalani which was taken up for discussion. The Communist Party was embarrassed. It did not know what to do. A way was found by moving an amendment asking for the resignation of two Ministers, namely S. K. Patil and Morarji Desai. In the speeches, no attack was launched on the policy of continuing the emergency and DIR, its misuse and the anti-people policies of the Government as a whole. No attack was launched for the Government's gradually emasculating the policy of non-alignment. Instead, fire was concentrated on two Ministers who were supposed to be the villains of the piece.

Again, sensing the popular mood, they decided to organise the "Great March". It was an attempt to shore up the sagging influence of the Party among the people who had begun to look upon it as an appendage of the Congress. It is significant that in the campaign for signature, most of the leaders of the Party made it clear that this campaign was not directed against the

Government but it was intended to strengthen Nehru's hands as if Nehru had nothing to do with these policies and he was just a prisoner in some reactionaries' camp. It should also be remembered that Dange refused to include the demand for the release of Communists in the "Great Petition".

Despite all this, when the comrades, after months of inactivity, got the opportunity to move the people against the Government, they worked enthusiastically. Facts show that it was particularly those units of the Party which were opposed to the political line of the Dange group, that were most active in the campaign for the Great March. Despite this, however, Dange went on accusing them of sabotaging the campaign.

After the "Great March", instead of drawing the correct lesson that people rallied to the march to express their anger against their fast deteriorating conditions and that the Party had to consistently lead this discontent of the people and fight against the Government policies, Dange sought to draw the conclusion that the "Great March" was a vindication of his entire policies. With such an understanding, naturally, for months afterwards there was no sincere follow-up of the "Great March" or any serious attempt to fight to defend the interests of the masses.

Finding that his position was getting seriously undermined, Dange indulged in demagogy and gave from time to time slogans like "Bharat Bandh" which were never seriously meant. In the end of December, he convened an all-India conference of trade unions in Bombay. At the fraction meeting, it was decided that the time was ripe to make serious preparations for an all-India strike on the issue of prices and other pressing demands. But, it should be emphasised that this again was not seriously meant. For, when Comrade P. Ramamurti proposed that all well-known leaders of the AITUC must tour the country, visit important trade union centres and carry on a mass campaign for the strike and help the state and local comrades in preparing for the strike, the proposal was turned down. Instead, Dange promised some pamphlets to help the campaign. Needless to say, no pamphlet came out.

Again when he suggested that in view of the uneven development of the trade union movement and tempo of struggles, states where the tempo of the workers develops, they should be encouraged to call statewide strikes without waiting for the all-India strike and that such strikes would generate enthusiasm and encouragement to workers in other states, Dange stoutly opposed the suggestion and said that no state should go on strike before the all-India strike. It is obvious that by his opposition, the rising tempo in different states was sought to be drowned in frustration.

When one delegate at the conference suggested that guarantees must be forged in the states by the calling of state conventions and setting up committees for the preparation of general strike, not only did Dange turn the suggestion down, but fell foul on the delegate. In the three months following the conference, the largest number of leading comrades of the AITUC were sent abroad in various delegations. This is the clearest proof of the fact that the call for the preparation for the general strike was never seriously meant to be implemented. The Kerala PC had to bow down to the demand of the Party members in the state and agree to an extensive Convention of PCMs, DCMs and representatives of lower committees for the purpose of discussing and planning the general strike on the question of prices and a big campaign on the question of the retrograde amendments sought to be made to the Agrarian Relations Act. The district comrades concerned took to these preparations for the convention enthusiastically and there was extensive and enthusiastic support for the convention. However, just for four days before the date of the convention, the State Secretariat, without giving any reasons whatever, cancelled the convention altogether.

The Tamilnad Council of the Party took this line to its logical conclusion in the municipal elections. It passed a resolution by majority which stated that the Party would seek to enter into electoral adjustments in all municipalities and in respect of all seats with the Congress party for supporting each other. The secretariat of the State Council issued a statement later that even if there was no adjustment, the Communist Party would support

the Congress party wherever it did not itself contest. Although the resolution stated that it was not seeking a general united front with the Congress, anyone could see that this resolution was nothing but such a united front.

When the matter was brought to the notice of the CEC, it refused to pull up the Tamilnad Council but on the other hand, passed a resolution which only underlined the fact that the Tamilnad Council had stated that they did not seek a general united front with the Congress. By refusing to give its opinion on the crux of the problem raised by the resolution, namely seeking adjustments with the Congress in all the constituencies and all the municipalities of the state, the CEC virtually abetted the Tamilnad Council by resorting to sophistry. The Tamilnad leadership took its cue from the Central Secretariat and went whole-hog in tailing behind the Congress. Mr. Kamaraj refused to come to any adjustment in the overwhelming majority of the municipalities. Out of over 50 municipalities, the Congress agreed to come to some arrangement in three municipalities only where its position was very shaky. In Madras, it agreed to give just three out of 100 seats. In Trichy, it agreed to give six out of thirtysix seats and in Tuticorin, four out of 32 seats. And yet, the leadership went all-out supporting the Congress in all the municipalities in all the constituencies where it did not contest. In most of the districts, the Party comrades and units refused to cooperate with the leadership and refused to organise meetings. In Trichy, Tuticorin and Madras, the tricolour and Red Flag were flown together. Kalyanasundaram appealed to the voters in Trichy that they must consider every vote cast to the Congress as a vote cast to the Communist Party ! In Madras, when the local comrades and committees refused to organise meetings for supporting the Congress, the leadership got a platform under the style of "National Progressive Front", with Congress, the rank communal Dravida Kazhagam, the Tamilnad National Party (which has now merged in the Congress). In the name of the 'front', hundreds of meetings were organised during the election and a member of the State Secretariat was invariably one of the main speakers along with the representatives of the Congress

and other parties. Rabid communal fire was emitted from this platform and the Communist Party representative vied with the others in this rabid communalism. Was it any wonder that the Party lost many seats and became the laughing-stock of the people of Tamilnad ?

VII. Organisational Line of the Right-Dominated National Council

We have mentioned in the earlier Chapter how in order to pursue its line of class collaboration, the Dange group was resorting to factional mobilisation of the ranks against those who were opposed to their line. The April (1962) spirit was completely reversed. This forced three of our comrades—P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu and Harkishan Singh Surjeet—to resign their membership of the Central Secretariat.

The final blow to Party unity was dealt by the Dange group in the crucial days following October-November 1962. Comrade E.M.S.'s appeal to them to retrace their steps even at that late stage fell on deaf ears. Their revisionist political line and disruptive organisational methods forced Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad to resign from the three posts of General Secretaryship of the Party, membership of the Central Secretariat and editorship of NEW AGE weekly.

All this did not have any effect on Dange and company. They continued their mad drive to disrupt the unity of the Party.

In West Bengal, after the arrest of the leaders, the elected State Council of the Party was dissolved in disregard of all organisational principles of the Party. Even more strange was the unheard of decision that the State Council would not automatically begin functioning when the leaders came out of jail but could be resorted only by the National Council. A few members of the State Council who had been left out by the Government constituted a new Secretariat and issued a statement and submitted a memorandum to the Home Minister providing the alibi for the Government to continue the detention of the leaders by saying that they "had not reacted in time to the Chinese aggression" and had been reluctant to implement

the National Council's resolution on Chinese aggression, etc.— though the State Council held in the end of November, had adopted a decision for the implementation of the National Council resolution. A statement was also issued slandering leaders of the State Council with having misappropriated Party property, etc.

Later, the National Council (i.e. the Dangeites, our 40 members having been jailed in November 1962) dissolved the elected West Bengal State Council, the bulk of whose members was in jail and constituted a POC composed of 7 of their henchmen. One of these seven members resigned on the spot. Two of them remained permanently in Delhi. Another went to the U.S.S.R. One other remained in the district. Virtually the POC was a one-man body, which was invested with all the functions and authority of the State Council.

The plea under which the State Council was dissolved was that it had not endorsed the National Council Resolution of November. Actually, immediately after the National Council passed that resolution, the West Bengal State Council had met and adopted a Resolution that it would implement the NC Resolution and the leader of the Assembly party Jyoti Basu had stated in the Assembly that now that the National Council had passed a Resolution he would implement it. Thus, the National Council decision was in utter violation of the Organisational principles. Thus, the decision of the National Council struck a blow at inner-Party democracy and stifled expression of views even before a question was decided upon.

This imposed POC's only function was taking a series of disciplinary actions summarily suspending and expelling Party members and dissolving committees. When the Party was facing severe repression with most of the leading cadres in jail, they demanded the list of Party members from the districts within a short time, and if they could not be procured within the stipulated time, the districts were deprived of membership. The aim of all these measures was to convert the Dange group's minority in the State into a 'majority'.

In Punjab, even before the Secretary of the PC was arrested, a meeting of the State Council was called without any reference

to him. And the minority which took over the leadership exploiting the situation created by the arrest and detention of a large number of leading comrades of the majority, convened an illegal and unrepresentative special conference whose only purpose was to slander the leaders in jail and perpetuate the minority in the leadership. It was not accidental that within a few days of this conference, four leading comrades—two of whom had been released from detention only a few days earlier—who opposed the disruptive move in holding the conference were again arrested and detained.

The delegates to this conference were not elected by the membership. All District Council members that remained outside were delegates. In place of those arrested handpicked people were nominated. And some District Councils were even enlarged by nomination against the provisions of the Party Constitution. This 'Conference' which had no constitutional authority decided to replace the State Council that had been elected by the State Conference on the basis of elected delegates by a new Council elected by the delegates of this handpicked conference.

In Andhra, they reconstituted the Secretariat on the ground that those who have opposed the National Council resolution before it was adopted have no place in the Secretariat, even though they may agree to implement the resolution. In Bombay, the Committee was reconstituted by removing seven members who were arrested in November 1962 within three days of their arrest.

In other States, too, disciplinary actions began to be taken against comrades for political-ideological differences. The main target of attack of Dange and his followers in this period became Comrade A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in Parliament, who had come to be looked upon by the Party ranks as the champion of the people, who had been consistently voicing the demands of people against the imposition of heavy taxation, high prices, etc., and agitating for the release of the detained comrades. His speeches were in sharp contrast with the pro-Government activity of the Dangeites and naturally lower units and Party members, dissatisfied with the supine indifference of

the Dangeites to the people's problems, were everywhere requesting him to address meetings. Frightened with the prospect of being disowned by the rank and file Party members, the Dangeites began taking measures to prevent A. K. Gopalan addressing meetings. The Tamilnad Council Secretary wrote to him asking him not to address any public meeting in Tamilnad. The Maharashtra Secretary also wrote a similar letter, and asked the Party Centre to prevent A. K. Gopalan from addressing any meeting in Bombay.

In West Bengal, the mass of Party members getting extremely dissatisfied with the total inactivity of the POC over the question of the release of our comrades and the rise in prices organised a mass rally in Calcutta on these issues and invited A. K. Gopalan. The mass rally was the biggest in the recent period, even according to the bourgeois papers, over one lakh attending it in pouring rains.

And for attending this mass rally, which for the first time demanded the release of Communists after November 1962 in Calcutta, A. K. Gopalan was publicly censured by the National Council.

Intensification of the debate in the international Communist movement and certain articles in the Press of the Chinese Communist Party just about this time were sought to be exploited by the Dange group to denounce all opposition to its revisionist political line and disruptive organisational methods as "Chinese-inspired". They raised the bogey of anti-Party group in the July 1963 meeting of the National Council and the Control Commission was asked to enquire into its activities. At this meeting, Dr. Ahmed, M. N. Govindan Nair and Yogindra Sharma submitted a resolution which could only be written by police agents. Wild allegations that the Left were circulating Chinese documents, doing propaganda inside the Party for China, etc., were made in the resolution and stern disciplinary action was demanded.*

*Curiously, this resolution, which is supposed to be not for publication, has been quoted by the Home Minister of India in his statement to Parliament in support of his slanderous charges in justification of his action detaining 1000 Communist leaders in India.

The Party press, not only in the Centre but in the states too, ceased to represent the Party and was reduced into organs of the faction which had control of the Party machine. The Party press abandoned Marxism-Leninism, consistently violated the accepted policy of the Party, writings and reports in it were one sided and factional and in the ideological debate only one view-point was publicised while suppressing and slandering the other thus making any sober and serious discussions of the issues impossible.

What was equally grave was that quite a large section of the Party membership on the rolls at the time of the Vijayawada Congress was being denied the opportunity to renew their membership on various grounds while at the same time there were reports that in some places the membership was being inflated. Obviously, this could only be to pack a Party Congress with a majority of their own supporters and thus perpetuate themselves in the leadership.

Our Efforts at Restoring Party Unity

It was at this stage that the comrades in Andhra and Tamilnad were released—releases had taken place in Kerala a little earlier. Despite all the slanders that had been heaped on them while they were in jail and even after they had come out, these comrades without getting provoked considered the very grave inner-Party situation and formulated certain proposals for restoring Party unity. These proposals were embodied in the note *Threat to Party Unity—How to Avert it?* submitted by seventeen members of the National Council to its session in October 1963. The seventeen comrades confined themselves to solving the problem of urgent and pressing issues which, in their opinion, “constitute the first minimum necessary steps in the arduous struggle for achieving inner-Party unity...” On the ideological differences in the international Communist movement, they proposed, “Our Party, as an independent, sovereign unit of the international Communist movement, shall arrive at its own independent decisions after a full and democratic discussion in the entire Party. No question of either ‘Pro-Peking’ or ‘Pro-Moscow’ shall arise whatever our enemies shout to slander the

cause of Communism. We should not resort to open criticism and attacks either on the positions of the CPSU or the CPC until our Party concludes its inner-Party discussions and arrives at its own conclusions.” On the India-China border dispute they said, “We got stuck in discussing the differences from time to time and allowed the situation to be exploited by all sorts of chauvinistic and Right reactionary forces in the country to fan the flames of hatred against China and do everything possible to prevent the formation of the climate for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the dispute....The most important issue that can bring about a radical change in the situation is the peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute. Whether we succeed or not in bringing about a negotiated settlement as speedily as we wish it, one thing is certain, that is, the further advance of the democratic and revolutionary movement is very much dependent upon the systematic and persistent struggle we carry on to bring about such a settlement.....

“Our Party cannot play any effective role by merely giving support to the declared intentions of the Nehru Government for peaceful settlement, etc., without mobilising popular opinion independently with its main stress on peaceful settlement and for a fresh initiative by our Government to that effect while, of course, taking all necessary steps to strengthen the defence of the country. To do this, our Party should reorientate its whole agit-prop line and evolve correct slogans of action from time to time, instead of being swayed by anti-Chinese propaganda of the rightist forces in the country, as is now often done. The unbridled criticism of the Chinese Government and the open and vituperative attacks on them, irrespective of the correctness or otherwise of their contents, are not conducive to creating a climate of peaceful negotiations in the country. The increasing stress on peaceful negotiations and for a fresh initiative to break the deadlock, by our Party will not only bring about greater unity among us, but also unite the broadest democratic opinion behind the slogans of negotiated and speedy settlement of the border dispute. We should defer the discussion on those aspects that divide us and concentrate on the pressing and urgent issue of

negotiations. The details cannot be worked out here and the CEC and National Council will have to undertake that task if the Party leadership takes on hand, and in right earnest, the unification of our Party.”

On the current political line of the Party, the seventeen comrades proposed, “Any attempt to enforce the Vijayawada line as interpreted by one section of comrades who now occupy the leading positions, through organisational methods such as disciplining individual leaders for their political views, the dissolution of elected committees and appointing of organising committees, will not pave the way for either effectively implementing the line or keeping the Party united, leave alone helping the process of further unification.

“... In view of such specific directives (of the Party Constitution) and the critical inner-Party situation prevailing now, we should concentrate on the pressing and urgent problems of the mass movement and desist from attempting to rush through political-ideological decisions arrived at under conditions of sharp differences and divisions. It is precisely on pressing mass issues that we can attain maximum unity amongst us and such united work in turn will pave the way for greater unity and understanding. While abiding by and implementing the political line as adopted at Vijayawada, we shall have to organise the inner-Party discussion on the following subjects without delay: (a) reassessment of the Vijayawada line in the light of developments since then and particularly during the last one year; (b) ‘National Democracy’ and ‘non-capitalist path’ as applied to Indian realities; (c) the Party programme.”

For conducting organised and principled inner-Party discussions both on the ideological questions in the international Communist movement as well as problems connected with the revolutionary movement in our country, the seventeen comrades proposed that “the National Council should set up a small body of seven comrades who represent and command the confidence of all comrades in conducting free and fair discussion. Similar bodies may be set up at different state centres wherever it is found necessary. Pending final decisions at the appropriate Party

Conferences and Congress, the dates of which will have to be decided keeping in view the nature and intensity of Government's repression on our Party, the Party press should not act as a vehicle to propagate views held by one or the other section of comrades on the accepted policy of the Party. The Party press also should decisively come out in defence of all Communists while sharply refuting the slanderous attacks of the bourgeois press which constantly vilifies some as 'pro-Peking' and 'anti-national', urges on the Government to arrest them, appeals to the central leadership to expel them, etc''.

To restore mutual confidence and promote the cause of Party unity they proposed the review and revising both at the centre and in the States of certain organisational measures taken during the acute inner-Party crisis—the dissolving of the West Bengal POC and the restoration of the State Council, restoration of the Provincial Council elected by the regular conference in Punjab in the place of the Council elected by the special conference, stopping of enquiries about Comrades Sundarayya and Gopalan, etc.

To ensure that the Party Conferences and Congress be held in a democratic manner, the proposal was made: that the membership rolls on the basis of which the Vijayawada Congress was held should form the basis for next Party Congress, that full opportunity should be given to all Party members to renew their Party cards. Wherever new membership recruitment had taken place, that membership to be scrutinised by agreed sub-committees to recommend whether it is genuine or not and whether it should be accepted for the purpose of participation as delegates in the conferences and the Congress.

The note of the seventeen comrades had scrupulously avoided laying responsibility on anybody's shoulders for the serious inner-Party situation that had developed, but taking note of the actual situation had made proposals, which none could turn down as unreasonable, for taking the first steps to restore Party unity.

S. A. Dange while admitting these were "very serious propositions" gave a reply to the proposals which showed the least concern for Party unity. All these reasonable proposals were

rejected out of hand while the reply made a cheap attempt to damn all political opponents as "pro-China". Far from making any proposal himself, he demanded the seventeen comrades accept their "obligations". These were obviously not meant as serious proposals for Party unity, it was an attempt to dictate terms which in the context of the inner-Party situation could only intensify the differences and widen the split.

What they did afterwards in the National Council confirmed the fact that Party unity was the last thing Dange and his followers wanted. Without organising any discussion inside the Party, with the majority they commanded in the National Council, they committed our Party completely to the positions taken by the CPSU. Far from reviewing and rescinding the disruptive disciplinary actions which had already been taken, the proposal was made to suspend Comrade Gopalan from the CEC for six months and though this had to be changed Comrade Gopalan was publicly censured.

An explanation was demanded from Comrade Sundarayya for his speeches in general body meetings. The demand for the restoration of the West Bengal PC was rejected. It was clear that Dange and company were bent on continuing on the path of disruptive organisational methods which could only widen the gulf inside the Party.

After the National Council session, in State after State Dange and his followers intensified their disruptive activities. In Andhra, a series of slanderous accusations were made against Comrades Sundarayya, Basavapunniah, Hanumantha Rao, Nagi Reddy and others and these were circulated to the Party ranks which necessitated a reply from these comrades. Insistent demands began to be made in Andhra for the expulsion of Comrade Sundarayya, in Tamilnad for the expulsion of Comrade. Ramamurti and others. In Punjab, the State Council decided to suspend Comrade Surjeet for six months from Party membership and to expel Comrade Des Raj Chadha. In Bombay, charge-sheets and notices were served on a number of comrades.

It must be noted that the Dange group flouted all inner-Party democracy in order to pursue their chauvinistic, tailist line. In

Kerala, despite the demand made by four out of the nine district councils, representing more than fifty per cent of the Party membership and despite the demand made by a number of members of the State Council itself to convene a special Party Conference, the State Council flouted the Constitution and refused to convene the conference.

Similarly, as early as in February 1963, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad had submitted a document on revisionism in which he had nailed down the revisionist activities of the Dange group and demanded inner-Party discussion. Unable to reject the demand out of hand, they appointed a commission to organise inner-Party discussion on question of controversy. But the Commission was dead even before it was born and no inner-Party discussion was organised.

This was the pattern which Dange and company were following when the Central Executive Committee met in January 1964.

Again, without getting provoked by all that was happening, ten members of the CEC made an appeal for the restoration of Party unity. After pointing out the ideological-political-organisational line and methods of Dange and his followers which were seriously threatening the unity of the Party, the ten comrades again put forward concrete proposals for arresting the fast-deteriorating situation and creating an atmosphere where the work of restoring Party unity can begin. These proposals were:

—Revoke all the disciplinary actions that have been taken in this period. Call off the so-called enquiry which the Control Commission is conducting.

—Restore the West Bengal State Council.

—Restore the Punjab State Council which was elected at the last regular conference.

—Withdraw from circulation to Party members the charges and counter-charges in Andhra.

—Start immediate inner-Party discussions on ideological-political questions including the Programme in preparation for the Party Congress.

—Convene the Party Congress to resolve the differences. Fix

date, place and agenda. Regarding the membership on the basis of which the Congress should be held, a proposal was made in the Note to the National Council (October, 1963).

—Appoint an agreed commission to conduct the discussion and prepare for the Party Congress.

—During this period, have agreed understanding on building and developing mass movements so that we can go to the masses with one voice.

“Unless these measures are taken”, the ten comrades stated, “there is no prospect of our Party overcoming the present crisis and averting further disruption that threatens our Party. Any continuation of the attitude that since one is in a majority, one can go ahead and do whatever one wants, any attempt to mechanically impose discipline in this situation where we are preparing for a Party Congress, will only lead to further worsening of the situation which should be prevented in the interests of not only our Party but also of the democratic movement of our country. It is in this spirit that we are submitting this note and our proposals with the hope that they will get more serious consideration and a better response than the earlier note by some of us to the National Council”.

But this appeal went unheeded, these proposals had the same fate as the earlier one. With their majority, they rejected the demand for convening an early Party Congress and the proposal regarding membership which left out nearly 30% of the membership transforming their minority in the Party into a majority. They used their majority even to decide the personnel of the Commission to prepare documents for the Party Congress. Their whole attitude was such that it became impossible for Comrade E.M.S. or anyone of us to participate in the work of the Commission.

It was at this meeting also that the CEC endorsed the line of the Tamilnad Committee on the municipal elections and though this endorsement formally mentioned the election tactics for the general elections worked out by the National Council at Bangalore, it was really an endorsement of the line of general united front with the Congress which actually led to

the rout of the Party in the municipal elections.

At this stage itself, many of us were convinced that Dange and company were out to disrupt the Party and would not allow a democratic verdict at a democratically held Party Congress. But because of our anxiety for Party unity we wanted to go to the Party Congress and fight there for a democratic verdict. It was for this that we made the proposal to the CEC. But they were rejected. Even then we began work for preparing documents to be placed before the National Council. After preliminary discussions drafts were prepared on both the ideological questions and the Party Programme and they were circulated to leading comrades of our view in all States with the proposal that they should be finalised in a meeting in the beginning of April. The meeting in April was not for setting up any rival Party but to finalise these documents and as the introduction to these documents themselves said they were to be submitted to the National Council after they were finalised.

It must be acknowledged to the glory of the Party that Party comrades throughout this period resisted these anti-Party and factional activity of the Dange group. In West Bengal, the POC was thoroughly isolated and almost all Party units refused to accept its authority. Throughout the country, many Party units organised mass meetings to be addressed by Comrade A. K. Gopalan. Immediately after the National Council took disciplinary action against A. K. Gopalan and publicly censured him, the Trivandrum comrades organised a grand reception to him. Almost every district in Kerala organised grand receptions and mass rallies.

The Dange Letters

It was in this background that the revelation came about the letters which Dange wrote offering his services as an agent to the British Government while he was a prisoner after conviction in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case. The CURRENT of March 7, 1964 published the story with the text of the incriminating letter. It is a fact that some time earlier a cyclostyled copy of these letters

had come into our hands sent presumably by the same person who later supplied CURRENT with it. We did not raise the question of these letters with the Secretariat or in the CEC because we thought, considering the seriousness of the issue, it was our duty to verify whether the letters existed in the National Archives or not and if possible get certified extracts of the same. A comrade began working on our behalf in the Archives, found that the letters in Dange's handwriting existed in the files and had applied for certified copies. The publication of the material by CURRENT at that stage actually came in the way of our getting these certified extracts expeditiously.

What was most alarming was the attitude of the Secretariat after the *Current* publication. Here was no question of ideological differences, the only question involved was that of defending the revolutionary integrity of the Party. But the Central Secretariat on March 13, without even bothering to visit the National Archives, issued a statement not only labelling the letters as forgeries but charging the 'Left' with responsibility for the circulation of these forged documents.

Instead of treating the issue with the seriousness it deserved, the Secretariat through another statement on April 1, 1964, tried to blame us saying, "With the new line of open split of every Communist Party decided upon by the Chinese leadership and given expression to in their February 4 article, the supporters inside our own Party of the ideological positions of the Chinese leadership have evidently now decided to split the Indian Party also." This was the beginning of the slanderous campaign to be intensified later that we were splitting the Party at Chinese behest. The sole purpose of this campaign was to save Dange because his followers were very much conscious that only by saving Dange could their politics exist. Our hopes that there would be no controversy on such a matter and that all would support the proposal for an investigation into the letters were belied by this statement of the Secretariat followed by another one by Dange himself calling us "neo-Trotskyites" and what not.

Because of this spate of statements of the Secretariat, it became necessary again for us to come out openly stating

our position. In a statement to the press on April 6, nine members of the CEC— Comrades A. K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, P. Ramamurti, M. Basavapunniah, P. Sundarayya, Promode Dasgupta, Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, Harekrishna Konar, Harkishan Singh Surjeet stated:

“In these circumstances, one would expect that the Secretariat, if it was interested in safeguarding the revolutionary honour and prestige of the Party, would take some tangible steps to investigate into the files of the National Archives situated within a couple of miles from the Office of the Communist Party of India. But for reasons best known to itself, this is exactly what the Secretariat shuns like the plague.

“After all this, the Secretariat had no alternative to calling emergent meetings of the National Council and its Executive. However, without waiting for their deliberations, the Secretariat again rushed to the press in the name of the Party, hurls abuses and charges against the so-called Left, calls them splitters and alleges that they are acting in furtherance of the call of the Communist Party of China to split the Party.”

It was in this atmosphere that the Central Executive Committee met on April 9. It was an emergent meeting called to discuss the Dange Letters and connected events and this was what was most agitating Party members and friends. But in the agenda placed before the meeting by the Secretariat, the first item was resolution on the disruptive and anti-Party activities of certain leading Party members and only as the second item consideration of the alleged ‘Dange Letters’ figured on the agenda. We demanded that the first item on the agenda should be consideration of the Dange Letters and that while this was being considered Dange should not occupy the Chair. When this was not found acceptable to Dange and his group, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta proposed that both the items could be taken together, Comrade Jyoti Basu suggested that the meeting should be adjourned and efforts made to explore possibilities of general agreement on the agenda and procedure. All this we did so as to save Party unity but everything was rejected by Dange and his followers using their slender majority in the CEC. After this,

there was nothing else we could do but dissociate ourselves from the meeting and Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad, A. K. Gopalan, P. Ramamurti, M. R. Venkatraman, P. Sundarayya, M. Basavapunniah, Jyoti Basu, Harekrishna Konar, Promode Dasgupta, Harkishan Singh Surjeet and Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri along with Bhupesh Gupta walked out of the meeting and wrote a letter to the National Council which was to meet the next day explaining the circumstances which left no alternative for them but to refrain from participating in the meeting.

After these comrades had withdrawn from the meeting, the CEC took up consideration of the so-called disruptive and anti-party activities of certain comrades without even waiting for the report of the three members of the Control Commission who had been for months investigating these so-called parallel activities and in less than half an hour, the CEC adopted a resolution recommending to the NC the expulsion of seven members of the CEC—Comrades Sundarayya, Basavapunniah, A. K. Gopalan, P. Ramamurti, Promode Dasgupta, Harekrishna Konar and Harkishan Singh Surjeet. Not only was this resolution adopted but Dange and his followers were in such a hurry that they released it to the press even before placing it before the NC.

The NC session followed more or less the same pattern. When it met on April 10, we again proposed that consideration of the Dange letters should be the first item on the agenda and that Dange should not preside over the meeting when this was being discussed. Dange and his followers continued to be adamant and the NC adjourned that day after accepting the proposal that the Secretariat should have informal talks with Comrades E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu and Bhupesh Gupta to find out whether any agreement could be reached on the agenda and procedure. When this proposal was originally placed it was for a committee of the Secretariat which did not include Dange to meet these comrades for consultations. Dange arrogantly remarked that nobody could deliver the goods except himself and no talks can be held without his participation. It was then that it was decided that the whole Secretariat should meet the three comrades.

It was during these consultations that Dange first raised the question of prima facie case saying that if he relinquished the chair it would mean that there was a prima facie case against him. The letters were there in the National Archives, many members of the NC had seen them. This itself constituted a prima facie case and it was for Dange to prove that the letters were not genuine. Instead of that he was demanding that without even any discussion, the NC should give him a certificate saying there was no prima facie case against him. When Comrade E.M.S. pointed this out, the Secretariat took the position that nothing can be done. And the consultations could not lead to any agreement on the agenda and procedure because of this attitude of Dange and the secretariat.

Almost all the Secretariat members in private had admitted that the letters were genuine, but tried to find excuses for Dange that they were forty years old, etc. But they could not take this stand openly because that would do immense harm to their prestige and also jeopardise their political line whose leader was Dange. It was in defence of their revisionist line that they wanted to cover up such a serious matter as the Dange Letters. If even on an issue like this they refused to evolve an agreed method for investigation it was clear they would use all the dirty methods to keep the Party machine in their hands and prevent a democratic Party Congress. That is why they rejected all reasonable demands for a joint commission to probe the letters, the proposal for taking legal action against the CURRENT etc. So, when they took the same stand in the NC as in the CEC, 32 members of the Council could not but dissociate with its proceedings and walk out.

What happened in the NC was the culmination of the political and organisational methods which Dange and his followers had been pursuing, particularly after the crisis in October-November 1962, in complete disregard of the Vijayawada Congress decisions and the organisational resolution of the Hyderabad session of the NC.

After the walk-out of the 32 members from the NC, the Council adopted a resolution saying there was no prima facie case against Dange and hence he did not have to vacate the chair

on that count, but that he himself declines to preside over the meeting and that question of the Dange Letters and splitting activities of certain leading comrades will be taken together. The fact that Dange had to vacate the chair, the very thing that he and the secretariat had doggedly refused to do for three days showed the utter bankruptcy of the Secretariat to deal with the serious situation facing the Party. But the resolution of the Council did not provide any basis for the 32 members to go back to the Council. As a statement made by them made clear,

“.....We are of the opinion that the present resolution does not reveal a sufficient realisation of the real issues and their gravity. Although the bankruptcy of the Secretariat is patent for all to see, it still wishes to cling to its position.

“First, the Dange Letters are the most serious issue before the entire Party. Many of us who have seen these Letters and the connected papers are convinced that they are genuine not forged. The resolution seeks to commit us to the position that no prima facie case exists.

“Secondly, while the letters can be considered and discussed along with the statements issued by the Secretariat as well as other members of the NC together, it is wrong to club with them the question of what the Secretariat terms ‘splitting activities’ of some members of the NC.

“This only shows that the seriousness of the Dange Letters is sought to be minimised and drowned in a general discussion of charges and countercharges.

“We are convinced that if the Party is to be unified and brought out of the present crisis, the cloud hanging around Dange must first be cleared through a probe by an agreed committee. Having done that, the entire inner-Party organisational question should be discussed in a calm atmosphere. The aim of such a discussion should be to find ways of ensuring fuller and freer inner-Party discussion on all issues of political and ideological controversy.

“This is exactly what the resolution seeks to avoid.....”

The 32 members of the NC then discussed the whole situation and came to certain conclusions which were incorporated in the

Appeal issued by them to all Party members.

The exchange of views revealed that “we are united not only against the factionalism and anti-Party organisational methods resorted to by them but also against their political line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie through general united front with the Congress.”

Having reviewed the disruptive activities of the Dange group the appeal said, “We have now come to the unanimous conclusion that our struggle against this factional approach of the followers of Dange is an integral part of our struggle against their reformist political line. Our call to the majority of the Party members and units to repudiate Dange and his group is, therefore, a call to repudiate the reformist political line of general united front with the Congress, to repudiate the line of factional preparation for a fake Party Congress, to repudiate their efforts at whitewashing the suspicious conduct of Dange in relation to his alleged letters whose existence in the National Archives is not in dispute.”

Despite ideological and political differences among the 32, “we are all agreed on the necessity to resist the reformist political line, anti-Party factional activities and the shameless effort to whitewash Dange’s illegal conduct in having offered his services to the British”.

The 32 proposed “to have further exchange of views on the ideological and political questions that divide us” associating the entire Party membership in these discussions and “we are confident that these discussions and the active political and mass work, we propose to carry on jointly, will enable us to rally the large mass of Party members and sympathisers not only in offering effective resistance to the policies and practices of Dange and his followers but also to make the necessary political and organisational preparations for convening the Seventh Congress of our Party”.

But the appeal made clear that “if even at this stage the Dange group renounces its anti-Party organisational methods and creates in consultation with us the machinery that will ensure full and unfettered inner-Party discussions and representation to all

genuine members, we would be prepared to give our support and cooperation for its success”.

The reply of what was left of the NC after the walk-out of the 32 was to suspend all the 32 members and demand explanations from them. It was a fitting climax to all their disruptive activities that less than half the members of the NC suspended nearly one-third of its members. To avoid this truth becoming known, the Chairman did not take a positive vote on the resolution but only a negative vote.

At this meeting, the Control Commission submitted its report. Out of the five members of the Control Commission, two who were opposed to the line of lining up behind the bourgeoisie, viz., Comrade A. Halim and U. Raman were in jail and when released, were ill. The remaining three members were out-and-out supporters of Dange. The report they submitted showed that they were faithful tools of the Dange group.

Although two issues were referred to the Commission, viz., the charges of organising a prallel centre and countercharges of factionalism, the report did not contain a word about these countercharges.

Its method of investigation speaks volumes about its partisan nature. Firstly, it never made any attempt to investigate the countercharges. Second, although Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad, on his own, tendered evidence regarding the charge of leakage from the Secretariat, the Commission did not so much as refer to it. Third, when Comrades like Sundarayya demanded that the evidence against them must be placed before them and they should be given an opportunity to refute the evidence, the Commission refused to place the evidence before them. Fourth, the Commission did not even make any enquiry from these comrades about whose activities it was to investigate. Thus, by handpicking some stooges and getting some statements from them, the Commission gave its report.*

*And this factional report of a faction of the Control Commission was adopted by the Dange group in the NC after the walk-out within an hour, and immediately published and released to Press. This slanderous document has also been used and quoted by Home Minister in his statement to the Parliament on Feb. 18, 1965 in justification of the detention of Communist leaders.

We, on the basis of the Appeal, organised an inner-Party and mass campaign and approached Party committees and members throughout the country. The situation was by no means normal. Among the Party ranks there was desire for unity but the majority was very critical of the revisionist line being pursued by Dange and his supporters and their disruptionist methods. Hence, in the two months that followed, with all the limitations we had because the Party machinery was firmly in their hands, we were able to rally the majority of Party members behind the Appeal of the 32.

Dange and his supporters intensified the slander campaign against us saying that we were splitting the Party at the behest of the Chinese Party. They thought that with the authority of the NC in their hands, with all the resources at their disposal and by rousing bourgeois-nationalist sentiments, they could isolate us. But what happened was just the opposite. More and more Party members began rallying against them and it was they who were getting isolated. In this background Dange made another attempt to exploit the desire of the Party ranks for unity. Utilising the situation created by Jawaharlal Nehru's death, Dange wrote a letter to the 32 suspended members of the NC. While the letter talked about the new situation, the need for unity, etc., the crucial paragraph states: "We of the Secretariat are deeply anxious to be able to place before the coming meeting of the NC a proposal that the suspension resolution against all of you comrades be immediately rescinded. But, in order to be able to do this, we would earnestly appeal to you to take the obvious steps of dissolving the rival committees, you have set up and declaring your willingness to abide by the decisions of the Party bodies at all levels."

Apart from the fact that this was an attempt to dictate terms, the whole letter was intended to cover up the disruptive organisational activities which they had stepped up. Actions galore were being taken in the States, whole committees being dissolved and they were also setting up parallel committees at various places. The NC has suspended Comrade A. K. Gopalan and asked for an explanation from him. But without waiting for

this explanation, these people who talk so much of unity, decided to remove him from the leadership of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha and wrote to the Speaker to this effect knowing full well that this would split the Communist group and enable the Swatantra Party to become the main opposition group. It was to cover up all these splitting activities that Dange wrote the letter.

When our CEC members along with the invitees from Maharashtra, UP, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir and Bihar met in Delhi in the end of May, we assessed the situation and also discussed Dange's letter. Reports from the States showed that despite everything a big majority of the Party ranks had supported us, that Dange and his supporters could claim a clear majority only in Maharashtra, Madhyapradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Delhi. It was also seen that in the major States like Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, West Bengal and Punjab from where the bulk of Party membership comes, we had the support of 60 to 80 per cent of the Party membership. In a State like Uttarpradesh, the response to our appeal was far more than even we had expected and it revealed to us that we also had underestimated the mood of the Party ranks. Even in a State under their control like Bihar, the leadership adopted resolutions for the withdrawal of suspension of the 32, demanding a probe into Dange's financial affairs, etc.

In our reply of May 31, to Dange's letter of May 29, which we addressed to the Central Secretariat, we reiterated our firm desire for unity and declared we would have no hesitation in welcoming and supporting all efforts which are conducive to Party unity. But, "the way in which you propose to solve the problem of Party unity will not lead us anywhere. For, the threat to Party unity arose precisely out of the policies and practices adopted by you and some of your colleagues. It is inconceivable how Party unity can be resorted without your abandoning these practices and policies. From your letter, it is clear that you are not making the least effort in this direction. On the other hand, you are dictating terms to us".

The letter again recalled the disruptive activities of Dange and his supporters—the deliberate leakage to the bourgeois press

of inner-Party news in a distorted fashion, the active association with LINK and PATRIOT despite CEC directive, the abandonment of the spirit in which the composite Secretariat had been formed in April 1962—and concluded: “we would only point out here that the present organisational position of the Party which is on the verge of final and irrevocable split is to be traced directly to the fact that you renounced the spirit of joint work and of organised inner-Party discussion.”

The reply recalled the effort we had made for unity in September 1963 by 17 members of the NC, at the 1964 January session of the CEC and again in the April 1964 session of the NC before the 32 comrades walked out. All our appeals had gone unheeded, Dange and his supporters had always answered them with slanders that we were “pro-China”, “neo-Trotskyites” etc.

The reply reiterated the earlier proposals in the Appeal of the 32: cancel all disciplinary actions of the last year and a half on the ground of ‘disruption and splitting activities’, once this is done the problem of ‘rival committees’ would not arise at all, they will all stand dissolved; if this approach to Party organisation is taken, the question of our “willingness to abide by Party discipline at all levels” will also not arise; agreed probe into Dange letters, and Dange’s shares in the company that runs PATRIOT; abolition of the Secretariat as such including the posts of Chairman and General Secretary for the period till the Party Congress and all jobs of political and organisational guidance of the Party to be done by the CEC through some mechanism evolved by agreement.

Dange’s reply to this on May 31 again evaded all the issues and said that acceptance of our proposals would paralyse the Party, forgetting that for more than a year now, the Party has been functioning without a General Secretary and equally can be the Post Chairman and the Secretariat also be abolished for a time without paralysing the Party if the CEC takes over the leadership and evolves an agreed mechanism.

The NC session which followed exposed further their talk of unity. There were three drafts before the Council on the inner-Party situation.

What became evident from the discussions on these drafts was that Dange and his supporters would not go even to the extent of rescinding the suspensions unconditionally, leave alone their approach to all the other issues. The final resolution adopted by the Council said, "The NC, however, desiring to carry forward the unity initiatives already taken and in view of the urgent necessity of Party unity in the present situation facing our country, resolves that as soon as the 32 comrades or any of them intimate their willingness to return to the NC, abide by the decisions of the NC, dissolve or dissociate themselves from all parallel Party organisations set up at different levels, the suspension order against those who do so shall stand rescinded.

"Disciplinary actions by the State, district and local Party organisations for formation of parallel committees shall stand rescinded similarly as soon as the comrades concerned make similar declarations as suggested above in the case of 32 comrades."

And, "The Council authorises the Central Secretariat to take further steps to carry forward the initiative for Party unity and to hold such talks and discussions as are required for this purpose."

This resolution was adopted with the support of 40 members much less than half the strength of the NC.

In a statement on this resolution on June 15, 1964, Comrades Ramamurti, Basavapunniah and Harkishan Singh Surjeet said that it "burkes the real issues that have led to the present state and is an attempt to shift the responsibility for it".

"The NC," said the statement, "refuses to take lessons from the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Party members have supported our proposals for ensuring unity in the Party and a united Party Congress. The resolution does not contain a word about these proposals."

Referring to the NC resolution where it says that the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960, the unanimously adopted political resolution and report of the Vijayawada Party Congress and the Hyderabad National Council resolution on Party organisation still constitute a sound basis for Party unity, the three comrades in their statement said,

“But it is the consistent and continuous violation by the majority of the NC under the leadership of Dange of the political line of Vijayawada and the organisational resolution of the Hyderabad meeting of the NC together with their thwarting of all our attempts to stop this process that has brought about the present crisis. It was with a view to avoiding a split that we have been putting forward since long concrete and definite proposals for a real democratically elected Party Congress, and for a machinery for preparing for it which would ensure full and frank discussion of all the issues facing the Party including the question of interpretation of the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences. These proposals were rejected outright for reasons best known to themselves.

“On top of all this came the revelations about the Dange Letters and his financial affairs. Elementary norms of decency in public life required that such a person quit his office pending a proper enquiry into these affairs.

“The NC, despite the fact that it had more than two months before it, does not touch in its resolution any of these issues before the Party. Instead, it wants us to agree to dissociate ourselves from what they call parallel organisations. The fact that in most places where the majority refuses to toe their line, it is they themselves who have unceremoniously suppressed elected committees and set up parallel committees, is suppressed.”

The three comrades declared they would “welcome any move that can bring about principled unity in the Party and we would at all times be prepared to talk with anyone on that question”.

The urge for unity which Dange and his supporters were pretending got further exposed when they in the same NC where they talked so much of unity decided to set up a parallel State Committee in West Bengal. And after Comrade EMS had some talk with them and just before Comrades Jyoti Basu, Promode Das Gupta and Harkishan Singh Surjeet were to meet them, they issued a statement saying that whatever talks were held would only be within the framework of the NC resolution—belying hopes, if there were any left, that even at this late stage they

would make some genuine effort for restoring Party unity.

It was, therefore, not with much hope that the representatives of the 32 comrades opened talks with the representatives of the Secretariat. It was clear, that, for the Dange group, the proposed talks were nothing but a smokescreen behind which they could consolidate themselves as a faction, deceive a section of the honest Party members who were anxious for unity, and with their support to carry on their own reformist political activity and disruptive organisational methods. It was, nevertheless, thought that no avenues should be left unexplored, no possibility left unutilised for the efforts at restoring Party unity.

But, the representatives of the Secretariat in their talks with the representatives of the 32 comrades made it clear that everyone of the questions involved in the problem of Party unity—reorganisation of the Secretariat, agreed Commission to probe into the Dange Letters and financial affairs, agreed commission to prepare for the Party Congress, scrutiny of the Party membership—they had no other consideration than safeguarding their own factional interests. They were so afraid of any genuine reorganisation of the Secretariat, any addition to the Dange Letters Commission, any enquiry into the financial affairs of Dange that they gave the uniform negative answer to all proposals made by the representatives of the 32 comrades.

The most amazing part of the reply given by the Dange group was that they justified their negative stand in the talks on the basis of a so-called “principle”. That “principle” is nothing but that every question, political or organisational, must be decided by majority. They used this “principle” to oppose the proposal made by the 32 comrades that the major issues involved in the problem of Party unity should be decided by agreement. They claimed that this was “giving the minority the right of veto” and that it would result in “paralysing the party”.

The utter hypocrisy which lies behind this argument would be clear to all those who know that the present NC, the CEC, the Secretariat and the Chairman came into existence through the very principle of agreement which they were now rejecting. For, the NC was not elected by majority vote at the Sixth Congress.

Differences on the panel of names for the NC created a deadlock, which was resolved only by agreement. Those who now opposed decision by agreement as “unprincipled” did not do so then, even though for the sake of that agreement the Party Congress went out of its way to amend the Constitution without having put the question of constitutional amendment on the agenda.

Again, in April 1962, when the NC had to elect the office-bearers, the much-talked of “principle” of majority decision was given up and the much-abused one of decisions by agreement was accepted. Furthermore, agreement was arrived at by amending the Constitution (which the Council had no authority to do) in order to provide for a new post of Chairman and to expand the strength of the CEC. At this stage too, those who formed the present Secretariat and who were so indignant at the very suggestion of decision by agreement did not stand by their “principle” of majority decision. On the other hand, they used that opportunity to entrench themselves in positions of authority and then to use those positions in order to consolidate themselves as a faction.

It was thus clear beyond doubt that what the Dange group was concerned with was not the restoration of Party unity but the retention of themselves in positions of authority. Any “principle” was correct if it helped them to secure and maintain their own power. At the Vijayawada Congress and at the April 1962 meeting of the NC, they accepted the “principle” of agreement since it helped them to come to power. Agreement then was not “giving the veto to the minority”. But when the majority of Party members had expressed themselves clearly against their reformist political line and disruptive organisational methods and when, therefore, a united Congress on the basis of an agreed machinery to organise such a Congress would result in their being thrown out, they wanted to ensure that the Congress would be organised by their own faction. They were not prepared to take any risks and hence they gave up the old “principle” of decision by agreement and in its place insisted on the new “principle” of majority decision.

From the informal talks between the representatives of the 32 comrades and of the Secretariat, it thus became clear that they had agreed to the talks, only because of their growing isolation from the ranks. But they were determined to keep the Party machine in their hands, they wanted to retain their majority in the Secretariat and were against agreed committees so as to be able to use the Party press as they wanted and holding the Party Congress in such a way as to get their line endorsed. They were not prepared to have an agreed Commission to probe into the question of Dange nor remove him from Chairmanship for the period of the enquiry. They had already included Rajeshwara Rao and Dr. Adhikari in the Secretariat.

They had already split the Communist group in the Lok Sabha and were splitting the Assembly groups in the States. In Andhra, they had already removed the Leader, Deputy Leader, Secretary and Whip of the Assembly Party. They shamelessly tried to use to their advantage the Vijayawada fires. And in Trivandrum, in the municipal elections, they set up rival candidates. The Council had earlier decided to have an understanding with the RSP to fight the municipal elections. But, after they split away from the DC, while we implemented the decision and fought the election on the basis of the understanding with the RSP, they went into an opportunistic alliance with the PSP and set up rival candidates despite the fact that only a year ago, their stand was to support the Congress to defeat the PSP. In Trivandrum, the people also rejected their splitting activities, most of their candidates lost their deposits, none of them won.

The length to which the Dange group went to disrupt the organisation was seen in its dealing with the Karnataka State Council. It had not repudiated the NC as requested by the 32 NC members in their appeal. It deplored the suspensions and urged on the NC to take steps to restore unity. In September 1964, the Council passed a resolution urging that Dange should be removed from the Chairmanship in order to facilitate the re forging of unity. A minority of nine members walked out of the meeting after the resolution was adopted and formed themselves into a parallel 'secretariat'. The Dange group immediately accorded

recognition to this splint group as the 'secretariat'—a Secretariat without a Council or Executive Committee. It is noteworthy that before doing so, the Dange group did not even write to the elected State Council to find out what happened.

A similar thing happened in Gujarat also. The Gujarat State Council or the Secretariat had not defied the NC in any way. But the majority of its members were extremely critical of the political line and organisational methods pursued by the Dange group. Even this, the Dange group could not tolerate. Hence, after Comrade Dinkar Mehta, Secretary of the Council and member of the NC and others were arrested following the Statewide strike and hartal, a few followers of Dange constituted themselves into a 'secretariat' and the Centre gave it recognition as the 'secretariat' of the Party in Gujarat immediately.

While these were the organisational methods they were continuing, the political documents submitted to the NC, the discussions that were held there and the resolutions that were adopted all confirmed that they were bent on pursuing their collaborationist political line.

It was in this situation, after every attempt to restore Party unity had failed because the Dange group did not want Party unity, that we met in our Convention in Tenali and decided to convene the Seventh Congress of the Party in Calcutta so as to save the Communist movement in our country.

The talks with our representatives in the month of July 1964 by the Secretariat were only manoeuvres. They became necessary because of the widespread sentiments of unity that prevailed and found open expression even among the members and committees of the Party who supported the Dange group.

Within a few days after these talks, the Draft Programme adopted by the Dange group NC was published. The Draft Programme revealed in a flash that the Dange group had completely given up any pretence of Marxism.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed critique of Dange draft. It is enough to point out that it embodied an out-and-out revisionist ideology and tailed behind the bourgeoisie politically. *It negated the leading role of the working class in a democratic*

revolution in India and would want the people believe that the Indian bourgeoisie itself is going to lead that revolution. Fundamental teachings of Marxism on the State are given up and bourgeois-democracy is extolled to the skies. The bourgeois alliance with landlords, in collaboration with imperialist monopolists, the danger of neo-colonialism from US aid and private capitalist penetration were all so underplayed as to negate them.

The working class is asked to eschew its struggle to dislodge the bourgeoisie from its leading position. In fact, class struggle is itself sought to be given up.

Thus, the circle was complete now. What was begun in 1956 as an attempt at reassessment had ended in complete eschewing of Marxism-Leninism. The running thread of class collaboration in all their documents since Palghat Congress is there for all to see.

It is for getting the stamp of approval of the Party Congress for this out-and-out revisionist and tailist programme that the Dangeite group did not want "to take any risk of losing the majority", as was quite bluntly stated by Rajeshwara Rao in the talks referred to above. It is again for this purpose that the Dange group systematically indulged in the disruptive organisational activities already detailed. *It has come out in its true colours—revisionist in ideology, tailist in current political questions and organisationally disruptive.* It became crystal clear that there is nothing in common between us and Dange group in ideology, politics and organisational principles.

All the ideology of bourgeois planning and achievements, of the attempt to tail behind the ruling big bourgeoisie, stand in sharp contrast to the actual political-economic situation in the country. The unprecedented rise of prices during the last 18 months, the disappearance of foodgrains from the market in almost in everyone of the States including surplus States, never-ending queues before the few fair price shops in every city waiting for long hours for the meagre quantity they sell, the utter disappointment they face daily when the shops are closed without giving the majority of those who have waited patiently for hours without obtaining foodgrains, the mounting anger of the people

who in many places raided godowns and shops, the Government resorting to violence including shooting the hungry people—all these reveal the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois planning.

Rice is selling at anything between Rs. 1.50 and Rs. 2 per kilogram in the country. The rise has been more than hundred per cent since last year. Similar is the rise in the prices of wheat and even coarse grains. Not only the prices of foodgrains the prices of pulses, of edible oils have risen hundred per cent.

While the living standards of the people have been continuously falling ever since the planning began, the phenomenal rise in prices during the last 18 months have inflicted intense and colossal misery on the entire working population on a scale unknown before. The price increase is but an expression of the general crisis that has engulfed the plan and the entire economy. It brings out in a flash the real character of the Plan and the basic policies underlying the Plan.

That the prices were rising at unprecedented rates was not unknown to the Government. The mid-term appraisal of the Plan itself had pointed out in November 1963 “the rise is superimposed on the increase that had occurred in the 2nd Plan period and more important is it derives from rather big increases in the prices of essential consumer articles from the beginning of 1963. Even allowing for seasonal increases in respect of several articles, basic trend in prices remained upward and therefore has to be taken cognisance of in appraising the current situation”.

Despite this specific warning, Government did nothing. 3 months later, when prices were still rising, the President, in his Address to Parliament in February, only expressed the Government’s anxiety over the rise. As for action, they proposed nothing and just repeated that the ultimate solution of the problem of prices was increased production.

The prices continued to rise despite the fact that the main harvest was almost over throughout the country and despite the fact that overall foodgrain production was estimated to be 3½ million tons more than last year. A month later, the Finance Minister, in his budget speech, again contented himself with expressing “great concern”.

Since then, the rise has been phenomenal. The new Food Minister admitted that the rise in the last one year was alone as much as in the entire Second Plan period. Spontaneously in many places, hungry people were surrounding foodgrains shops and effecting forced sales. In panic, Hapur market was closed for several days.

In early June, the Finance Minister again sounded the alarm. All that the Government did was to convene a meeting of the Chief Ministers. The decisions of this meeting only gladdened the wholesale merchants whose spokesmen sent messages of congratulations.

The situation worsened, Statewide hartals, strikes began to develop. Then, the Government announced maximum prices, in fact the high prices then prevailing were fixed as maximum prices.

This price fixation, far from bringing down the prices, has only resulted in still higher prices. Rice became unavailable in the open market. Orders to declare stocks, threat of action under the Defence of India Rules—nothing that the Government has done since then, has arrested this continuous growth.

The Government announced that the main cities and the whole of Kerala should be put under statutory rationing and actually fixed November 1 as the date from which it should start throughout Kerala.

The Chief Minister of West Bengal also desired statutory rationing in Bengal. However, at the last meeting of the Chief Ministers on October 27, it was decided that since the Centre could not assure supplies, it would be difficult to assume the responsibility which statutory rationing would entail. The discussion has been postponed.

All that has been decided is that an Ordinance would be issued providing for summary trial of profiteers and imposition of fine. As if any amount of fines would deter them from profiteering!

It is noteworthy that on August 7, when the Prime Minister met the Leaders of Opposition, he stated that the crisis was of a temporary nature and would last just a few months. And as soon as the short-term crop was harvested by September, he said, the crisis would be over.

Three months have passed since then. The short-term crops have been harvested in some areas. And yet, the crisis has only worsened. On October 25, the Prime Minister stated in the meeting of the National Development Council that the next five or six months would be very critical. Again, the Government is only pinning its hope on the next harvest from February and has no effective measures in contemplation.

The phenomenal rise in price has shattered the myth of so-called planning. They show the classes whose interests the Government has been advancing. As a matter of fact, price-increases are a built-in-feature of Government's plans. In the Third Plan report, discussing the proposed heavy increase in indirect taxation, it was admitted: "Indirect taxation, along these lines tend to rise prices to be paid by domestic consumers." Yet, it callously justified the taxation and said, "This is a sacrifice which has to be accepted as part of the Plan."

And yet, as against the proposal to levy Rs. 450 crores by way of additional taxation in the Second Plan, actually Rs. 1090 crores taxes were levied. In the Third Plan, too, the same callous fleecing of the common people continued. As against the target of Rs. 1100 crores of additional taxation for the entire Plan period, the taxation of the first three years alone was to fetch Rs. 1,900 crores! This was not all. Heavy deficit financing has been a feature of these plans. In the Third Plan, as against the target of Rs. 500 crores of deficit financing for the entire Plan period, already in the first three years, it exceeded Rs. 616 crores.

All the other expected resources from other sources have failed to materialise and the only source which the Government thought could be freely fleeced was the common man. When the common people have been fleeced far beyond what the Plan itself proposed, the performances of the Plans are awfully inadequate.

In the First Plan, achievements in steel, pig iron, aluminium and fertilisers never exceeded 50 per cent of the targets. In the Second Plan, too, precisely in these as well as in other important industries such as cement, dye-stuffs, caustic soda, textile machinery, cement machinery, etc., the performance was only

fifty per cent and even less. The Third Plan report itself admitted it and stated that these “are the very industries which are of crucial importance” and their failure had “deprived the economy reckoned on for the start of the Third Plan”. The mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan showed that it too fared no better in the first two years. The performance of the agricultural sector was a still more colossal failure, affecting the balance of payments, prices, in fact, every aspect of our economy.

Crisis of External Resources

Its crisis in regard to external resources is far more serious. This crisis arises essentially from the fact that the value of our exports is less than the value of our imports.

Position Regarding India's Import and Export accounts (Rs. crores. One crore = 10 million)

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
1. Imports	650.3	773.1	1105.7	1006.0	1091.3	1230.7
2. Exports	646.8	640.3	630.5	668.0	682.2	801.7
3. Balance of Payment	(-)3.5	(-)132.8	(-)475.2	(-) 337.7	(-) 409.1	(-) 429.0
4. Import of Foodgrains— Wheat, Rice & others alone	99.6	17.7	181.4	116.9	144.3	129.8

Any underdeveloped country can hope to minimise this trade deficit only by increasing its export agricultural produce on the one hand and by reducing imports of goods needed for industrialisation as well as industrial raw materials and intermediate goods needed for existing industries.

But since our agriculture is stagnant, we are unable to increase our exports despite all the export promotion schemes and export incentives. On the other hand, we are obliged to import even foodgrains and cotton.

Since the Plan performance has been far short of the targets, we are obliged to import large quantities of steel, pig iron,

machines, etc. Hence reduction of imports becomes impossible. To add to these difficulties, since the import and export trade is in the hands of large business houses and with foreign exchange becoming a very scarce resource, malpractices like under-invoicing and over-invoicing have become common features leading to sizable loss of foreign exchange.

With prices ruling high and daily rising in the domestic market, and consequent high profits, together with the possibility of earning black-money in domestic profit, there is no real incentive to export our manufactures such as cotton cloth. Where forced export is made, as in the case of sugar, the tax-payer has to pay by way of subsidy Rs. 1.75 for every rupee of foreign exchange earned.

No wonder then, that the foreign exchange crisis which became acute in the first year of the Second Plan has gone on getting accentuated. The Third Plan itself had no hope of mitigating this difficulty. For, it stated: "The balance of payments difficulties that the country is facing are, it must be stressed, not short-term or temporary; they will continue for several years to come."

We have seen that the Government overcomes the internal resources crisis of the Plan by heaping still more burdens on the people by increased indirect taxation and deficit financing. But, however, colossal burdens it may heap on the people, it cannot overcome the external crisis.

It seeks to overcome this by getting more aid from the 'Aid India Club' led by the USA. But this itself further accentuates the crisis. Out of the total Rs. 2500 crores of estimated requirements of foreign assistance for the Third Plan (excluding PL 480 food imports) Rs. 500 crores are required for repayment of instalments and interest and other service charges on the loans got during the First and Second Plan periods. As foreign assistance goes on increasing, requirements of pre-payments and servicing will also go on mounting.

Secondly, most of the loans obtained from the imperialist countries are 'tied' loans, i.e., we can buy goods with those loaned amounts only from those countries. And they utilise this

for charging exorbitant rates for the goods bought with such 'tied loans'.

The situation has become so acute that the 'Economic Survey for 1963-64' presented to Parliament along with the budget stated:

“Valuable as external assistance has been in promoting economic development and in achieving stability in external balance, the growth in the external debt falling due for payment in the next few years has become a matter of concern. The growing debt repayment burden underlines the paramount importance of strengthening the balance of payments as well as the need for avoiding arrangements for financing imports which result in short and medium term payment liabilities and entail high interest charges.”

And yet, the Government with its policies has no other option but go on begging for aid from the imperialists. Every year, the Finance Minister has to make pilgrimages to the Exchequers of these imperialist countries. And, of course, beggars cannot be choosers.

Finding that even this aid is not sufficient to bridge the gap in our trade balance, the Government, during the last four years, has thrown the doors wide open for foreign private capital investments in the private sector, in collaboration with our own private capital. The theory is now trotted out that such private investments are better than borrowings, because private investments do not entail repayment responsibilities. This is obviously a false theory, for private capital earns in this country a high rate of profit. A recent survey of the US Government Commerce Department showed that the profits on US investments were highest in India—20.6 per cent, much more than three times the interest charges that foreign loans entail. These huge profits would be a perpetual drain on our resources, and when these foreign monopolists decide to repatriate their capital, it will be at inflated values. The absurdity of their claim is pointed out by Dr. Mathew Kurian in an article in the August 1962 issue of "The United Asia Magazine". After quoting the relevant figures of expatriation of foreign capital and inflow of foreign capital

during the Second Five-Year Plan, he states:

“Thus, India witnessed the paradox of a continuously increasing volume of private foreign capital co-existing with a new outflow of funds every year on the private capital accounts. Even though private foreign investments in India grew at the rate of Rs. 90 crores per annum during the period from 1948-59, in terms of foreign exchange resources there was an actual outflow of Rs. 54 crores on the average per year.”

Thus, even this wooing of foreign private capital does not solve or even mitigate the crisis of external resources.

Crisis of the Plan

The crisis of the Plan stems from the basic policies of the Government. Refusing to carry out real agrarian reforms and relying on landlords and a stratum of rich peasants to develop agriculture has led to a virtual stagnation in our agriculture. The effect of such attempts at development has been discussed in detail in the Report of Ladejinsky, who studied the performance of the Package Scheme districts on behalf of the Government. Reliance on the profit motive of the capitalists and securing for them the capital needed from the common people by increasing prices has, under conditions of a protected market, led to unheard of increase in profits. Many industries declare as much as 30 per cent as dividends alone. And what is more, it has led to tax-evasions, colossal accumulation of black-money and speculation and hoarding.

As already seen, refusal to take over foreign concerns, but increasing reliance on foreign imperialist aid and on foreign private capital, has only enabled them to have a bigger and bigger share in the loot of the protected market that India is and has not even mitigated our foreign exchange problems.

Is there any wonder then that despite the much vaunted planning the growth of national income has been one of the lowest in the world? Between 1953-54 and 1960-61, the average annual rate of growth of national income in India has been a meagre 3.4 per cent whereas even countries without a plan to boast had a greater rate of growth. Philippines and Thailand had 5.6 per cent.

In fact, India's rate of growth was far less than the average rate of 4.2 per cent for the ECAFE countries as a whole.

The intensification of exploitation of the working people is seen in the shrinking share of the workers in the income generated in the industries. According to the Census of Manufacturing Industries, 1962, the value added by manufacture was Rs. 988 crores out of which the share of wages accounted for Rs. 389 crores, i.e., 39 per cent. But, in 1951, the share of wages in the value added by manufacture accounted for 46 per cent. Within ten years, a fall of nearly one-sixth!

The mass of the people did not take these burdens meekly. By February-March, 1963, i.e., about three months after Chinese armies had withdrawn, and a de facto cease-fire had come into being, the working class in many places began to fight against the new impositions such as compulsory collection of Defence Fund, overtime, etc. The unprecedented burden of taxation imposed in the 1963-64 Budget proposals, the Gold Control Order which threw lakhs of working goldsmiths out of employment, and the proposed Compulsory Deposit Scheme gave rise to huge demonstrations throughout the country. The Government thought that it could get through these impositions by raising the slogan of "country in danger" and appealing to the patriotism of the common people. But the people saw that the monopolists and richer sections were not only left free but were being enabled to loot the people still more. The people gave vent to their anger by defeating Congress candidates in the series of bye-elections that were held in the middle of 1963.

The group bickerings inside the Congress which had just abated following the border war also erupted. Charges of corruption against Congress ministers were openly made by their rivals in the Congress party. The party's stock was going down. The huge demonstration of the 'Great March' organised by the Party in September 1963 showed the mood of the masses.

It became necessary for the Congress leadership to resort to manoeuvres to stop the rot. The 'Kamaraj Plan' was evolved and implemented inside the organisation. On the other hand, in

order to hoodwink the people, a great debate was organised on the definition of socialism and in Jaipur, the AICC came out with a long draft resolution on 'Democratic Socialism' which was adopted with fanfare at the Bhubaneswar Session of the Congress in January 1964.

It should be noted that despite all this demagogy about socialism, the Congress leadership did not agree to the slightest change in their basic policies. Not even state-trading in wholesale foodgrains or nationalisation of banks—measures which had become urgent in the face of the spiralling prices were accepted.

With such policies, these manoeuvres failed to resolve the crisis. It was stated that the Kamaraj Plan would demonstrate that the Congress leaders were not interested in offices and those ministers who were 'Kamaraj-ed' would devote their time and energies for the organisation and strengthen it.

In reality, the group bickerings far from abating, have actually intensified. The removal of C. B. Gupta led to further intensification of the group bickerings in Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar, the removal of Binodanand Jha has led to new alignment of groups and struggle. Same is the case in Orissa. The most outstanding feature of the worsening of the crisis is seen in Kashmir. The ex-Prime Minister Bakshi, a member of the Congress Working Committee, had to be detained under the D.I.R.

The 'unanimous' election of Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party was paraded as evidence of the new unity and cohesion in the party. But the further intensification of the struggles in the States has shattered the myth of this unity. Matters have gone to such extent that in Kerala, neither Kamraraj nor Dhebar nor S. K. Patil could persuade the dissident Congressmen from voting for the no-confidence motion against the ministry. President's rule had to be resorted to and in the subsequent period, the dissidents have broken away and have formed their own party which has decided to contest the elections against the Congress in the coming elections.

Immediately after the Chinese armies crossed the McMahon Line, Nehru boasted that one good result was that automatically

national integration had been achieved. But, the communal riots that broke out in Calcutta, Rourkela and other towns exploded the myth. It is obvious that the Congress party, which cannot get over the group struggles and forge unity in its own ranks, can never strengthen the unity of the nation that was achieved during the freedom struggle and forge national integration.

How is it that a party that led the freedom struggle, within a few years of achieving freedom, has been rent with such factions and struggles for power? Or, is it that different groups are fighting on the basis of different policies?

These factors undoubtedly play their part in these struggles. But their role should not be exaggerated. At the root of all this is the fact that it is the bourgeoisie that is wielding power; and that it has thrown up a monopoly section. Secondly, it is sharing power with the landlords.

It must be realised that although they are all exploiting classes, they have their conflict with each other. Even within the class, conflict and rivalry characterise these classes. The most important factor is that the State plays the most leading part in the development of capitalism. The control of the State by a group is of tremendous advantage in getting the cream of development by way of quotas, industrial licences, contracts, financial assistance, etc.

Added to all this is the fact that caste and other pre-capitalist social organisations still exist in India. In the struggle for power, individuals and groups use the hold of such institutions and become the champion of this or that caste. The phenomenon that while religious practices based on caste are dying out, politics based on caste has been on the ascendancy.

So long as the present policies continue, so long as the big bourgeoisie heads the State and the alliance with the landlords continues, these groups and factional quarrels can never be overcome. On the other hand, the struggles will only intensify. Is it any wonder, with such policies, that corruption has grown on a scale never before seen, even during the period of British rule?

Corruption and graft have become so stinking that the Government was forced to do something about it. It appointed the

Santhanam Committee to study the subject and make recommendations. The 'Sadachar Samiti' was formed with great fanfare. It was forced to appoint the Das Commission to enquire into the charges against the Punjab Chief Minister Kairon.

However, the revelations of the Das Commission have been so staggering that the Government is seriously worried and wants some way to resile from enquiries into charges of corruption against other ministers.

Contrary to the recommendations of the Santhanam Committee that where ten parliament members or ten members of the assembly give signed memo of charges against any Central or State minister, as the case may be, then, the Government should send it to a judicial person to decide whether there is a prima facie case, the Government says that it will itself decide whether there is a prima facie case. What faith can people have in the judgment of the Central Government when they know that when charges of corruption against Mr. Kairon were referred to Mr. Dhebar and to Nehru, both of them declared that there was no prima facie case?

These basic policies that have led to the strengthening of the position of the monopolists, to the increasing penetration of foreign capital, particularly US capital, to increasing reliance on foreign imperialist economic aid and to the seeking of military aid from the USA have had very serious repercussions. They have resulted in severe attacks on democratic rights and intensified repression on the working people on the one hand. Adverse comments were made by the Supreme Court on certain sections of the D.I.R. And yet, the Government uses this very Act to detain workers and trade union leaders and activists, simply because the detenu has been deprived of going to a court to assert his fundamental right. The continued retention of the State of Emergency two years after the Chinese armies have withdrawn and a de facto cease-fire came into existence reveals the length to which the Government has gone in attacking the democratic rights.

On the other hand, these policies have also had their impact on the foreign policy of the Government. Not to talk of what

happened in 1963, even recently, the Government refused to condemn the US Government's extension of the Seventh Fleet's exercises in the Indian Ocean. This silence, when US imperialism threatens the Asian countries with war-ships armed with nuclear warheads stands in sharp contrast with the Government's continued campaign of condemnation against the Chinese atom bomb blast. The Government, which is the Chairman of the International Commission on Vietnam kept absolutely mum when USA, in open violation of the Geneva Agreement, bombed North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. Only a month ago, the Government not only kept mum over the attempts made by Britain and the USA to have military bases in the Indian Ocean, but actually tried to cover these designs by saying they are only 'communication bases'! And yet, in the Cairo Conference, in the face of deep resentment of the other Afro-Asian Countries, it had to sign the Communiqué which strongly condemned these efforts to establish military bases.

The Bhuvanewar attempt to lull the people by talk of 'democratic socialism' also misfired. The huge and unprecedented struggles—statewide hartals and strikes in Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, U.P., West Bengal, etc., reveal the failure of this manoeuvre as well. It must be remembered that these struggles had to be fought against intense repression.

The Government once again seeks to delude the people by talk of a bigger Fourth Five-Year Plan. It is supposed to be of the size of 21,000 to 22,500 crores. But, what the Government seeks to hide is that this is in terms of 1964 prices. And yet, even the formulation of the Plan has met with difficulties. Even now, there is no knowing how to get the resources. And the NDC, after accepting the size of the Plan, has appointed committees to go into the question of resources!

They have proposed that through additional taxation of Rs. 3000 crores, i.e., nearly three times the target of the Third Plan, should be realised.

Apart from foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 2000 crores, heavy reliance on foreign private capital is placed. US private capital alone is expected to invest over Rs. 800 crores.

Far from any prospect of carrying out land reforms, they have stated that there would be a moratorium on land reforms, as if much reforms have been carried out!

Thus, the basic policies will continue. This spells further intensification of the sufferings of the people, their further loot by monopolists—foreign and Indian—and landlords and speculators. The economic crisis will not be mitigated but will only further deepen, with such policies, all talk of gearing up the administration and achieving the targets is bogus.

The Dange group did not see in all this any manoeuvre on the part of the Congress leadership. Instead, they greeted the Kamaraj plan, as a result of which two Central Ministers, S.K. Patil and Morarji Desai, were asked to step down as a 'big victory' for them. For, had they not singled out those two persons as being solely responsible for all the anti-people policies of the Government?

In NEW AGE weekly, P. C. Joshi was analysing the different drafts of C. Subramanyam and of Nanda to find out which of the drafts submitted to the Jaipur AICC session was more progressive.

Similarly, it did not see the manoeuvre of the Congress leadership in the Bhuvanewar resolution on 'democratic socialism'—but clung to certain speeches by K. D. Malaviya and V.K. Krishna Menon and said:

“Even though the Congress Left did not succeed at Bhuvanewar in getting its demands accepted, the impact it made on the Congress organisation as a whole and indeed on our public life cannot be denied.....

“That has brought confidence to the masses and opened new vistas for broad-based popular struggles against Right reaction....”

And when Kamaraj, the Congress President, gave the call for socialist unity, instead of exposing the true nature of the call and their slogan of democracy and socialism, New Age Weekly had this to say on the call:

“Kamaraj’s call for socialist unity has been somewhat distorted by the much publicised intervention of Jayaprakash

and Asoka Mehta. But if the call itself is a sincere wish for cooperation of all who sincerely desire an order in which the power of the monopolists is curbed and a turn is made away from the evils of the capitalist path—then it is bound to find general support despite the attempts by interested quarters to give it their own colour.”

And then, it goes on to say that “Kamaraj was right in taking initiative in the matter”.

After thus hailing the move of Kamaraj to strengthen his own party and disrupt other parties, the Weekly, in a note of extreme disappointment, asks: “Does the anti-Communism of the Right inside the Congress keep the Communist Party and its supporters out of the scope of his unity efforts?” (New Age, 2. 2. 1964)

The Dange group was evidently willing to respond to the call of Kamaraj to unite with the Congress in the name of ‘socialist unity’; only the invitation did not come from Kamraj.

Similarly, after the death of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when the Shastri Cabinet was formed, the Dange group’s main task was to search for individuals in the Cabinet in order to see ‘progressivism’ in it. New Age Weekly stated :

“Public opinion has welcomed the entry into the cabinet of Indira Gandhi. At this moment, what is dominant in the Indian people’s mind is the necessity to preserve the positive policies of Jawaharlal Nehru and it seems to them that his daughter can be relied upon to carry forward his behests.”

Has this got anything to do with Marxism? The daughter can be relied upon to carry forward the father’s behests! As if policies are inheritances handed down from father to daughter!

With such an outlook, no wonder that even when they were forced to undertake a satyagraha—the Home Minister called it ‘token satyagraha’ and said the Government met it with ‘token arrests’—they abundantly made it clear that they were not fighting the Government, but were fighting only the hoarders and speculators. One of them went to the extent of saying that the price increase was a result of the conspiracy of the hoarders and speculators and Right reactionaries in order to overthrow the Shastri Government.

Thus, the bankruptcy of the Dange group's assessment of the Indian situation and the tasks of the working class was revealed in their draft programme against the background of the very deep crisis of bourgeois planning; the utter bankruptcy and their political line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie stand exposed by their day-to-day practice in the background of the rising tempo to the mass movement and the discontent of the people against the Congress Government.

In order to cover up their line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie, they resorted to anti-China jingoism and chauvinism. In fact, they made this the central dividing line between us and them. They distorted our stand that while strengthening the defence of the country, the utmost emphasis must be placed on peaceful negotiations and political settlement of the India-China border dispute, and openly carried on a campaign that we were 'pro-China'. In reality, they had nothing to offer except to echo the bourgeoisie. When Pandit Nehru said that acceptance of the September 8, 1962 line was a pre-condition to any talks, parrot-like they echoed it. When Nehru said that talks can begin only after the acceptance by the Chinese Government of the Colombo proposals in toto, again they echoed it. In November 1963, when some of us made the proposals for unity, Dange in his reply asked: "Do they accept that the Colombo proposals must be accepted in toto, by China for talks?" They thought that by all this, we would be isolated from the mass of the Party members in the country.

Today, the bankruptcy of this line also stands revealed. More and more people are realising that the issue cannot be settled by military means, and that a political solution for the India-China border dispute has got to be found. This realisation has come even to some Congressmen, as evidenced by the speech of Mr. R. K. Khadilkar in Parliament. That even some bourgeois circles are coming to realise this is clear from the fact that newspapers like the 'Capital', and 'Times of India' (weekly comments by NJN) have begun to advocate that the Government of India should take the initiative for a political settlement. It should be recalled here that at the initiative of those whom the Dange group has been

dubbing as “pro-Chinese” and against the opposition of this group, we had got the NC to advocate a political settlement in April 1961. And that resolution has been sabotaged by the Dange group all these years.

Just as the ideological and political line of the Dange group has proved bankrupt, so also their organisational line has proved equally bankrupt.

From the moment they got control of the Party organisation, they sought the method of suppression of those who were opposed to their political line. This was seen in the dissolution of the West Bengal Council, the elected Punjab State Council, and even so many district and local committees. Later, they sought to threaten the mass of Party members into submission to their line by threat of disciplinary actions against leading comrades. When the 32 members of the NC walked out and issued an appeal to Party members, they summarily suspended them and threatened expulsion, and appealed to the Party ranks to rally behind them. They expected that the sense of loyalty would make the majority of the Party comrades rally behind them.

However, the majority of the comrades passed resolutions appealing to them to accept the demands of the 32 and save the unity of the Party. Enraged they began taking action against these committees and individuals.

The result of their organisational line is not that the majority of the comrades have rallied behind them, but that the majority—healthy and most devoted comrades who have made immense sacrifices in the cause of the Party and mass movement—have rallied against the Dange group, and are represented in this Congress. That such a thing should have happened in such a short time is the measure of the total bankruptcy of the Dange group in ideology, in politics and in organisation.

Truly, it can be stated that the Dange group has no right to call themselves the CPI and the people also do not take them to be such.

Truly, we can claim that we are the CPI, the inheritors of its glorious traditions of struggle for democracy and socialism.

The developments outlined in the last chapter underline the importance of a strong and united Communist Party based on a correct line of mass struggle engulfing every section of the people.

One of the manifestations of the intense crisis in which the economy and politics of the ruling classes had landed themselves is the ever-growing mass discontent which expresses itself in various forms and on various issues. The recent intensification of the food crisis in various parts of the country has brought the hitherto unorganised sections of the people into action. Demonstrations, rallies, satyagrahas and general strikes have taken place in various parts of the country drawing into their fold much larger number of the questions like the corrupt behaviour of Congress members who led demonstrations of protests.

Such manifestations of mass discontent against the regime however have been taking place against the background in which, due to the right opportunistic policies and disruptive organisational practices of the Dange group, the Communist Party has got split and the organised mass movement incapacitated to give centralised guidance to mass actions. The call given by the AITUC to organise the national campaign against high prices and tax burdens failed to culminate in the all-India General Strike which it was intended to do. The much talked of all-India satyagraha against high prices announced by the Dange group failed to produce expected results, the loud talk of Bharat Bandh proposed by them for September 7 also ended in fiasco.

It should, however, be noted that in this very period when the all-India calls unilaterally given by the Dange group failed to materialise the joint calls given in the States of Kerala (July 31), Gujarat (August 5), Maharashtra (August 12), U.P. (August 18), West Bengal (May 25 and September 25) and centres like Coimbatore witnessed successful mass actions. The contrast between the two sets of actions thus unmistakably shows the utter bankruptcy of the line pursued by the Dange group—the line giving demagogic calls for struggle without forging the

unity of all forces of militant resistance to the anti-people policies of the ruling party.

A stirring call should, therefore, go forth from this Congress to every member and friend of the Party that each and all of them should pledge themselves heart and soul into the work of organising the spontaneous mass action of resistance to the anti-people policies of the regime. Ever so many questions like prices, taxation and corruption which affect all sections of the people as well as issues which affect particular sections (like bonus, dearness allowance, retrenchment, eviction from land, etc.) are bringing larger and larger sections of the people into action. These actions, however, cannot be brought into successful conclusions unless they are totally organised and united under one banner. It is to the extent to which this task is undertaken by our Party that it will secure itself the role of the militant leader of the growing mass movement.

This task, however, cannot be undertaken by the mere willingness of our Party members and friends of the Party to work with zeal and even organise and give leadership to the fighting people. That, of course, is necessary, since in its absence it will be impossible for the party to undertake the job. It should, however, be supplemented by a correct appreciation of the political background against which these struggles are breaking out for the policies pursued by the ruling party as well as the parties of the opposition make the situation among the people extremely complicated. Some of the most important features of this complicated situation may be summarised as follows:

Firstly, the ruling Party is meeting the developing movement of mass resistance against its policies by a combination of repression and demagogy. Detentions without trial, lathi-charges and firings and other traditional methods of attempts to suppress the mass movements are resorted to wherever any section of the people offers resistance. At the same time demagogic declarations are made by the leaders of the ruling party and Government, such as introduction of state trading in foodgrains, rationing in the major cities and in deficit areas like Kerala, a new ordinance to be used against profiteers and hoarders, etc.

Secondly, in relation to the opposition parties, too, the ruling party adopts a dual policy—trying to conciliate and even absorb sections from avowedly Right reactionary and communal parties like the Swatantra and Jan Sangh and invite all socialists outside the Congress to join its hands.

Thirdly, the above policy of the ruling party is having some effect on the opposition parties and on the mass organisations. A section of the old PSP has already accepted as genuine the call of the Congress for the unity of socialist forces inside and outside the ruling party; they have accepted the lead given by Asoka Mehta to walk into the forces of the Congress. This has happened to some other smaller groups too (including some of those who were considered fellow-travellers of the Congress), a section of the Swatantra Party including its entire provincial unit in Bihar has done the same, while the leadership of the remaining section of that party has begun to show signs of its desire to accommodate with the leadership of the ruling party. The ruling party has also been partly successful in disrupting the Communist Party making a section of our Party led by Dange group spread illusions regarding the Congress party and its policies.

Fourthly, despite these manoeuvres resorted to by the leaders of the ruling party and the partial success attained by them, the bulk of the people owing allegiance to all parties are getting more and more disillusioned against the ruling party as well as parties like Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. Radical slogans like state trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks, etc., are being accepted by the larger and larger sections of the people so that even parties like Swatantra are increasingly finding it difficult to make the people accept them. The claims made by the leaders of the ruling party that they are building socialism, that they are curbing the monopolists and profiteers, etc., cease to be acceptable even to their own followers. As for parties like the Samyukta Socialist party, they are obliged by the developing course of events to adopt militant lines of struggle and join hands with other radical elements in organising united mass actions.

Such being the political background against which the various sections of the people are coming into action against the anti-

people policies of the Congress regime, it is necessary for our Party to take particular care to understand all the specific features of a particular struggle taking place among a particular section of the people or a particular locality. The leadership of the Party unit concerned should take special pains to keep track of all the twists and turns brought about by the combined interplay of the various factors operating in an extremely complicated situation. The one yardstick with which to measure all these twists and turns is the actual mood of the people in gauging which the Party and its leadership should take particular care. We would be committing an unpardonable sin if we fail to take into account the growing mass discontent against the regime and the consequent militancy of the people. We would not be worth our salt if we fail to give effective leadership to these mass struggles. Ability to lead the people in the face of severe repression resorted to by the Government is therefore an essential precondition for the Party's work among the people. It would, however, be equally unpardonable if we were to fail to take into account the impact made on the people by the demagogic declarations made by the ruling party as well as the manoeuvres resorted to by the ruling or other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties in order to divert the mass movement.

It is necessary in this connection to bear in mind that sections of the ruling party as well as certain opposition (bourgeois and petty bourgeois) parties are taking certain issues affecting the common people and striving to lead them in the direction outlined by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. It is this that enables them to bring section of the masses behind them, even avowedly reactionary parties like the Swatantra are able to have some mass bases among a section of the people because they make clever use of the mass discontent on such issues as taxation, prices and corruption. As for the Jan Sangh and other parties of communalism and separatism, they are using the very same mass discontent and giving it their own particular communal and other character. It will be highly sectarian to dismiss all this as nothing but demagogic resorted to by these parties.

All these developments clearly bring out the fallacy of the

thesis that the main enemy today is Right reaction represented by the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh. In fact, although the Swatantra party gives the slogans of Right reaction in the crudest form, the fact is that the bulk of right reactionary forces—the monopolists and landlords—are in the Congress and look to the Congress Government to protect and foster their interests. The democratic movement can develop and become strong only in the measure that it firmly fights against the anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Government, in fact against its entire line of development, its attempt to build capitalism in India and that, too, in collaboration with foreign capital and in compromise and alliance with landlords.

Out of these struggles of the people—joint struggles of the trade unions, kisans and democratic masses—out of the mass campaigns on democratic and political issues will be built the democratic front. In the course of the struggles and campaigns people's political consciousness should be heightened, the futility of the capitalist path of development should be exposed, and the alternative path of people's democratic development should be clearly placed before the people so that more and more they come to accept the programme of People's Democracy.

It must be remembered that the democratic front is essentially a front of the democratic classes, and political parties and organisations come into it reflecting the classes they represent.

While the Party should firmly fight against revisionist ideas, slogans and tactics of tailing behind the bourgeoisie and the ruling party—an essential condition for building the unity of the democratic classes and the democratic front is that the Communist Party should continuously struggle against all manifestations of sectarianism.

Sectarianism in building the unity of the democratic classes takes two forms: (1) Sectarianism towards the masses owing allegiance to the ruling Congress party; and (2) Sectarianism towards the masses rallied round the parties of opposition which are Right reactionary or Leftist with rabid anti-Communism as their basic outlook. Both arise from the failure to realise that the bulk of the masses who are to be won over to democratic

policies and into the democratic front are more or less equally divided into those who follow the Congress and those rallied round the non-Communist opposition parties. Despite the class interests which the leaders of these parties represent and reactionary ideas they seek to disseminate among their followings it must be clearly realised that the masses rallied behind them are objectively interested in a sharp turn to the left in economic policies so that landlord and monopolist exploitation is curbed; in bringing down prices; in civil liberties and democratic rights; in reducing the burden of taxation; in the preservation and further strengthening of non-alignment; in taking firm anti-imperialist positions; in firm measures against corruption for which both the bureaucrats and Congress ministers have become notorious.

It is just because the leaders of the ruling or opposition parties take one or other of these issues that they are able to rally masses around them. It will be highly sectarian to dismiss the masses following other parties by calling it "the result of demagogy". No amount of demagogy can, by itself give a mass following. Only when it is based on some real grievance of the people, on some of their democratic aspirations can it become effective. A real Marxist must discern the popular democratic substratum lying hidden in the popular demagogic campaign of other parties, clear it of the anti-democratic twist given by them and thus forge a common language with their masses even when fighting their anti-democratic and reactionary ideology.

There are several issues on which leaders of this or that party take a democratic, progressive stand. Leaders of the Congress party support non-alignment. Sections of Congressmen are interested in a leftward swing of Government's policies. They advocate state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains and nationalisation of banks and genuine land reforms. The Samyukta Socialist party takes a popular stand on many mass issues on which it fights militantly. The DMK takes a popular stand on the issue of prices. Even parties of Right reaction fight against new tax burdens on the masses as well as corruption.

The Communist Party must have no hesitation in joining with any of them on concrete issues. Hesitation on this score really

betrays a sectarian attitude towards the masses rallied behind these parties. For, only thus will the Party be able to quickly break the wall between us and the masses rallied behind those parties, find a common language, and disperse the anti-communist prejudice that is instilled in them.

Such actions on concrete issues do not exhaust the possibilities of unity between the Communist Party and other parties.

United stand on issues of greater political significance will also become possible. Such, for instance, is the issue of ending the state of emergency on which all the opposition parties take a common stand. It should be the endeavour of the Party to find such issues and build unity whenever and wherever possible. In Parliament and legislatures, the Party should extend its support to the opposition parties when they are voicing a popular grievance and do not mix it up with their own reactionary views and ideologies; demarcate the party from the opposition when it uses popular grievances for advancing reactionary causes; extend support to the Government when opposition to it is based on issues deliberately raised in order to confuse the issues, etc.

The Party should also intervene in all cases where ministerial or other crisis develop in the States or at the Centre. Removal of a particular minister, wholesale reorganisation of the ministry, charges and counter-charges made by rival groups in the ruling party—all these occasions should be made use of and so handled as to strengthen the forces of radicalism in the country as a whole and in the ruling party. The attitude of contempt for such “petty quarrels” among the ruling classes and within the ruling party, refusal to intervene in an transform such situation (to whatever slight extent it may be possible) will make the Party a totally ineffective force in a rapidly changing political situation.

The aim of all such political interventions as well as of united struggles and campaigns should be to strengthen the mass movements and struggles of the working people, to strengthen the unity of the trade unions, to develop the struggles and build united organisations of the peasants and agricultural labourers, to realise the partial demands of the working people and to

heighten the consciousness and strengthen the unity of the working class and peasantry. Only by building such unity of the working people through joint struggles and campaigns can the democratic movement advance and the democratic front be built. Negligence of this key task will lead to the opportunist tactics of manoeuvring at the top as the main form of 'political action'. Such reliance on manoeuvring divorced from mass actions and campaigns, far from building the unity of the masses, will leave them a prey to the demagogic appeals made by reactionary elements and to the disruptive activities of communal and other anti-national elements.

But the importance of mass organisations particularly of trade union and kisan fronts and the dangers arising from our serious weakness in these fronts must be fully grasped by us. Recent developments have made it all the more urgent. Building of mass organisations and developing the political consciousness of the workers and peasants are always our basic tasks on the fulfilment of which depends the building of democratic front. But now in the context of intensified class struggle they have acquired more urgency. In the face of growing burdens on the people and increasing Government repression against the people, it is becoming more and more difficult to develop and defend mass struggles by depending on spontaneity. Hence, it has become absolutely necessary to build and develop mass organisations, particularly of workers, peasants and agricultural labourers; it is also necessary to raise the political consciousness of the people. But we must note that our trade union front is weak, vast masses of workers remain unorganised, a large number of organised workers remain completely under reformist influence. Our trade union work is permeated with economism. So far as the peasant front is concerned, our weakness is more pronounced. For the last several years, the mass organisations of peasants and agricultural workers are getting more and more weakened. In many places, their existence become only formal. This utter neglect of kisan front shows that we were victims of revisionism in our understanding of the role of the peasantry in building the democratic front.

All these weaknesses will have to overcome as soon as possible. The new committee that will be elected from this Congress will have to discuss these problems in detail and work out concrete tasks. The whole Party shall have to work on these fronts with a new outlook.

On the other hand, if the Party adopts the correct tactics of combining extensive activity among the working people in developing their united struggles and building their united organisations with political intervention at the top, the Party can play an effective role in rallying far bigger sections of the people against the anti-people policies of the Government and in the struggle against reaction.

We are not dealing with the concrete tasks on the trade union, kisan sabha and other mass fronts. This will have to be discussed in the appropriate committees and conclusions drawn, which would become the common consciousness of the entire party.

As for elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament the Party should endeavour to forge an electoral alliance on the basis of a programme with socialist and left democratic parties, groups and progressive individuals. It must adopt flexible tactics, without compromising its political principles, so as to enhance the party's representation in the State Legislatures and Parliament. It must be realised that with no proportionate representation, the system of elections based on single-member constituencies, places a very serious limitation on our representation, which is far below the strength of the mass movement led by us and our influence in the country. Under these circumstances, failure to adopt flexible tactics which would enable us to overcome these limitations, to some extent, would reduce the possibilities of political intervention and utilising the parliamentary and legislative forum for strengthening the mass movement.

In this connection, the coming elections for the Assembly in Kerala are of importance for the entire Party. The elections are taking place when the Congress party's stock is at a very low ebb, when it is torn with dissensions, and it is no longer possible for it to form the anti-Communist alliance it made for the 1960

mid-term elections. The possibilities exist for the Communist and democratic parties and progressive individuals together winning a majority and forming a non-Congress progressive ministry.

While it will be a dangerous illusion to imagine that a State Government formed by the Communist Party together with its allies can transform the economic or political set-up in the State, nonetheless, the formation of such a Government will be of great importance in today's conditions. It can play a positive role, both in Kerala as well as in the country as a whole. Apart from enabling the solution of a limited number of local problems which such a Government can without doubt do, its existence and functioning will bring greater morale to the democratic masses everywhere and thus strengthen the democratic movement. It can become a weapon in the hands of the masses in the struggle against the anti-people policies of the Central Government. It will at the same time further intensify the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction inside the ruling party itself. The Party should, therefore, endeavour to forge a programmatic alliance with democratic and Left parties and individuals in the State, and adopt flexible tactics without compromising our political principles, in order to not only win a majority but a sizable and stable majority for these forces, and in order to reduce the representation of the Congress Party to the minimum.

Another important task that the Party has to discharge in the immediate future is to campaign for and bring about the atmosphere for a political settlement of the India-China border dispute. At the Meerut Session of the National Council in 1959, we demanded that the question should be solved on a political basis. Again, immediately on the publication of the official team's report, we put forward this as the only solution of the dispute, in the teeth of opposition by the Dange group, and carried it in the National Council. The failure of the Communist Party to campaign for that resolution and bring about the atmosphere for a peaceful settlement was one of the contributory factors for the subsequent developments.

The bankruptcy of the line of the Dange group, which is the

same as that of the Government as well as of all the other opposition parties stands exposed today. It is growingly being realised that whatever might be the scale of military aid, India might get from the USA or USSR, there is no military solution to the dispute. The sooner negotiations take place for a political settlement, the sooner will the seeking of military aid go. It will considerably lessen the military burdens and ease the economic situation in the country.

It is of utmost importance, therefore, in the interest of the country in order to avoid the humiliating spectacle of seeing our ministers undertake missions to the Western imperialist countries begging military aid, that the Party campaigns vigorously for initiative by the Government for negotiations for a political settlement of the border problem with China.

It is through such a strengthening of the forces of progress by the independent political action of the Communist Party and its allies, by ever greater widening of the circle of the Party's allies, and not through the forging of "Congress-Communist united front" that the unity of the progressive forces will be built. For, despite the relatively progressive policy declarations of the Congress, and despite the subjective good intention of some of its leaders, the fact remains that the Congress as a whole is dominated by reactionary elements—the bulk of whom are in it. General united front with the Congress, as distinguished from united campaigns on concrete issues, is unthinkable.

As for the SSP, although it is true that they take a more radical economic questions, and after the walk-out by the pro-Congress section of the former PSP and merger with the SSP, although they are more militant yet their foreign policy is much more reactionary than that of the Congress. Joint work with them and joint struggles may help to bring about a change in this also. Yet, today there is no question of a general united front with it.

Nor can the question of general united front arise with reactionary and communal parties like the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh. For, they represent the ideology and politics with which

the Communist Party has to carry on a relentless and continuous struggle.

Yet, as stated earlier, it would be wrong and sectarian to refuse to form united front in action on concrete issues even with such parties. For, despite the wrong and harmful ideological poison the leaders have injected into the masses loyal to them, these masses are as interested in defending themselves against the vested interests as are the masses rallied behind the Communist Party. To find points of contact with them all, to develop joint action—such is the essence of the policy of united front, by pursuing which undeviatingly alone, combined with independent mobilisation and action by the Party, can the democratic front be built.

To carry out the tasks, it is of utmost importance that a real mass Communist Party, equipped with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and firmly based on Leninist principles of organisation be rapidly built.

In discharging the task mentioned above, we have to face the stiff opposition from the Dange group. Their opportunist politics combined with their disruptive organisational practices had made it extremely difficult for our comrades to develop the mass movement along the lines indicated above.

It is, however, a matter of satisfaction that we had gone far in effectively facing and overcoming this opposition from the Dange group. The response from the mass of Party members and sympathisers to the call given by us to repudiate the Dange group and rally around the line and struggle against the Congress regime has been magnificent. The renewal of Party membership undertaken by us has shown that not only has the majority joined us but that even those who have not joined us, a considerable section is still waiting and may subsequently join us. The Dange group has thus been proved to be what it really is—a very insignificant minority of Party members bossed over by a large number of leaders. Huge rallies which accompanied the district and State conferences which preceded this Congress showed unmistakably that the bulk of Party members and sympathisers have rallied behind the units represented in this Congress.

All this, let it be remembered, took place at a time when the Dange group had a very big weapon in their hands—the open support given to it by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Ever since July 1963 when the Open Letter issued by the Central Committee of the CPSU characterised those of us who opposed the policies and practices of the Dange group as an anti-Party group of splitters, taking orders from the Communist Party of China, the CPSU have put out so much propanganda material acknowledging the Dange group as the real Communist Party of India. This attitude of the leadership of the Soviet Party went to the extent that monthly organ for “Peace and Socialism” printed an article in which the notorious Dange Letters were denounced as forged at the very time when the Dange group itself was ostensibly conducting a probe into the genuineness of those letters through a commission! All this material emanating from the Soviet Party was naturally utilised by the Dange group to claim that it was the real Communist Party while those who opposed them are the splitters.

Recent development in the international Communist movement, however, have removed the bottom out of this propaganda line of the Dange group. The publication of the well-known Togliatti Memorandum was the first indication to show that there were some sections in the international movement, who by no stretch of imagination could be called “pro-China” in ideology, were unhappy about the methods adopted by the Soviet leadership in dealing with the controversy in the international movement. Scarcely had a few weeks elapsed since the publication of this Memorandum, when staggering news appeared about the change of leadership in the Soviet Party. It is, of course, yet premature to make an assessment of the likely implications of this change in the Soviet Party leadership on the international movement and consequently on the claim made by the Dange group that they constitute the real Communist Party of India. It is, however, indisputable that several parties like those of Austrian and Western Europe feel that the change in the leadership of the Soviet Party is not unconnected with the method followed in the past in dealing with the controversy of the international movement. The statement

issued by the Central Secretariat of the Dange group and several spokesmen of their group at the provincial and lower levels show that they too are panic-stricken trying to sort out all sources of excuses and explanations. It is obvious that the story of the change in the Soviet leadership came to them as a bombshell.

It would obviously be unwise for us to come to any conclusion on the reasons for this change in the leadership of the CPSU. We have naturally to wait for more and authentic information to come from the CPSU itself. We may confine ourselves to an expression of the hope entertained by bulk of members and sympathisers of the Communist Party of India that (a) the new leadership of the CPSU would accept the advice tendered by Togliatti in his Memorandum on the need for a change in the method of dealing with controversies in the international movement so that open polemical debate is replaced by business like discussions bilateral to begin with followed by a well-prepared international conference with a view to uniting the international movement; (b) that in any case our fraternal parties (including the CPSU and the CPC) would cease to interfere in the internal affairs of our Party, leaving it to the majority of our Party members to decide who are the authentic representatives of the Party, whether there is any anti-Party group in the Party and if so—who, whether the Dange Letters are genuine or forged, whether this or that leader of the Party deserves the confidence of Party members and so on.

This, however, would not overcome all the difficulties which we are facing today. After all, we are faced with the question which policy—that advocated by the Dange group or that for which we have been fighting—is correct. We will have to show in practice that the policies and practices which we symbolise yield better results in mobilising and uniting the mass of the Indian people in their resistance to the anti-people policies of the Congress regime. It is to the extent to which we go into action and show results that we will be able to inflict the most decisive defeat on the Dange group. We are sure that the deliberations of this Congress and the final decisions arrived at by us in this Congress will help us in this respect.

Comrades, while it is true that inside the Party there has been

a section which has been fighting against Right reformism and revisionism for a long time, yet it would be wrong to think that they were free from Right opportunist mistakes on this or that issue. The fact is that inside the Party no struggle against revisionism had been organised. Even when the 1957 Moscow Declaration sharply pointed out that the main danger facing the Communist movement is the danger of revisionism, and although the West Bengal and Punjab units of the Party had submitted documents on "Revisionism inside the Communist Party of India" and demanded a thorough inner-Party discussion on them, the discussion was sabotaged. In fact, even the National Council did not find it feasible to discuss the documents.

After the Left-sectarian deviation of the 1948-51 period which led to extreme adventurist tactics, there was every ground for a swing to Right opportunism. This was particularly so in view of the fact that parliamentary and legislative activities dominated the Party's activities since 1952.

Added to this was the fact that certain bourgeois developments were taking place, which to people in an underdeveloped country whose development had been arrested by a century and a half of colonial slavery, appears to be big. Moreover, the Indian bourgeoisie was cleverly manoeuvring with its slogans of public sector and socialism. In these conditions the ground was fertile in India particularly for the growth of revisionism inside the Communist Party and all the greater was the need, therefore, for a principled struggle against it—a struggle in which the entire Party took part. How true today has the warning of revisionism being the main danger admitted by the Twelve Parties' Declaration come in the case of the Communist Party of India.

One of the chief manifestations of revisionism is bourgeois nationalism, and the abandonment of proletarian internationalism. On several anti-imperialist issues—Algeria, Congo, etc., the Communist Party of India failed to mobilise the masses in solidarity with the struggle for freedom. Generally, it was content to pass resolutions welcoming the Government's stand. When the Government of India refused to recognise the provisional Algerian Government, when the Government of India refused to withdraw its

forces from Congo even after all the Asian-African countries had done so, the Party never came out sharply against the Government and mobilised the people.

We know the depth of bourgeois nationalism that had corroded the Party when the India-China border dispute came into the open and subsequently erupted into an armed clash at the border in October 1962.

But surrender to bourgeois nationalism had already taken place internally. Provincial Committees had already started following "their own" bourgeoisie against the people (including the Communist Party) of neighbouring States in relation to inter-State borders. In the case of the Maharashtra Committee, it reached its high watermark. With regard to the allocation of river waters, location of projects, etc., also the same tendency manifested itself.

The Party must undertake a detailed report on revisionism inside the Party and the entire Party must be drawn into its discussion.

While the struggle against revisionism must be relentlessly carried on, there is every danger of sectarianism also raising its head and it must be guarded against. We have already shown how in building the democratic movement, sectarianism manifests itself. Another manifestation of sectarianism is the refusal to see the contradictions between imperialism and even the monopolists and big bourgeoisie, and not to utilise it tactically for isolating imperialism.

An equally important factor contributing to the growth of revisionism and manifestations of sectarianism is the fact that theory of Marxism-Leninism has been totally neglected. In the period 1942-48, in the name of creative Marxism, study of classics was condemned and the study of writings of the leaders of the Party was substituted for a study of the classics. It was this 'creative Marxism' that gave rise to the discredited theory of 'Muslim Nationalities' which found justification for Jinnah's theory of two nations, based on religion. That atrocious thesis could be swallowed uncritically by the Party was entirely due to the indifference bordering on contempt that was developed for Marxist theory in that period.

Subsequently, in the period 1948-51, there was a conscious attempt to undertake a study of classics at all levels. But when the line pursued at that time proved to be extremely Left sectarian, the Party once again relapsed into woeful neglect of the classics.

One of the major tasks that the Party has to undertake is a systematic study of the classics at all levels, without this, the Party will not be able to successfully struggle against revisionism nor can it guard itself against manifestations of sectarianism.

With revisionism and bourgeois nationalism on the ascendancy, principles of Leninist organisation were given the go-by. With the blow given to the Party by the Left sectarian line of 1948-51, discipline was getting shattered. It could be restored only on the basis of a principled struggle against sectarianism as well as a determined struggle against the monster of revisionism for which the soil was fertile. Added to this was the fact that without that revolutionary fervour born out of the revolutionary Marxist theory and practice, with activities in the Parliamentary, legislative, cooperative and such spheres being on the ascendant, with the colossal growth of bourgeois corruption in social and political life all round, Communist norms of life were getting shattered and bourgeois habits and mode of life,—softness and easy going life—began to grip Party comrades, particularly at the top levels. Responsibility and duties to the Party were shirked. Placing the interests of oneself above the interests of the Party began to grow.

In the pursuit of revisionism and in the attempt to get the Party adopt a line of out-and-out tailing behind the bourgeoisie, degeneracy had reached the lowest depths, particularly at the top level. Systematically, and with a plan, discussions inside the National Council, the Central Executive Committee and even the Polit-Bureau and later the Secretariat were being leaked to the bourgeois press with a deliberate purpose. A section of the Party was being thus openly slandered. And yet the leaked 'commission report' was shelved. Everyone in the National Council knew who the real culprits were, although no cast-iron proof could be adduced. In fact, in one meeting, every member of the Secretariat pointed the accusing finger at one member. The proceedings of another meeting of the Secretariat at which

only five members were present were leaked out and printed in the bourgeois press within twentyfour hours and there could be no doubt that the leakage could have emanated only from one or more of three members of the Secretariat. In face of all this, despite repeated demands from the ranks to put an end to the leakages, the National Council kept absolutely mum. Such was the depth of degeneracy. Was there any wonder that on the outbreak of the armed conflict on the border, a section of the Party virtually acted as informers?

Character assassination was resorted to against those who would not toe the revisionist line. How could mutual respect develop between colleagues? Instead, contempt developed. And hence collective leadership, without which no Communist Party can develop, was non-existent.

As a result, inner-Party democracy and democratic centralism became non-existent. Ideas of federalism in Party organisation were growing and manifested themselves in practice. The lack of inner-Party democracy could be seen in the fact that no discussion was organised on even such documents as 12 Parties' Declaration of 1957 or the Moscow Statement of 1960.

While inner-Party democracy thus became virtually absent, on the other hand, its concomitant ultra-democracy also was prevalent.

A systematic, relentless and sustained struggle against all these anti-Marxist, bourgeois organisational methods and vices must be waged. Party norms must be asserted and Party life must be so organised that a collective leadership is rapidly built.

Through these struggles, we should rapidly build a real mass Communist Party strong in the theory of Marxism-Leninism firmly adhering to Leninist principles of Party organisation and capable of pursuing principled and flexible tactics to meet any given situation.

Comrades, the objective situation in the country is extremely favourable. Despite the terrific propaganda barrage of slander that the Government and all other parties let loose against us as being 'anti-national' since the border dispute with China and particularly after the border clash in October-November 1962,—a propaganda which was actively aided and indulged in with greater intensity by the revisionist Dange group—they did not succeed in

isolating us from our people. On the other hand, people in growing numbers look upon us as the relentless and selfless fighters for their interest. This has happened because experience has already proved to large sections of our people and every day will prove to still larger sections that the policies of the ruling Congress Party as well as those of the Right reactionary and communal opposition parties are condemning them to eternal poverty. Want and misery are leading the nation to a terrific catastrophe. Experience also brings them consciousness that the line of tailing behind the bourgeoisie and eulogising the path of capitalist development which the Dange group of revisionists has been practising and is bent upon pursuing, will bring them no relief. Inexorably they are drawn to the path of struggle to dislodge the bourgeoisie from its leading position that we place before them.

The only obstacle that has so far prevented the canalisation of all those who are gradually coming to realise the bankruptcy of the policies of those parties has been the systematic and determined attempt by the revisionists to take the Party to the path of class collaboration, as a result of which the Party was emasculated and bogged down in stagnation.

The very fact that the majority of the Party has disowned the revisionists in unmistakable terms and are represented in this Congress in such a short period of time is proof of the soundness, health and vitality of the bulk of the Party. This is our great and inestimable treasure.

Freed from the deadening machinations of the bourgeois agent Dange and his revisionist group, let us move forward with determination to build a real mass Communist Party, firmly carrying on the fight against revisionism, guarding against sectarianism, deeply studying, assimilating and applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism and basing ourselves on the Leninist principles of organisation as the only effective instrument of social transformation. The future belongs to us.

Forward to a real mass Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism !

Forward to the Democratic Front !

Long live Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism!

Long live the Communist Party of India !

On the Tasks of the Party in the Present Situation

Resolution adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India,
October 31—November 7, 1964, Calcutta*

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India, after discussing the political-organisational report placed by the Central Executive Committee before the Congress, has come to the following conclusion on the political economic situation existing in the country and the tasks arising therefrom.

Nearly two decades of Congress rule and its attempt to build capitalism, without attacking the positions of foreign capital and without carrying out land reforms in the interest of the peasantry and agricultural labourers, have landed the country's economy in a deep crisis. The sharpest expression of the crisis is the food crisis and the soaring prices of all commodities of daily consumption.

The five-year plans, which were advertised as plans which would create a self-generating economy, free from foreign dependence, have miserably failed in the objectives that were loudly proclaimed.

In all the plans, performance has been far less than sixty per cent of targets, particularly in basic industries.

The shortfall in agriculture has been still more pronounced and in the last three years, agricultural production has been more or less stagnant.

And for this pitiable performance, the common people have been made to pay more than what was proposed as the targets of

* This was in reality the political resolution of the Seventh Congress.

additional taxation, which were already fixed high. And on top of it deficit financing has been resorted to recklessly. With all this the plan is facing a crisis in the internal resources part of it.

And as for external resources, a chronic crisis has engulfed the plan. Government's attempt to overcome this crisis in external resources by inviting foreign capital for investments in private enterprise in collaboration with Indian monopolists has not succeeded in overcoming the crisis, but the crisis has intensified.

Far from creating a self-generating economy, the country is today dependent on imperialist aid in respect of even food and for maintaining production in the existing industries.

While the reduction in the disparities in income and wealth, and a sizable increase in living standards, were proclaimed as objectives of the plans, the opposite of it has been the actual result. At one end monopolists have enormously strengthened themselves, at the other end living standards of the common people have been tremendously depressed. Unemployment has steadily grown. And on top of it all, government has let loose hoarders and speculators on the entire community, whose deprivations have inflicted untold misery on all sections of the people. The suffering and misery inflicted in the last one year alone when prices of essential articles of food have risen by cent per cent defy description.

As a direct consequence of these policies the entire administration down from the ministerial level is reeking with corruption. Crores of rupees allocated to various schemes are going down the drain into the cesspool of corruption.

All this has clearly demonstrated that the capitalist path of development that the Congress government has embarked upon cannot solve our basic problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty and unemployment. While it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people, it gives them no hope of a better future. Further, the massive import of foreign capital together with reliance on imperialist aid, would seriously jeopardise our freedom.

An important manifestation of the intense crisis is the evergrowing mass discontent which expresses itself in various

forms and on various issues. The food crisis has brought the hitherto unorganised sections of the people into action. Demonstrations, rallies, satyagrahas, gheraos, industry-wise and state-wide strikes have taken place in the recent period in all parts of the country drawing into their fold much larger sections of the people, including bank, insurance and states and central government employees, regardless of party affiliation.

On the other hand, factional fights inside the ruling party have intensified. Manoeuvres like the 'Kamaraj plan' resorted to by the Congress leadership, without changing the basic policies, have failed to solve the problems created by these factional fights. Actually these manoeuvres give rise to fresh and more intense factional struggles.

However, the ruling party is meeting the developing movement of mass resistance against its policies by a combination of repression and demagogy. Detentions without trial, lathi and teargas charges and firings and other traditional methods of repression have been intensified. The state of emergency is being perpetuated and the unconstitutional provisions of the Defence of India Rules are resorted to precisely for the purpose of suppression of the people, in the name of defence of the country. At the same time demagogic declarations are made from time to time, such as democratic socialism, threat of action against hoarders, etc.

And now the Government of India has come out with the target of Rs. 21,000 crores for the fourth plan. It seeks to lull the people with the promise of doubling the rate of economic growth, i.e. at the annual rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But it should be noted that no change in basic policies is proposed. A moratorium on land reforms is proposed. Additional taxation of Rs. 2500 crores is provided for. In addition to over Rs. 2,000 crores expected by way of imperialist aid, it is hoped that Rs. 2,500 crores of foreign monopoly capital would come in for investment in the private sector in collaboration with Indian monopolists.

Instead of taking proper steps to solve the problems of minorities, language, tribes, etc., the ruling party seeks to utilise national, communal and caste differences in order to buttress its rule.

The ruling party is also seeking to strengthen its position by trying to conciliate and even absorb into its fold avowedly right reactionary and communal parties like the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh on the one hand and on the other, on the basis of its pseudo-socialist demagogy by inviting all socialists outside the Congress to come into its fold. In this it has had a measure of success.

Despite all these measures, and demagogy and intensification of repression, the struggles of the people, which often start spontaneously, continue.

The rapidly changing situation has affected the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh, too, and has led to significant changes in their attitude to the Government. The Swatantra Party is soft-peddalling its opposition to the government. A similar change is developing in the attitude of the Jan Sangh to the government.

After a section of the PSP walked into the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of India merged to form the Samyukta Socialist Party. Inside the Samyukta Socialist Party a policy battle is going on on the question of cooperation with the Communist Party in struggles against the anti-people policies of the government.

The greatest weakness in the situation is the weakness of the Communist Party. This weakness was due to the attempt of the Dange group to impose its class-collaborationist and revisionist policies. The Communist Party was, therefore, unable to play its historic role of giving effective leadership to these struggles and showing the people the way out of the crisis.

Now that the Dange group is increasingly getting exposed and isolated and the Communist Party has freed itself from its clutches, very heavy and urgent responsibilities devolve upon us.

The Congress calls upon all units and Party members, who have so valiantly fought to keep the banner of Marxism-Leninism flying unsullied, to throw themselves heart and soul into the urgent task of giving organised leadership to the organised mass actions of resistance to the anti-people policies of the government. Many questions like price, taxation, dearness allowance, bonus, retrenchment, unemployment, eviction from land, distribution of

land, are bringing larger and larger sections into action. They should take into account the mood of the people and give concrete slogans on its basis and give effective leadership to their struggles in order to secure relief for the people and improve their living conditions.

This task cannot be successfully discharged unless the serious dangers arising from the weakness in the mass organisations, particularly in the trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural labour unions are fully grasped and the weakness rapidly overcome. In the context of intensified class struggles this task has acquired added urgency. With government resorting to severe repression against the people, developing struggles cannot be defended by relying upon spontaneity. Organisation and political consciousness alone will defeat the manoeuvres of the ruling classes and their attempt to suppress the struggles by severe repression. In the trade union front, vast masses of workers who remain unorganised must be organised.

The existing trade unions are divided. But the increased burdens are giving rise to struggles by even the workers under the INTUC. By evolving correct and feasible demands, by mobilising independently the workers, by fraternal approaches to the workers under other trade union centres, combined with approach to the leadership, united struggles should be unleashed. The issues of dearness allowance, bonus and wages have acquired great importance in view of the soaring prices and government's modification of the Bonus Commission's recommendations.

The trade union movement is deeply sunk in economism. We have failed to develop the political consciousness of the workers and rally them in support of other sections of the people and particularly the peasants and agricultural labourers. Without building such consciousness and active support, all talk of building the democratic front, of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core, becomes an empty phrase. This weakness must be rapidly overcome and political consciousness must be rapidly inculcated in every way.

The Dange group is trying to disrupt the unity of the AITUC unions. By mobilising the workers these attempts must be defeated and unity maintained.

Another weakness that has been systematically developed by the Dange group is that trade union democracy has been seriously jeopardised and bureaucratic functioning has developed. Decisions are taken without consulting the workers. This weakness must be eradicated quickly, workers drawn into participation in all aspects of trade union activities, and trade union democracy restored.

The weakness in the kisan movement has been more pronounced. In many states struggles of kisans and agricultural labourers have taken place, often spontaneously. The Party units concerned have taken up these struggles, led them and won success. Nevertheless, the systematic organisation of the kisan sabha was not undertaken. The Party did not allot necessary cadres for this organisation. The problems of the kisan movement vary from place to place and the Party did not assess the experiences of each struggle and work out the correct line from time to time.

With more and more poor and even middle peasants, and village artisans getting pauperised, the ranks of agricultural labourers, who constitute forty per cent of the rural population, swell. The agricultural labourers are the foremost allies of the working class and without organising them the democratic front cannot be built. With the rise in prices, the condition of agricultural workers has deteriorated terribly. It is of utmost importance that the agricultural workers are rapidly organised and their immediate demands such as employment, wages, house-sites, distribution of waste and surplus lands, etc., are taken up for immediate solution. The majority of the agricultural labourers come from scheduled castes and tribes and suffer from social oppression. Issues arising out of social oppression must be taken up and redressed.

The kisan sabhas must be activated, strengthened and organised on a wide scale. The immediate demands, such as stoppage of evictions, reduction of rent, debt-reduction, against tax burdens, for fair price for their produce and supply of credit,

fertilisers and agricultural implements and distribution of waste and surplus land must be taken up.

Detailed line for the trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural labour unions must be worked out. For this purpose the Central Committee is charged with the responsibility of calling a meeting of trade union and kisan comrades within two months and after a thorough discussion with them work out the line in detail. The trade union and kisan sub-committees must become functioning bodies, helping the states in the organisation of these mass organisations.

The states also must immediately constitute functioning trade union, kisan and agricultural labour union sub-committees.

The absence of mass democratic and progressive organisations of students and youth is being utilised by reactionary forces to ideologically corrupt the younger generation. Hence attention must be given to the organisation of youth and students.

The mass organisations of women should be built up as an essential democratic task of the Party.

At meetings of Central and State Committees the problems of these mass organisations should be discussed, decisions taken and guarantees forged for their implementation.

The Party must mobilise all democratic sections of the people against every attack on civil liberties and democratic rights and against its repressive measures. It must campaign against the anti-people policies of the government and for alternative policies. It must carry on a relentless campaign for world peace, for banning of all nuclear weapons and for general disarmament. The slogan of people's democratic front and particularly the slogan of land to the tiller in view of its importance to the democratic revolution must be constantly popularised.

Every effort must be made by proper approach to win over the masses following the Congress party. Already they are getting disillusioned with the Congress government because of the divergence between its profession and practice. In the coming days, this disillusionment will grow.

Through these struggles and raising the political consciousness of the masses, they gradually come to realise the necessity of the

Programme of People's Democracy. It is through this process that the democratic front gets forged. It must be realised that the democratic front is basically a front of classes.

A vast mass of the people are not attached to any party. The Party must make every effort to bring them into mass actions against the policies of the government and organise them into class organisations.

The rest of the people to be won over to the people's democratic front are rallied behind the Congress and all the parties of the non-Communist opposition. The Communist Party must have no hesitation to go into joint action with any party or group on concrete issues in defence of the masses and on concrete issues in defence of peace, independence and anti-colonialism. For only thus will we be able to quickly break the wall that the leaders of these parties seek to build between us and the masses following them, find a common language and remove the anti-Communist prejudice that is injected into them. Only thus will we be able to come before them as the most doughty champions and disinterested fighters for their interests. However, there is no question of a general united front with the ruling Congress party or parties of right reaction and communalism.

While we should have no hesitation to join with any party on any concrete issue in defence of the interests of the people and while the most urgent task is the struggle against the anti-people policies of the Congress which gives strength to right reaction, nevertheless, it must be realised that the Swatantra Party is the party that has a complete and consistent platform of extreme right reaction. The Jan Sangh, while spreading the same reactionary ideology, also appeals to the communalism of the majority community. These parties have been emboldened to push their demand for complete military alignment with the U.S.A. and thus surrender our territorial independence to the U.S. imperialists. The Party must carry on a sustained and vigorous struggle ideologically and politically, exposing their reactionary ideology and politics, and isolate them and defeat them. It must mobilise the democratic masses against all attempts to fan the fires of communal and chauvinist hatred.

A section of the PSP under the leadership of Asoka Mehta has walked into the Congress. The other section and the Socialist Party of India have merged to form the Samyukta Socialist Party. Recent experience has shown that while a section of the SSP is willing and anxious to develop united activity on many issues, there is a section which is still anti-Communist and seeks to sabotage united activity. In spite of this, the approach of the Party should be that of unity and friendliness towards the SSP.

Government has further shifted its policies to the right. This finds expression not only in its anti-democratic measures, in the policies enabling the growth of monopolies, in seeking more and more imperialist aid, both economic and military and in its wooing foreign capital for investment in the private sector in collaboration with Indian monopolists. This further shift is also reflected in the foreign policy. Its refusal to condemn the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, the Anglo-U.S. design to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean and its open support to the neo-colonialist policy of British imperialism in Malaysia stem precisely from this. If this trend is not arrested, non-alignment, with its anti-imperialist content as enshrined in the declaration of the Cairo Conference, is not safe. It is of utmost importance that the Party mobilise the people against those failures of the government and compel it to stick to the anti-imperialist declaration it has signed in Cairo.

These tasks cannot be fulfilled without building the Party on the secure foundation of Marxism-Leninism as the initiator, builder and leader of mass movements and struggles. Our activity should be orientated towards taking up the problem of the basic classes which alone can forge the link that can revitalise the whole Party.

The struggle against revisionism must be systematically carried on inside the Party. At the same time, the Party must vigilantly guard against manifestations of sectarianism. For this purpose the Central Committee must prepare a detailed document showing the manifestations of these inside the Party, their political and ideological roots, the weaknesses in the struggle against revisionism, and educate the entire Party on it.

The Party must organise and encourage study of classics as well as undertake systematically a study of the concrete problems of our country and movement and learn to apply Marxist theory to these problems. The Central and State Committees should organise Party education.

Inner-Party democracy and centralised leadership must be restored, ensuring Party discipline. The Party must take effective steps to develop proletarian outlook and practice at all levels and wage a continuous struggle against alien ideas, practices and habits. Liberalism must be checked and fought.

Systematic efforts should be made to win over all those as have been misled by the Dange group.

Party recruitment must be a sustained and continuous task, so that the Communist Party of India rapidly emerges as a mass revolutionary Party. The hundreds of militants who come forward in mass actions must be recruited in the Party. Maximum attention should be given to develop cadres from the working class, peasants and agricultural labourers and to educate them to come to leadership.

While assimilating the experience of the International Communist Movement, the Communist Party of India discusses and decides all questions on the basis of its own study and experience and Marxism-Leninism. And through this it will make its contribution and constantly work for unity in the International Communist Movement.

Statement of Policy of the Communist Party of India Adopted in the Seventh Congress*

Held in Calcutta, October 31—November 7, 1964

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

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

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

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

* This is the Statement of Policy of 1951 re-adopted by the Seventh Congress with some modifications and changes.

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

Our Objective

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

The Communist Party of India, therefore, has adopted a programme, in which it says that it “regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-people Government by a new Government of People’s Democracy.”

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

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

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

Our Past Policies

There are a large number of people who think that this Government can be replaced by a People’s Democratic

Government by utilising the parliament ushered in by the new Constitution. Such feelings are encouraged and fed not only by this Government and the vested interests but even by the right-wing socialists, who preach that the very fact of a strong opposition party on the parliamentary floor will shake the Government and make it topple down.

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

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

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

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

killed, hanged, imprisoned, tortured and ruined. Naturally, while leading the working masses, many a time, at crucial points in our history, we were confronted with the question : which path to follow, what tactics would best secure the interests of the country and the people?

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

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

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

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

it was the first people's democratic revolution in a semi-colonial, dependent country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in which even the national bourgeoisie took part. At the same time, one has to remember that every country has its own peculiarities, natural and social, which cannot fail to govern its path to liberation.

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

CHINA AND INDIA : SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE

Our Perspective

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Central Committee wishes to convey to comrades this great lesson of history, a lesson which is neither only the Russian path nor the Chinese path, but a path of Leninism applied to Indian conditions.

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

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

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

Combat Individual Terrorism

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

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

Immediate Situation and Tasks

The question that now remains, and an important one, is, we have got the path and the perspective but what now? The question of the immediate, while certainly influenced by the perspective, is

not solely determined by it. It is also governed by the assessment, of the present situation. How far is the Government isolated, how far are the people disillusioned, how far are they ready to struggle, are some of the questions that determine tasks and slogans for them.

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

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

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

We have to lead the struggle of the people in the context of sober evaluation of the situation, while it should not lead us into

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

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

We have to realise that although the masses are getting fast radicalised and moving into action in many parts of the country the growth of the mass movement has not kept pace with the growth of discontent against the present Government and its policies and methods. To ascribe this to repression alone would be wrong. The weakness of the mass movement is due, above all, to the weakness of our Party and the division in the camp of progressive forces. The Party must strive to overcome this division and must stress the supreme need for unity of all progressive forces, build this unity in action and itself grow into a mass party by drawing into its fold the best elements from the fighting masses.

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

Role of Working Class Unity and the Party

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

cost in the shortest possible time and united mass organisations of the working class built.

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

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

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

All these tasks call for the most intense, patient and daily work among the masses, continuous agitation on our basic programme and immediate, simple demands of the people, a concrete working out of such demands for every section of the people according to general and local conditions, practical leadership of mass struggles, a combination of various forms of struggles, and systematic building up of a network of mass organisations.

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

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

Struggle for Peace

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

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

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

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our people and merge them into the common movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

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

Constitution of the Communist Party of India

Adopted in the Seventh Congress held in Calcutta
October 31—November 7, 1964

Article I

NAME

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

Article II

EMBLEM

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white : "Communist Party of India."

Article III

FLAG

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

Article IV

MEMBERSHIP

1. Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party membership dues and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

This is the old constitution of C.P.I. re-adopted by the Seventh Congress with some modifications and changes.

2. New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party Branch on the recommendation of two Party members. Party committees at local, town, taluk, district, state and central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility. All applications for Party membership must be placed before the appropriate committees within a month of their presentation and recommendation.

3. The General Body meeting of the Party Branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a Candidate member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission.

4. If a leading member from another political party of local, district or state level comes over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the Local Party Committee or District or State Committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee of the Party before he or she is admitted to membership of the Party.

5. Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party Committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee.

6. Candidate members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

7. The Party Branch or the Party Committee admitting Candidate members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, 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.

8. By the end of the period of candidature, the Party Branch or Party Committee concerned shall discuss whether the Candidate member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party Branch or the Committee concerned may admit Candidates to full

membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a Candidate member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee may cancel his or her Candidate membership. A report of recruitment of Candidates and of recommendations for admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the Branch or the Party Committee concerned to the next higher Party Committee.

9. The higher committee may, on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the Branch or the Party Committee which has submitted the report. The District and State Committee will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of Candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

10. A Party member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the district or State, approval by the District or the State Committee concerned shall be necessary.

Article V

PARTY PLEDGE

All Candidates as well as full Party members shall sign the Party Pledge. This Pledge shall be :

“I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party.

“I shall strive to live up to the ideals of Communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses and the country, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests.”

Article VI

PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARDS

1. On admission to membership, every Party member shall be issued a Party Membership Card.

2. Party Cards shall be uniform throughout the country and shall be issued by the State Committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Committee.

Article VII

RENEWAL OF MEMBERSHIP CARD

1. There shall be an annual renewal of Party Membership Cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the Party member belongs. No Party Card shall be renewed in the case of any Party member who, for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party membership dues.

2. A report on such renewal of Party Cards by a Branch or a Party Committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.

Article VIII

RESIGNATION FROM PARTY MEMBERSHIP

1. A Party member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party Branch concerned, which by a decision of its General Body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.

2. The Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party member to revoke his or her wish to resign.

3. In the case where a Party member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

4. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsion shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party Committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

Article IX

MEMBERSHIP DUES

All Party members, full as well as Candidates, shall pay a Party Membership Due of one rupee per year. This annual Party Due shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party Card. (The Party member's dues may, if the State Committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments.)

Article X

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY DUES

Party Dues collected from Party members by Party Branches or Units shall be distributed as follows :

- 10 per cent for the Central Committee ;
- 40 per cent for the State Committee ; and

The remaining 50 per cent shall be divided among the District Committee, the Party Branch and the Local Committee where it exists, in such proportions as decided by the State Committee concerned.

Article XI

PARTY LEVY

The Central Committee and the State Committees in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the Central Committee, may fix levies on the Party members.

Article XII

DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

1. The duties of the Party members are as follows :
 - (a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organisation to which they belong and to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party ;
 - (b) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding ;
 - (c) To read, support and popularise the Party journal and Party publications ;

- (d) To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism ;
 - (e) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests ;
 - (f) To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party ;
 - (g) To cultivate comradely relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party ;
 - (h) To practise criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work ;
 - (i) To be frank, honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party ;
 - (j) To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the country ;
 - (k) To defend the Party and uphold its cause against the onslaught of the enemies of the Party, the working class and the country ;
 - (l) To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions of the Indian people and their rich cultural heritage.
2. It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

Article XIII

RIGHTS OF PARTY MEMBERS

1. Rights of the Party members are as follows :
- (a) To elect Party organs and Party Committees and be elected to them ;
 - (b) To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party ;

- (c) To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life ;
- (d) To make criticisms about Party Committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings ;
- (e) To demand to be heard in person when a Party Committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party member or evaluates their personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed ;
- (f) When any Party member disagrees with any decision of a Party Committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee, including and up to the Central Committee and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions ;
- (g) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the Central Committee and the Party Congress.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

Article XIV

PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

1. The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are :

- (a) All Party organs from top to bottom shall be elected ;
- (b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority ; the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs, the

individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the Central Committee ;

- (c) All Party Committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisation immediately below and all lower Committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees ;
- (d) All Party Committees, particularly the leading Party Committees shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank-and-file Party members ;
- (e) All Party Committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility ;
- (f) All questions of international affairs, questions of all-India character, or questions concerning more than one state or questions requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a state or district character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisations. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major state importance, it shall do so after consultation with the State Party organisation concerned. The State organisation shall do likewise in relation to districts ;
- (g) On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the Central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the Central leadership.

2. Basing itself upon the experience of the entire Party membership and of the popular movement, in the sphere of the

internal life of the Party, the following guiding principles of democratic centralism are applied :

- (a) Free and frank discussion within the Party Unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work ;
- (b) Sustained efforts to activate the Party members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party ;
- (c) When serious differences arise in a Party Committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement ;
- (d) Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below ;
- (e) Consistent struggle against bureaucratic tendencies at all levels ;
- (f) Impermissibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form ;
- (g) Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of services to the Party.

Article XV

ALL-INDIA PARTY CONGRESS

1. The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the All-India Party Congress.

- (a) The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the Central Committee ordinarily once every two years.
- (b) An Extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the Central Committee at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State Party organisations representing

not less than one-third of the total Party membership.

- (c) The date and venue of the Party Congress or of the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the Central Committee at a meeting especially called for the purpose.
- (d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the State Conferences as well as by Conferences of Party Units directly under the all-India Party Centre.
- (e) The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the Central Committee.
- (f) The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the Central Committee.
- (g) The members of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary.
- (h) The number of membership from any state for which the membership dues quota to the Central Committee has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from that state at the Party Congress.

2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows :

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the Central Committee ;
- (b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution ;
- (c) To determine the tactical line and the policy of Party on the current situation ;
- (d) To elect the Central Committee by secret ballot ;
- (e) To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals ;
- (f) To hear and decide on the audit report submitted by the Control Commission ;
- (g) To elect the Central Control Commission.

3. The Congress shall elect a Presidium for the conduct of its business.

Article XVI

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. (a) The Central Committee shall be elected at the Party Congress, the number of members being decided by the Party Congress.
 - (b) The outgoing Central Committee shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates.
 - (c) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from the state, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity.
 - (d) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names.
 - (e) Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.
 - (f) The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.
2. The Central Committee shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party congresses.
 3. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.
 4. The Central Committee shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The Central Committee shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.
 5. The Central Committee shall elect from among its members a Polit Bureau including the General Secretary. The number of members in the Polit Bureau shall be decided by the Central Committee. The Polit Bureau carries on the work of the Central

Committee between its two sessions and has the right to take political decisions in between two meetings of the Central Committee.

6. (a) The Central Committee shall remove any member from itself for gross breach of discipline, misconduct or for anti-Party activity by two-thirds of the members present and voting and in any case by more than half the total strength of Central Committee voting for such removal.
- (b) It can fill up any vacancy occurring in its composition by simple majority of its total members.
- (c) In case a member or members of the Central Committee are arrested the remaining members of the Committee by a two-thirds majority can co-opt substitute members and they shall have full right as the original members but should vacate their places as the arrested members get released and assume their duties.

7. The Central Committee shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Control Commission by two-thirds of the members present and voting and in any case by more than half the total strength of the Central Committee voting for the candidate.

8. The time between two meetings of the Central Committee shall not exceed three months and it shall meet whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.

9. The Central Committee shall discuss and decide political and organisational issues and problems of mass movement and guide the State Committees and all-India Party fractions in mass organisations.

10. The Central Committee shall submit its political and organisational report before the Party Congress, whenever it is convened.

11. The Central Committee shall convene an extended session of the Central Committee (or Plenum), at least once in a year and place before it a review of the work of the Party during the year for its approval. The Central Committee may convene this extended meeting whenever it feels that an issue or issues have arisen on which a decision from a wider body is necessary. The number of representatives to be called to this extended session

and the number from each state or from mass fractions shall be decided by the Central Committee, and the various State and Fraction Committees shall elect them.

Article XVII

**STATE, DISTRICT PARTY ORGANS,
PRIMARY UNIT**

1. The highest organ in the state or district shall be the State or District Conference which elects a State or District Committee.
2. (a) The organisational structure, the rights and functions of the State or District Party organs are similar to those enumerated in the articles concerning the Party structure and functions at the all-India level, their functions being confined to the state or district issues and their decisions being within the limit of the decisions taken by the next higher Party organ ;
(b) The State or District Committee shall elect a Secretariat including the Secretary.
3. The State Committee shall decide on the various Party organs to be set up between the primary unit (the Branch) and the District and shall make necessary provisions relating to their composition and functioning.
4. (a) The primary unit of the Party is the Party Branch organised on the basis of profession or territory ;
(b) Party members are to be organised on the basis of their occupation or vocation, when they are working in a factory or an institute or any industry. When such Branches are organised the members of such Branches shall be associate members of the Party Branches in place of their residence or organised as auxiliary Branches there. The work to be allotted in their place of residence shall not be detrimental to the work allotted to them by their basic units in the factory or institute or occupation ;
(c) The number of members in a Branch, the structure and functions and other matters relating to a Branch will be determined by the State Committee.

Article XVIII

CENTRAL AND STATE CONTROL COMMISSIONS

1. There shall be a Central Control Commission of three members elected by the Party Congress.

2. The Central Committee shall propose a panel of names for the Central Control Commission to the Party Congress. In proposing the names for nomination, the Party standing of the candidate, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account.

3. The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the Central Committee.

4. The members of the Central Control Commission shall participate in the meetings of the Central Committee with right to vote.

5. The Central Control Commission shall take up :

- (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Committee or the Polit Bureau ;
- (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State Committees ;
- (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned ;
- (d) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the State Control Commission and rejected.

6. The Central Control Commission shall report its decision to the Central Committee. These decisions shall be ordinarily final and be implemented by the Central Committee unless they are set aside by two-thirds majority of the members present and voting and in any case by more than half of the total strength of the Central Committee.

7. In all cases there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

8. The same rules apply to the composition and functioning of the State Control Commission, but there will be no appeal to the State Conference as the member or Committee concerned can go in appeal to the Central Control Commission.

Article XIX

PARTY DISCIPLINE

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggle and actions, nor discharge its responsibility towards them.

2. Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the Programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3. Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions.

4. The disciplinary actions are :

- (a) Warning ;
- (b) Censure ;
- (c) Public censure ;
- (d) Removal from the post held in the Party ;
- (e) Suspension from full Party membership for any period but not exceeding one year ;
- (f) Removal from the Party rolls ;
- (g) Expulsion.

5. Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods, including methods of persuasion, have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure to protect the interests of the Party or its prestige, the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6. Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgment.

7. No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of suspension or expulsion, the penalised Party member shall, however, be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

8. The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations, charges and other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party Unit in which his or her case is discussed.

9. Party members found to be strike-breakers, habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of financial irregularities, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be dealt with by the Party Units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action.

10. There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

11. The State Committee has the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decisions and policy, serious factionalism, or a breach of Party discipline is involved.

Article XX

PARTY MEMBERS IN ELECTED PUBLIC BODIES

1. Party members elected to Parliament, State legislature or Administrative Council shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party Committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party, its policies and directives.

2. The Communist legislators shall unswervingly defend the interests of the people. Their work in the legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party.

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations.

3. The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses, keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice.

4. The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity, lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people and place the Party above self.

5. Communist legislators shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party Committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.

6. Party members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party Committee or Party Branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.

7. All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Committee.

Nominations of Party candidates to the State legislatures or the councils of centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the State Committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporations, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by State Committees.

Article XXI

INNER-PARTY DISCUSSIONS

1. To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2. Inner-Party discussion shall be organised :

- (a) On important questions of all-India or State importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the Central or the State organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken ;
- (b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the Central Committee or in the State Committee.
- (c) When an inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of State organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership or at the State level by District organisations representing the same proportion of the total membership of the State concerned.

3. Inner-Party discussion shall be conducted under the guidance of the Central or the State Committee which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party Committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

Article XXII

DISCUSSION PREPARATORY TO PARTY CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

1. Two months before the Party Congress, the Central Committee will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions will be sent directly to the Central Committee to be assorted and placed before the Party Congress.

2. The meeting of the Central Committee which circulates documents for the Party Congress will take place after the State Conferences are over.

3. At each level, the Conference shall take place on the basis of reports and resolutions submitted by the respective Committees.

Article XXIII

PARTY MEMBERS WORKING IN MASS ORGANISATIONS

Party members working in mass organisations and their

executives shall organise themselves into fractions or fraction committees and function under the guidance of the appropriate Party Committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned.

Article XXIV

BYE-LAWS

The Central Committee may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it. Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the State Committees subject to confirmation by the Central Committee.

Article XXV

AMENDMENT

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress. The notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress.

Declaration on the Seventh Congress

Resolution adopted in the Seventh Congress held in Calcutta October 31—November 7, 1964

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India declares that the delegates assembled here are the true representatives of the Communist Party of India and that the Dange group has no right to call itself the CPI.

Participating in this Seventh Congress are 422 delegates representing 1,04,421 Party members from all over the country. They represent sixty per cent of the total membership existing on the rolls at the time of the Sixth Party Congress.

This Congress has been preceded by local, district and provincial conferences. The scrutiny carried out before these conferences showed that, in fifteen states out of nineteen where functioning Party units existed before, the majority of Party membership has responded to the call issued by the thirty-two members of the National Council, subsequently endorsed by nine more members of the National Council who were not present at that meeting, repudiating the leadership of the Dange group which has become out-and-out revisionist and class-collaborationist and has resorted to disruptive organisational practices.

This Congress is aware that, even among those who did not thus respond to our call, a substantial number have not renewed their membership with the Dange group. This Congress is also confident that rethinking will take place among those who today remain formally with the Dange group. This Congress is thus the end of the first stage of the struggle against the bourgeois-reformist policies and disruptive organisational practices adopted by the Dange group.

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This Congress is confident that, in the next stage, which it hopes will be over in the next few months, the bulk of those who are today formally with the Dange group, or are remaining unattached, will join us, thus recording the fact that the disruption caused by the reformist and disruptive policies pursued by the Dange group has been finally overcome.

This Congress records its appreciation of the mass of Party members and sympathisers who responded magnificently to the call of the thirty-two National Council members and appeals to them to continue their efforts to bring about that unity of the Communist Party of India on the basis of a correct application of Marxism-Leninism which is ardently desired by the working people of India.

Other Resolutions Adopted by the Seventh Congress

- (a) Homage to Martyrs
- (b) On the Demise of the leaders of the International Communist Movement
- (c) On the Death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh
- (d) On the Demise of Communist Leaders
- (e) On the Deaths of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru
- (f) On Arrests in West Bengal
- (g) On Release of Detenus
- (h) Withdrawal of Emergency
- (i) On the Changes in the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- (j) Greetings to the Central Committee of the CPSU
- (k) On Ideological Differences
- (l) On Kerala Election
- (m) On Food and High Prices
- (n) On Bonus
- (o) On Indian Repatriates from Burma
- (p) On Kerala Evictions
- (q) On India-China Border Dispute
- (r) On the Situation in South-East Asia
- (s) On Vietnam
- (t) On Congo
- (u) On Southern Rhodesia
- (v) On Angola & Mozambique

8(a) Homage to Martyrs

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays its homage to the valiant fighters who laid down their lives in the defence of the interests of the common people of India.

(b) On the Demise of Leaders of the International Communist Movement

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound sorrow at the demise of the well-known leaders of the International Communist Movement, Comrade Otto Kuusinen, Comrade Togliatti, Comrade Maurice Thorez, Comrade Benjamin Davis, Comrade Elizabeth Gurly Flinn. These comrades devoted their whole lives to the task of building the Communist Parties in their own countries and of strengthening the bonds of solidarity between their own and fraternal Parties. Their contributions to the development of the International Communist movement are well-known. This Congress pays respectful tribute to their memory.

(c) On the Death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India pays respectful tribute to the memory of Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, whose untimely death has led to an irreparable loss to the Communist Party of India. His contribution to the development of the Communist movement in this country is gratefully acknowledged by every member and friend of the Party. The role he played in overcoming the difficulties the Party faced at critical moments will ever be remembered by all of us. The Congress puts on record his services to the Indian as well as the International Communist movement in integrating our Party's experience with the experience of the international movement. The Congress pledges itself to the task of further unifying and strengthening the Party for which he devoted his whole life.

(d) On the Demise of Communist Leaders

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its profound sorrow at the untimely demise of

Comrades Srinivasarao and Jeevanandam of Tamilnad, V.D. Chitale of Maharashtra, Bankim Mukherjee of West Bengal, whose deaths have been a great loss to the Communist movement in the country.

(e) On the Deaths of Dr. Rajendra Prasad & Pandit Nehru

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep sorrow at the deaths of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Union, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding leader of the anti-imperialist movement during the days of freedom struggle and the first Prime Minister of India. The role which Pandit Nehru played in radicalising the freedom movement and in giving an anti-imperialist and democratic content to the programme of national reconstruction in the post-independence years is universally acknowledged. The Congress pays its respectful tribute to their memory.

(f) On Arrests in West Bengal

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its indignant protest against the arrests of a large number of leaders of the Party in West Bengal, most of whom are elected delegates to this Congress and demands their immediate release.

These arrests have been made under the provisions of the Defence of India Rules whose use against the Communist Party and against mass movements in the country has been universally condemned. It is well-known that the very constitutionality of these Rules has been challenged before the Supreme Court which, in its judgement, has only deferred the verdict on the question till the emergency is lifted. The least that could be expected of the Government under the circumstances is to refrain from using the Defence of India Rules.

Coming as these arrests did on the eve of this Congress and affecting as they did the leading comrades who have been working hard to make this Congress a success they are intended to sabotage the work of the Congress. This deliberate obstruction to the successful conduct of this Congress stands in marked contrast

to the facilities officially given by the various state Governments whenever the sessions of the ruling party take place. (Such a session of the AICC is shortly to be held at Guntur in Andhra, for which special facilities are given by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.)

This Congress hopes that not only the Communists but all lovers of democracy, including the mass of Congressmen, will express their energetic protest against this action of the Government of West Bengal and that they will unitedly demand the release of all the arrested persons.

The Congress expresses its firm resolve that, despite the obstruction caused by the Government of West Bengal, delegates assembled here will devote themselves to the task of bringing the deliberations of this Congress to successful conclusion as originally planned.

(g) On Release of Detenus

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate release of all Communists, trade unionists and mass leaders who are still being kept behind bars.

Many of them belong to Maharashtra and have been in jail for two years. The bulk of those who were arrested along with them or a few days later, were released. To keep these comrades still in jail cannot be interpreted in any other way than as vindictiveness on the part of the Government of Maharashtra.

Several others in Gujarat were arrested and detained after, and in connection with, the united movement of resistance to price increase organised in Ahmedabad. In Bhopal, a large number of workers have been arrested during the strike of workers in the Heavy Electricals Ltd. who have not yet been released. This, therefore, is nothing but use of the hated weapon of detention without trial in order to suppress the legitimate mass movement of the people. Certain Communists are put under restriction of externment from their districts or internment in places of their residence, especially in U.P.

These and other instances of detention without trial, etc., make it unmistakably clear that the DIR are being used by the

Government in order to suppress the legitimate activities of opposition parties as well as to suppress the growing movement of mass resistance to the anti-people policies of the Government. This Congress therefore demands cancellation of the Defence of India Rules under whose provisions these arrests and detentions have been made.

The Congress appeals to all sections of democratic movement to join the campaign for release and for cancellation of the Defence of India Rules.

DETENUS IN VARIOUS STATES

Maharashtra (*Arrested in November 1962*)

1. B. T. Ranadive, 2. S. V. Parulekar, 3. Godavari Parulekar, 4. Prabhakar Sanzgiri, 5. P. K. Kurne, 6. P. B. Rangnekar, 7. B. S. Dhume, 8. Krishna Khopkar, 9. Bhavani Shankar Narvekar, 10. Dhangar, 11. Shantaram Garud.

Arrested during food struggle (*in September 1964*)

1. Ramchandra Ghangare, 2. Sumer Sing Nahate, 3. S. P. Patil Ichalkaranji, 4. Bhoje Ichalkaranji, 5. Malabade Ichalkaranji, 6. Lahanu Kom, 7. Jagannath Singh Bais.

Uttar Pradesh

1. Lila Dhar Pathak, 2. Damodar Pande, 3. Becha Singh, 4. S. K. Dutta.

Bihar

1. B. K. Azad.

Delhi

1. Sadhu Singh.

Gujarat

1. Dinker Mehta, 2. Nalini Mehta, 3. Abdul Razak, 4. Kartar Singh, 5. Hanuman Singh, 6. Vahid Bhopali, 7. Nathu Singh, 8. Rathed Sakhoran, 9. Vallabh Duda, 10. Chintamani, 11. Gordhan Patel, 12. Mahiman Desai, 13. Batuk Vora, 14. Manu Palkhivala, 15. Ratilal Shah, 16. Dayabhai Shikari, 17. Dayabhai Nathubai Patel, 18. Mehmood Chhedi, 19. Shorabali Murteja Ali, 20. Ansari

Javid, 21. Narayansir Purnikor, 22. Bachubhai Barot, 23. Bachu Kapodia, 24. Keshavalal Dane, and nine others.

(h) Withdrawal of Emergency

The Seventh Congress is emphatically of opinion that there is no justification for the continuation of the state of emergency two years after a *de facto* cease-fire has come into existence. The state of emergency is being utilised only to suppress the working class, peasants and other sections of the people and opposition parties when they struggle for their rights and against the attacks of the monopolists, landlords, profiteers and speculators. The Seventh Congress demands the immediate withdrawal of the state of emergency.

(i) On the Changes in the Leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

During the period that Khrushchov was the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, relations between brother parties and particularly those between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, the biggest contingents of the International Communist Movement, were seriously strained. The International Communist movement was on the brink of a split and the unity of the socialist camp was getting disrupted.

At a time when the unity of the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist forces of the world were delivering blow after blow on the positions of imperialism and shattering them, this disunity and disruption in the camp of socialism and the International Communist movement could not but gladden the hearts of imperialists and reactionaries in all countries.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India notes that after the removal of Khrushchov from all leading positions of the CPSU and premiership of the USSR, already signs of improvement in the relations between the CPSU and the CPC are noticeable.

The Congress emphasises the urgent necessity of overcoming the differences in the International Communist movement and

thereby dashing the hopes of the imperialists and reactionaries. It hopes that steps will be taken to overcome the ideological differences, by strictly adhering to the methods agreed upon at the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 Parties in order to reforge unity, which is the surest guarantee for the victory of the struggle against imperialism and war and for ensuring stable world peace. The Communist Party of India will support every step taken in that direction.

(j) Greetings to the Central Committee of the CPSU

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India now in session in Calcutta sends warm fraternal greetings to the CPSU and the people of the USSR on the forty-seventh anniversary of the Great October Revolution which heralded the coming of the new epoch of final liquidation of imperialism and mankind's transition to socialism. The successes achieved by the USSR and its people in all fields have inspired the working class and people of all the world. The Congress wishes the Soviet people further successes in Communist construction. The Congress is confident that the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the International Communist movement standing shoulder to shoulder with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world would guarantee final liquidation of imperialism, prevent warmaniacs from unleashing a world war and ensure lasting peace.

Jyoti Basu, A. K. Gopalan, T. Nagi Reddy

Presidium of the

Seventh Congress of the CPI

November 7, 1964.

(k) On Ideological Differences

The differences on ideological questions that have come to the fore during the last few years have never been thoroughly discussed in the Party. Despite repeated demands the Dange group refused to organise inner-Party discussions.

The Tenali Convention which decided on convening this Seventh Congress rightly came to the conclusion that within the

short time between then and the Congress, it would not be possible to organise a thorough-going discussion on these differences, which was absolutely necessary to come to proper conclusions.

This Congress hereby directs the Central Committee to organise inner-Party discussion on the ideological questions, which must be conducted in a dispassionate manner. It is on this basis that the Communist Party of India can come to its independent conclusions and thereby make its own contribution to the restoration of unity in the International Communist movement.

(I) On Kerala Election

The circumstances in which the Congress Government of Kerala headed by R. Sankar resigned and President's rule established in the state show that the political crisis has reached in Kerala a stage unparalleled anywhere else in the country.

Political developments in the state since 1952 have shown that the Congress is incapable of ruling the state, since it was rejected by the electorate in successive elections. It was only because it allied itself with other parties before the 1960 election that it was able to form a coalition Government. That coalition, however, broke up during the term of the legislature elected in 1960. This break-up of the coalition was followed by dissensions in the Congress party itself which have now led to a total split in that party.

But, instead of recognising this reality and of occupying the position of an opposition party in the state, the Congress insists on retaining its position as the ruling party. The clearest indication of this attitude is the recent statement made by Congress President Kamaraj that, if the Congress failed to get returned as the majority party, indefinite President's rule would be the fate of the state. Despite the public expressions of protest against this statement of their president, the Congress leaders of the state including former Chief Minister R. Sankar, have been repeating this.

Coming as all this does against the background of the concerted efforts made by the Congress Party in 1959 to

overthrow the constitutionally elected Government of the state, it shows that the Congress is determined not to permit any Government formed by any other party or parties to take over the reins of administration in the state.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party is confident that however much the leaders of the Congress persist in this attitude, the people of Kerala will give them a resounding rebuff. It hopes that the united front of the Communist, Socialist and other Left-democratic parties, groups and individuals which is sought to be built up now, will become a reality in the next few weeks and will secure the overwhelming majority of votes and seats, so that it is able to form a stable Government. The Congress is confident that, if this happens, democratic public opinion in the whole country would see to it that the united front Government is allowed to function for the full term of five years.

This Congress notes with satisfaction that the efforts at building the United Front have gained partial success. The representatives of the Communist Party, of the Dange group and of the RSP have agreed not only on the composition of the front (the three parties plus the SSP and the Karshaka-Tozhilali party, together with the progressive individuals attached to no particular party), but have jointly prepared the programme of action for the United Front Government. This Congress hopes that this will be followed up by agreement on the correct principle of distribution of seats in proportion to the political influence of each party and group combined with the necessary adjustments and compromises on the basis of "give-and-take".

Having heard a report on how the representatives of our Party in the state carried on negotiation with the other parties, groups and individuals and how they propose to continue them the Congress endorses the line taken by the Kerala comrades.

This Seventh Congress of the Party cannot but take note of the obstructive tactics adopted by a section of the leadership of the Dange group.

In the first phase our comrades in Kerala called for united front to defeat the Congress, the Dange group took the stand of "no truck with the splitters".

Later on, when they were forced to abandon this negative stand and accept the united front in principle, they raised the unreal issue of the so-called "united front with Muslim League" which, they falsely asserted, was advocated by us.

When this was proved to be false and when agreement was arrived at on every issue of policy to be included in the common programme, a section of the leadership of the Dange group raised a new question—the question of branding China as aggressor. In view of the fact that this was never raised by their representatives in the course of the deliberations of the United Front committee, it is clear that they are deliberately raising this question in order to break the attempt at United Front.

Above all, they refuse to accept the only legitimate principle for the distribution of seats—the principle of distribution in proportion to the political influence of each constituent of the united front.

This Congress, however, hopes that the healthy sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the people of Kerala would put a stop to the anti-unity manoeuvres resorted to by the Dange group. It also hopes that rank and file members and sympathisers of the Party, still owing allegiance to the Dange group, will realise that if their leaders persist in this attitude and if in consequence the United Front breaks down, then the responsibility for it will rest squarely on their shoulders.

This Congress notes that the so-called rebel Congressmen who, after the resignation of the Sankar Ministry, have formed the so-called "Kerala Congress" are trying to bring back the same old discredited Congress regime in a new form. The leaders of this new organisation do not hide fact that they have no difference with the Congress on any question of policy; their difference is only on the name. Among the leaders of the Congress are to implement the anti-people policies of the Congress organisation. They have also made it clear that in relation to the forthcoming election, their aim would be to bring about the same old anti-Communist coalition, which was formed in 1959-60, the only difference being that at the head of the Congress will be their own group rather than Sankar & Co.

This Congress notes that this new group of Congressmen has entered into an electoral pact with the Muslim League and is trying to do the same with the SSP and other non-Communist Parties. This Congress hopes that the people of Kerala, as well as other progressive political parties, groups and individuals will realise that replacement of the Congress Government by such a "non-Congress Government" will not solve any single problem facing the state; only a new Government based on the Communist, Socialist and other progressive democratic parties, groups and individuals will give the state a stable Government which pursues popular democratic policies.

This Party Congress appeals to all Party members and friends all over the country to render all forms of assistance and support to our comrades in Kerala in fighting the difficult election battle.

(m) On Food and High Prices

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern over the critical food situation in the country. In Kerala, rice is simply not available. In other parts of the country, rice, wheat and other foodgrains have registered such steep rise in prices in the black-market that it is beyond the reach of the common people. Along with foodgrains, other articles of daily consumption—such as pulses, edible oils, vegetables, fish, cloth have also registered steep rises. In most cities and towns people have to spend a good deal of their time in standing in queues for a meagre quantity of foodgrains sufficient for just one day in the week and after long hours of waiting most of them are turned away empty-handed.

The entire responsibility for the present acute crisis rests squarely on the shoulders of the Government. Its failure to radically reorganise agriculture has led to arrested growth of agricultural production. Its policies have encouraged and let loose on the community hoarders and speculators who are playing havoc with the basic necessities of the common people and disrupting the entire economy. Despite repeated warnings by the opposition parties, the Government exhibited supreme indifference.

The Seventh Congress greets the millions of workers, peasants and middle-class employees who came out in various forms of mass protest actions, such as demonstrations, gheraos, hartals, industry and state-wide strikes, demanding firm action from the Government to bring down the prices and to bring the hoarders and speculators to book.

In face of this mounting tide of struggles, the Government proclaimed that it was determined to bring down the prices. But all it did in practice was to have a series of conferences with the Chief Ministers of States, with officials and with the members of the Planning Commission and issuing orders asking for declaration of stocks and fixing prices. Experience has proved that these measures were an eye-wash and have not succeeded in mitigating the situation. On the other hand, the situation has become intensely acute, particularly in Kerala and Madras, even after these measures were announced.

The Food Minister declared that statutory rationing would be introduced in all cities with a population of a million or more and that the whole of Kerala state would be put under rationing—statutory or informal. But at the last meeting with the Chief Ministers held on October 25, two weeks after these declarations, no decision was taken. The decision was postponed to another Chief Ministers' meeting at Guntur. Again a decision was postponed.

After proclaiming for months that firm action would be taken against hoarders and speculators, the Government at last has come out with an ordinance which provides for fines and imprisonments up to one year at the discretion of the trying magistrates. This ordinance is just an eye-wash and exposes the bias of the Government towards the hoarders, speculators and landlords.

In contrast when the people demonstrated against the profiteers, the Government came down on them with a heavy hand opening fire and making lathi-charges in many places and jailing thousands of them and detaining hundreds under the Defence of India Rules, not under the provisions of a statutory law. Thus, it was not want of powers that stood in the way of the

Government taking drastic action against hoarders, speculators and landlords and profiteers. Government refuses to take action against them because Government itself is closely linked with them.

This is the reason why, when fixing prices of foodgrains, which are themselves very high, Government refused to provide for any machinery to ensure a fair price for the peasants. The prices fixed would only benefit the landlords and middlemen and neither the kisan nor the consumer would derive real benefit.

This is again the reason why, despite the recommendations of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee and despite the Nagpur AICC resolution of 1958, the Congress Government refuses to take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains.

The Foodgrains Trading Corporation proposed to be set up also betrays the unwillingness of the Government to act decisively against the speculators. The corporation would only procure a small portion of the marketable surplus, leaving the entire balance into the hands of the speculators and hoarders.

With a view to putting an end to the anti-social activities of the landlords, hoarders and speculators, for guaranteeing fair price to the peasants, and for ensuring supplies to the consumer at fair prices, this Congress demands :

(1) The immediate banning of private wholesale trade in foodgrains and the institution of state monopoly in wholesale foodgrains trade.

(2) Nationalisation of banks.

(3) Rationing in all cities and urban areas, assuring 16 gm. of foodgrains per adult per day at reasonable price and opening fair price shops with guaranteed supply in all rural areas.

(4) All-parties popular committees to supervise the running of ration and fair price shops.

This Congress calls upon the people to rally behind these demands and carry on the struggle with greater unity and vigour and defeat the anti-people policies of the Government and force it to accept these demands.

(n) On Bonus

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India views with deep concern the recent developments on the question of bonus, a right which the working class of this country has established through bitter struggles during the last two decades.

The recommendations of the Bonus Commission, published early this year, while accepting the principle of minimum quantum of bonus irrespective of profit or loss, gave many concessions to the employers in the form of increase in the rate of return on paid-up and working capital, admission of donation as a prior charge, etc., in relation to the earlier Labour Appellate formula. As a result of these recommendations significant section of the working class was not in a position to obtain any rise in the quantum of bonus or in some cases there was even a possibility of reduction in the amount of bonus.

The employers, however, not satisfied with those concessions, brought pressure on the Government to water-down the Bonus Commission formula. The employers' representative on the commission appended a number of notes of dissent, though on the whole the recommendations were favourable to the employers. However, this Congress notes with regret that no minute of dissent was appended by either of the workers' representatives. In this regard some State Governments and managements of the public sector undertakings supported the view of the employers in the private sector. As a result of this, Government delayed its decision on the recommendations of the Bonus Commission. When, however, decision of the Government was announced workers found to their surprise that except the quantum of minimum bonus, Government had further modified the Bonus Commission formula at the instance of monopolists and state sector managements.

The notorious LAT formula on bonus awarded six per cent return on paid-up capital and 2 per cent on working capital. The Bonus Commission increased the same to seven per cent and four per cent respectively. Government, however, has further increased it to 8.5 per cent and six per cent which would take away bulk

of the available surplus while calculating the payment of bonus to the workers.

The rate of depreciation allowed by the Income Tax Act is on the high side and employers in the past have taken away a large part on this account from company finances. The recommendations of the Bonus Commission and the decision of the Government have allowed the employers to appropriate large sums in the name of depreciation and taxation. Though rehabilitation has been taken out as a prior charge these two provisions have given employers ample concessions prior to the payment of bonus to the workers.

Thus after giving bulk of the surplus as gift to the employers the amount would be distributed among the workers and employers in the proportion of sixty per cent and forty per cent. In this case also the method of set-on and set-off is going to be utilised in order that the bonus should not be more than twenty per cent of the total annual earnings of the workers. In a country where there is no ceiling on profits and no living wage is paid to the workers, this condition is totally unjustifiable from the point of the working class.

Therefore, the only beneficiaries of the decision of the Government are the workers who are not given any bonus at all. Wherever the Trade Union movement is weak the employers will always avoid payment of even this minimum quantum of bonus to the workers. In a large number of factories workers are already paid more than four per cent of their annual wages as bonus and these workers will not be benefited in any way by the recommendations of the Government.

During last year, price level in the country has gone up considerably and in view of absence of cent per cent neutralisation even the awarded four per cent rise in earnings will not help in improving even the standard of living of the workers who were not getting bonus previously. In many cases, the employers will resist the payment of bonus of more than four per cent of their annual earnings to the workers and minimum quantum of bonus is likely to be the rule rather than the exception.

This Congress, therefore, demands that the decision of the Government on the Bonus Commission should be scrapped and the concessions awarded to the employers by the Bonus Commission and the decision of the Government should be withdrawn forthwith. In view of the fact that the balance-sheets of the companies are manipulated and workers have no right to challenge them, the rate of profit allowed by Government to the employers will only lead to further inequality of incomes and continue to add to the already existing high rate of profitability in the country. The professed socialistic aims of the Government have been proved to be fictitious in a most glaring manner by the attitude of the Government on this important issue facing the working class today. This Congress demands that the question of bonus should be considered *de novo* and a satisfactory solution of the problem should be arrived at keeping in mind the interest of workers. A bill based only on the decision of the Government will in no way satisfy workers. This Congress welcomes the decision of all the central Trade Union organisations to oppose the modifications of the Government, which has created a favourable atmosphere for a united movement for a higher quantum of bonus. This common approach should be translated into action immediately by trade unions of all affiliations. It therefore calls on the working class to launch a countrywide campaign on the question of bonus and mobilise millions of workers behind the following pressing demands of the workers :

(1) Immediate payment of ten per cent of the annual earnings as minimum bonus to workers in all industries including those working under semi-Government, quasi-Government as well as departmentally-run Government undertakings like Railways, Life Insurance Corporation, Posts and Telegraphs, etc.

(2) Acceptance of the principle of bonus based on gross profits of the company which should be allowed to take only national normal depreciation, six per cent return on paid-up capital and taxation as a prior charge while computing the bonus over and above the minimum.

(3) No ceiling on bonus.

(4) All the bonus should be paid in cash and in one instalment.

(o) On Indian Repatriates from Burma

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its concern that the problem of rehabilitation of Indian repatriates from Burma for ensuring a new life for them in their motherland has not received the expeditious and detailed attention at the hands of the Government which it demands.

There have been reports of deaths from some of the refugee camps due to lack of adequate protection and attention. Many who came back in great distress to India expecting to find occupation or employment here, find that their hopes have been completely belied and that they are doomed to an uncertain and gloomy future. There are reports of many leaving the camps assigned to them in discontent and wandering without a place to go to.

The Government cannot disclaim its responsibility of giving them proper shelter and protection and to give them adequate monetary relief till they are employed in suitable occupations. Available cultivable land should be given to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants among them and they also should be given initial credit for cultivation operation.

The problem is no doubt complicated but our great country cannot say that it cannot absorb these brothers and sisters of ours and assure them of a future here.

This Congress of the Communist Party of India urges upon the Government to give expeditious and detailed attention to this urgent problem of Indian repatriates from Burma. It pledges its support to the repatriates in their demand for proper resettlement.

(p) On Kerala Evictions

This Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its sense of solidarity with the large number of peasants—reported to be 30,000 in number—who are in danger of being evicted from areas covered by the various development projects.

These peasants are as anxious as any other section of the people that developmental projects should be carried out. They are only pointing out the hardships which they themselves have been put to because most of them have their whole life's work in

the places from which they are evicted. The alternate sites offered to them are so small in extent and so bad in quality, the compensation paid to them is so meagre that they cannot start life anew in these places.

The hardships faced by these unfortunate people are all the greater because Kerala being a highly overpopulated state, its own Government cannot solve all the difficult problems connected with the rehabilitation of these people. This Congress therefore demands that the Central Government should pay special attention to this problem and help the State Government in solving the problem.

(q) On India-China Border Dispute

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India expresses its concern over the fact that the India-China border problem is remaining unresolved.

The Tenali Convention noted among other things that the Government of India was prepared to favourably consider the suggestion that it should start negotiations with China, without prejudice to its claims, if no civilian posts remained in the demilitarized area of Ladakh. The Convention therefore urged the Government of India to communicate with the Government of China for breaking the deadlock. It further expressed a desire that Indian and Chinese representatives should meet together to explore the possibility of opening negotiations on the above basis or any other basis acceptable to both.

This Congress desires to point out that the continuance of the deadlock between the two biggest countries of Asia can only harm the cause of Afro-Asian and anti-imperialist solidarity, which has become all the more urgent in view of the brazenness with which the United States has extended the operations of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean, the Anglo-U.S. efforts to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean islands and flagrant interference of the U.S. military and otherwise, in many countries of Asia. Further, the deadlock has serious economic and political implications for our country and people.

Hence this Congress urges upon the Government of India to

take the initiative to contact the Government of China to break the deadlock and arrive at an acceptable basis on which negotiations can start.

The Congress hopes that the Chinese Government will also take the initiative to bring about a settlement of the border dispute in the interest of both the countries.

(r) On the Situation in South-East Asia

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India draws the attention of the people of India to the serious situation created by the American and British imperialists in South-East Asia. The U.S.-British imperialists are not only undermining the independence of the nations of that region but they are also threatening world peace.

The American imperialists, besides having intervened with their massive armed forces in Vietnam, have also been encouraging the Laotian right-wing forces to break the Geneva Agreement from the very beginning. It was under American imperialist encouragement and military aid, that the right-wing forces imprisoned Souphanouvong and his colleagues and resorted to a reign of terror throughout Laos, especially on the patriotic forces in Pathet Lao areas. Pathet Lao forces started defending themselves and the people against these treacherous attacks launched by the right-wing forces which were backed by U.S. military aid. They inflicted defeat after defeat on the reactionary forces, rescued their leaders Souphanouvong and others from prison. The American imperialists and their stooge in Laos were forced to agree to form a new Government taking back Souphanouvong and making Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist leader as premier and to recognise the neutrality of Laos in the fourteen nation Geneva agreement of 1962. But no sooner was the agreement signed than the American imperialists started to wreck it. They went on further equipping the right-wing armed forces, got the ministers, who were opposed to the American manoeuvres murdered in cold blood, and incited attacks on Pathet Lao forces and areas. Now the American forces threaten to openly intervene in Laos through their bases in Thailand.

The American imperialists are also inciting their South Vietnam stooges to raid and bomb Cambodian territory against which the Cambodian Government is vigorously protesting.

It is regrettable to note that the Indian Government as the chairman of the International Commission on Laos, has again failed to play its role and is shielding the American imperialists in their nefarious activities to suppress the democratic forces in South-East Asia with the bankrupt slogan of "containing Communism". This Party Congress feels that the Government of India in its anxiety not to offend the American imperialists or the British, and by its equivocal attitude on a number of issues is losing the sympathies of and alienating itself from the democratic forces not only of South-East Asia, but all Asian and African nations.

This attitude of the Government of India has been more explicit in its support to the Malaysian Government. In the first instance, the Government of India refuses to see that the Malaysian Government was set up by the British with Tungku Abdur Rahman as the head when it failed to suppress the Malayan liberation forces after a decade of armed struggle. The British are still keeping their military forces in Malaya and using them to suppress the liberation forces. Armed forces of Australia and New Zealand are also helping to suppress the liberation forces. Secondly, it is the British again that created Malaysia to keep its hold in South-East Asia, merging with Malaya the Sarawak and the North Kalimantan (Sabha) territories in Borneo, without ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned. Thirdly, the Indian Government forgets that it was from its bases in Malaya that the British gave help to the Dutch imperialists and later to the rebel forces in Indonesia to undermine the Republic of Indonesia. Naturally, the Indonesian people and their Government feel that the creation of Malaysia is another step on the part of the British imperialists not only to keep its hold in South-East Asia but a dangerous threat to the independence of Indonesia. So when the people of North Kalimantan started struggling against the British-imposed Malaysia, the Indonesian Government is actively helping them. In these circumstances, for

the Indian Government to come out wholehog in support of the Malaysian Government does only help it to get more and more isolated from Afro-Asian people and democratic forces.

This Congress of the Communist Party of India demands of the Government of India to review its stand on these issues especially in view of the Cairo Conference declaration and take all necessary steps to see that the Geneva Conference on Indo-China is reconvened without any delay and that the Anglo-American imperialist forces are withdrawn from South-East Asia as they have no business to be there 7,000 miles away from their own shores.

(s) On Vietnam

This Congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest greetings to the heroic people of South Vietnam who are engaged in a glorious war of national liberation against the American imperialist aggressors and their stooge Government, for the last one decade.

It was at the Geneva Conference in 1954 after the defeat of French imperialist occupation forces at Dien Bien Phu, by the National Liberation People's Army of Vietnam, an agreement was concluded, recognising the independence of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia establishing a cease-fire line at the 17th parallel in Vietnam and for unifying both parts of Vietnam by holding elections by July 1956. An International Commission with India as chairman and Poland and Canada as members was constituted to supervise the observance of the provisions of the Geneva Pact.

The U.S. Government, though refusing to sign the Geneva agreement, undertook to abide by the terms of the agreement. But in total violation of its undertaking, U.S.A. went on supporting reactionary stooge Governments in South Vietnam to persecute and suppress the patriots who fought against the French imperialists, encouraged the stooge Governments to refuse to hold elections, intended for unifying Vietnam, supplied them with vast armaments, established military bases and ultimately sent in more than 20,000 American armed forces with planes and

helicopters to participate in the war against the liberation forces of the people of South Vietnam.

The American forces are using not only napalm bombs to burn whole villages, but also waging chemical and biological warfare in South Vietnam. Some of the American warmaniacs are even advocating use of atomic bombs to defoliate forests and annihilate the South Vietnam army of liberation.

In spite of this ruthless war of annihilation in South Vietnam, the American armed forces and their stooges are on the run under the counter-blows of the national liberation army of South Vietnam. Now the American imperialists want to extend the war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (north) and have already bombed naval and oil installations in North Vietnam in Tonkin Gulf and air sorties are being conducted by the American air forces over North Vietnam and American naval forces are prowling near the coast.

It is regrettable that the Indian Government as the chairman of the International Commission to implement the Geneva agreement, has failed to play its due role and thus objectively abetted the aggression of the U.S. imperialists all these years. It has not exposed the reign of terror let loose by American stooge Governments nor has it exposed the open military intervention of the American imperialists. It has not even unequivocally condemned the naked and perfidious attack on North Vietnam by American air and naval forces.

The Party Congress demands that the Indian Government give up this attitude and condemn the American aggression and take all necessary steps to get American armed forces withdrawn from Vietnam and South-East Asia. The Party Congress appeals to the people of India to carry on continuous agitation and bring pressure on the Government of India to change its present attitude to take all necessary steps against American intervention in Vietnam.

(t) On Congo

This Party Congress sends its warm greetings to the people of Congo who are fighting for restoring their independence in

defending which their leader Patrice Lumumba was murdered by Kasavubu and Tshombe, backed by the Anglo-American and Belgian imperialist powers.

When the Congolese people led by Patrice Lumumba achieved their independence in 1960, the Belgian imperialists supported by Anglo-American imperialists engineered revolts and encouraged Tshombe to secede and set up an "independent" State of Katanga.

The U.N. forces which went to Congo on the plea of helping the central Government led by Patrice Lumumba to fight these disruptive manoeuvres of the imperialists, did not intervene, when Kasavubu, the president of Congo, manoeuvred to get Patrice Lumumba arrested and later murdered in Katanga by Tshombe and his ministers. This led to the withdrawal of all their armed forces by African and Asian countries except India. Indian armed forces remained till the American imperialists got the upperhand over its rival imperialist powers of Belgium, Britain and others and set up a central Government under the presidentship of Kasavubu and with Adoula as Prime Minister and the secession of Katanga was ended and Tshombe exiled.

The American imperialists faced with the growing struggle of the Congolese people against the Kasavubu-Adoula Government brought back Tshombe, replacing Adoula as premier in Congo and sent in their air force to bombard and fight the advancing armed forces of the people of Congo.

The African nations, through their Organisation of African Unity, condemned the American intervention and demanded the withdrawal of these foreign armed forces from Congo. They refused to allow Tshombe to come to the Cairo conference. Again it is regrettable that the Government of India kept neutral when this question was put to vote and thus helped to strengthen the already existing suspicions of African people against the Indian Government.

This Party Congress demands that the Government of India should give up its equivocal stand on the question of Congo and raise its voice along with all Afro-Asian nations, demanding the immediate withdrawal of American forces from Congo and all-

out support to the efforts of African nations to help the Congolese people to win back their independence. This Party Congress appeals to the people of India to continuously agitate and bring pressure on the Government of India to give all-out support to the people of Congo struggling against the American imperialists and their stooge Government.

(u) On Southern Rhodesia

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India notes the frantic efforts of the white settler Government in Southern Rhodesia to declare itself as an independent state to perpetuate its white racist regime against the African people who outnumber the white settlers by fifteen to one. This settlers' Government has imprisoned Nkome and other African leaders and has resorted to a terror regime against the people who are fighting for the independence of their country, on the basis of a constitution which guarantees free elections on the basis of one vote for every adult whether African or white settler.

This Party Congress also notes that the British Labour Government has warned the white settlers' Government that it would consider any such declaration of "independence" as treason and that serious consequences would follow. It welcomes the Government of India's declaration pledging all support to the people of South Rhodesia in their struggle against the white settlers' Government.

The Party Congress demands that it is not enough for the British Labour Government to stop with the warning it has given, but it must dismiss the white settlers' Government, release the African leaders and immediately transfer power. This Party Congress urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary actions to hasten the advent of African People's Independence in Southern Rhodesia.

(v) On Angola and Mozambique

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India greets the people of Angola and Mozambique, who are fighting for their independence against Portuguese imperialist rule. They have

established their Governments of National Liberation and all the African states have been giving them material and military help. But for the help which the British and American imperialists are giving to their NATO partner—the Portugese—the struggle for independence of Angola and Mozambique would have already been won.

This Party Congress welcomes the Indian Government signing the declaration of the Cairo Conference of non-aligned countries to render all aid including military aid to the people of colonies fighting against their imperialist rulers, especially to the fighting forces of the people of Angola and Mozambique. This Party Congress urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary steps to see that the British and American imperialists stop aiding the Portuguese imperialists and render immediately all help including military aid to the people of Angola and Mozambique.

Report of the Credential Committee Placed Before The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India

Total number of delegates elected	...	447
Total number of delegates present	...	422 (94%)
Credential Committee forms issued	...	485
Forms filled up and returned	...	482
Of these delegates	... ..	419
Observers	... ..	63

The figures received have been classified in ten items namely:

1. Age groups
2. Period of joining the Party
3. Fronts
4. Position in the Party
5. Class Origin
6. Occupation
7. Education
8. Membership of Legislature or local bodies
9. Aggregate period spent in jail; and
10. Aggregate period spent underground.

While these items are detailed below, the following facts may be specially noted here:

(a) The oldest delegate is Comrade S. N. Tewari, from U.P., who is 71 years old.

(b) The youngest delegate is Comrade Gopalkrishnan, from PHQ aged 25, while Comrade Rajeshwar Prasad Sinha from Bihar, an observer, is only 20.

(c) Comrade Ganesh Ghosh, a delegate from West Bengal, has spent 26 years in jail, the longest period for any individual comrade present here.

The items are given below:

1. *Age groups:*

18-30=41; 31-40=176; 41-50=171;
51-60=71; Above 60=16.

2. *Period of joining the Party :*

Pre-1938=44; 1938-42=146; 1943-47=100;
1948-51=68; 1952-56=88; 1957-63=36.

3. *Fronts:*

Trade Union	147	Kisan	144
Women	6	Teacher	3
Student & Youth	12	Culture	2
Agricultural Worker	31	Party	137

4. *Party:*

COC 13; PC 210; DC 208; Tq. Committee 19;
Town Committee 6; Branch 10; Control Commission 7;

NOTE: COC members—number circulated on the basis of the entries in the forms filled. Most of the COC members have not stated their position, so they have been included in the PC figures.

5. *Class Origin:*

Working class	62	Poor Pesants	44
Middle peasants	106	Rich peasants	30
Landlord	21	Agricultural workers	16
Middle Class	204		

6. *Occupation:*

Workers	5	Journalists	6
Peasants	39	Teachers	8
Lawyers	14	Doctors	4
Students	4	Whole-timers	315
Office employees	7	Businessmen	12
Political workers	68		

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7. *Education :*

Graduates—	100	Intermediates—	57	Matriculates—	130
Middle School—	130	Primary —	63	Illiterate —	2

8. *Members of legislatures, local bodies, etc.*

MLA's & MLC's	32	MP's	...	9
Directors & Presidents of Co-op. Societies	...	...	...	63
Municipal Councillors	...	...	...	23
Panchayat Sarpanches	...	...	...	33
Panchayat members	...	...	...	25
Block Samiti members	...	...	...	18
Zilla Parishads	...	...	...	10

9. *Aggregate period spent in jail :*

1340 years, 2 months and 20 days.

10. *Aggregate period spent underground :*

848 years, 10 months and 15 days.

M. A. Rasul, Satwant Singh,
A. Nallasivam
Members, Credentials Committee

Appendix (i)

Draft Programme of the Dange Group of the Communist Party of India

**Released by the Central Secretariat of C.P.I.
on July 15, 1964**

1. The achievement of national independence by India on 15th August, 1947, opened a new epoch in the long history of our people. The national-liberation struggle, which our people conducted for over a hundred years against the British invaders, from the war of independence of 1857 to the quit India movement (1942) and the rebellion of the naval ratings in 1946, had achieved success.

2. The achievement of Indian independence was a historic event not only for our own people, but for all mankind. The vast millions of our people, whose labour, wealth and freedom had been subjected to long years of foreign domination and plunder, were now free to remake their future in the midst of a new world that was rising at the end of the Second World War.

3. The mass upheaval of our national revolution on the eve of our attaining independence, was a part of the upsurge of democratic struggles in Europe and national-liberation battles in South East Asia, which broke out when the Second World War ended with the historic victory of the anti-fascist front headed by the Soviet Union over the forces of fascism. The general crisis of capitalism, which began with the end of the First World War and the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, was entering a new and advanced stage. Eight countries of Eastern Europe were taking the road to socialism. Korea was liberated. China stood on the eve of its great revolution. In Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, national-liberation struggles were raging. The colonial

system had begun to collapse and crumble. Viewing the Indian national upheaval against the background, the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with the intention of returning to the attack again.

4. Taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim division which they always fomented into a communal frenzy to disrupt the nation's independence movement, the British imperialists divided the country into two states of India and Pakistan, conferring independence on both, but in reality wishing to keep both at loggerheads with each other, to weaken the independence of both and compel them to depend on their former masters for "peace and aid". Imperialism calculated to make the independence of India a "formal" affair and keep her as a satellite state in the imperialist-capitalist orbit and hamper her independent economic development.

5. The Indian National Congress, which was leading the national movement, formed the first government of independent India. The platform of the National Congress was to achieve an independent Indian state. As regards its future, it was a platform of India developing an independent national economy with a promise of land reforms for the peasantry and rights and well-being for the working people and a parliamentary democracy.

The British imperialists knew that a consistent working out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality. If independence became consolidated and India, the second biggest country in the world, took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have its repercussions in Asia and Africa.

6. Thus, when the imperialists were making a great show of "voluntarily conferring" freedom on India, they were at the same time conspiring to weaken her independence.

The partition of the country and the movement of millions of refugee populations from one state to another led to communal massacres. The invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistani forces was

calculated to perpetuate the retention of British forces in India. Some feudal princes were instigated to refuse to accede to India and to carve out kingdoms of their own in the old feudal way. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was expected to sow confusion and weaken and disarray the forces of national liberation.

7. The new Indian Government and the people fought back and defeated these onslaughts and manoeuvres of imperialists and reactionaries. Invasion of Kashmir was foiled by the prompt intervention of the Indian Army and the patriotic resistance of the people of Kashmir. But the Kashmir issue, being taken to the UNO, remained a weapon in the hands of the imperialists to create tension between the two states from time to time and prevent a peaceful settlement. The princely states were abolished and integrated with the Indian Union, though the privy purses and individual estates of the princes remained a drag on the national economy and served as vantage points for right reaction to hide and grow in the country's politics and economy. The armed services were brought under Indian command and the British Civil Services were pensioned off.

A Constitution based on the parliamentary form of democracy was adopted and India was declared a sovereign Republic on January 26, 1950. Elections were held on the basis of adult franchise to give an elected government to the country.

8. The formation of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union began with the establishment of people's democracies in Eastern Europe and advanced further with the success of the historic Chinese revolution in the biggest country of the world, which tilted the balance of forces in favour of socialism. This brought forth a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism. It heightened the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries and raised the national-liberation struggles to a new level with the result that the world colonial system began to crumble fast. All this has ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of socialism and national liberation. Now it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting

against imperialism that determine the main content, main trend and features of the historical development of society.

9. It was in this background that India took the path of independent development. One stage of India's revolution was over with the attainment of national independence from imperialism. It had now to carry forward that revolution to a new stage, to complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks left over, to regenerate and build a prosperous national economy and better living standards for the people and enlarge the field of democracy so that the road to socialism is opened for our people.

II

Towards Independent Development

10. During the British rule, Indian economy had remained backward; it was dependent and colonial in character. But, in comparison with other colonial and semi-colonial countries, it had a greater measure of capitalist development. India had given birth to an industrial bourgeoisie and by the end of the Second World War there was a considerable concentration of capital, increase in production in industry and growth in banking, giving rise to influential monopoly groups in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie.

11. During the Second World War, the national bourgeoisie had strengthened its positions in relation to the British monopoly capital; a number of undertakings belonging to the latter were bought out by the national bourgeoisie from the profits made from war supplies to Britain. The Indian railway system, which had belonged to private British investors and which the British Government had already taken over, came into the hands of the Government of India after independence in return for a part of the large sterling reserves that had accumulated to the credit of India. Nationalised railways became the first item which marked the beginning of the state sector in independent India.

12. The formation of the national government of independent India by the National Congress meant the formation of the government of the national bourgeoisie. The aim of the Indian

bourgeoisie, after getting state power and having consolidated it, was to further its own class interests by building an independent economy on capitalist basis.

13. The imperialists, who had lost political power over India, still cherished the idea of keeping Indian economy tied up to imperialist finance and market. The monopolists of Britain and America tempted the Indian bourgeoisie by their talk of "aid" in building its economy with such schemes as the Colombo Plan.

The national bourgeoisie and the leadership of the National Congress had different ideas. Remembering how British colonial power had oppressed them and thwarted India's growth, and attracted by the example of Soviet socialist planning which had regenerated backward Czarist Russia into a highly industrialised socialist economy, the National Congress, since long before liberation, had progressive schemes of "planning" future economy of India, which are recorded in the Report of the National Planning Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru (1938).

In January, 1947, on the even of transfer of power, the Congress Government and leadership called an Asian Relations Conference to which it invited the Central Asian Soviet Republics and began to develop ideas of Asian solidarity and friendly relations with socialist countries for future growth.

15. Later, the Government of India established contacts with the socialist world. It began to mobilise the internal resources of capital, the remnants of the sterling reserves, the profits of the Korean war boom, even the internal blackmarket money of evaded taxes for the purpose of economic planning and industrial growth.

16. India's independent economic growth and establishment of heavy industry even on the basis of capitalism, went against the interests of imperialism and were therefore anti-imperialist in content. The growth of independent capitalist economy also was not in the interests of the landlords and princely houses and was anti-feudal in its direction. Land reforms and liquidation of feudal remnants were necessary for developing the internal market and for sources of capital.

17. Measures, like the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 which reserve all the strategic industries for the state sector, the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1949, the nationalisation of the Airlines and of the Imperial Bank in 1953, nationalisation of Life Insurance Companies and goldfields in 1956, did not accord with the policy of the imperialists as these measures sought to mobilise the internal resources for planning growth and gave the Government a grip over finance and initiated the establishment of a state sector in industry. These measures were also not to the liking of the top monopoly groups of Indian capitalists, who wanted the state sector of independent India to be restricted to defence industries, transport and public utilities, leaving the whole field of industry free for the private sector (The Tata-Birla Plan, 1944).

18. While the First Five-Year Plan had no perspective of building heavy industry, the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans took measures to establish heavy and machine-building industry along with other lines of production. Iron and steel, machine-building, power, mining, oil and gas, chemical and fertilisers, which were the monopoly of the private sector for so long, all have come into the Plan and also in the state sector. The state sector developed not only in industry and finance, but also to a certain extent in state-trading.

The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, refused to give "aid" for building heavy industry, especially in the state sector. They were not so much averse to lending aid for irrigation, power and such other items which helped to produce more food or industrial raw materials for export.

19. The sabotage of India's plans for building heavy and basic industries at the hands of the imperialist monopolies did not meet with success. When India approached the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for aid in building heavy industry, it was gladly given. Socialist aid was without any strings, was efficient and cheaper and the know-how and technical training were given to our workers without reservation. India succeeded in laying the foundations of a heavy machine-building industry, and in

considerably expanding iron and steel, machine-tools, coal-mining and oil industries.

20. In these years, apart from the growth of the state sector and the emergence of basic industries, significant progress was registered generally in the field of industrial development. Between the years 1951 and 1961, industrial production rose by 120 per cent and national income rose by 42 per cent. Considerable expansion took place in the field of medium and small industries. Food production, which was the weakest sector of development, rose by 43 per cent. In the private sector, capital investments which stood at Rs. 900 crores in 1950-51 jumped to Rs. 2,500 crores in 1962. Capital investments in the public sector rose from Rs. 604 crores in 1948-51 to Rs. 5,902 crores by 1960-61.

21. Thus, a survey of the Five-year Plans and the achievements under them would show that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy in a stagnant semi-colonial state has received a rebuff. Internal mobilisation of capital, labour and talent, combined with massive aid from the socialist countries in the most vital sector of industry and trade have helped in this crucial change, breaking the bounds which the imperialists wanted to impose on our independent industrial growth. If India had remained dependent on and linked, as before, only to the world capitalist market, she would never have been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy.

Without giving up her link with the world capitalist economy if even a partial simultaneous link with the world socialist economy could help her forward so much, one can imagine how fast would have been our progress if the policies were not compromising and not guided by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Compared to the needs of the country the economic growth is insufficient, but the percentages are indicative of the direction and the effect. It shows not stagnation or growing dependence, but consolidation of political independence and a step forward to economic regeneration. This welcome development, however, is attended with serious shortcomings and new dangers.

III

Contradictions of the part of Capitalist Development

22. The outstanding and dangerous characteristic of the situation that must not escape attention is that all this is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of semi-feudal relations in agriculture. Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress Party and the government, is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the state sector.

It means that this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions and crises of the capitalist system and its basic laws.

23. The bourgeoisie draws the resources for industrial and economic development of India by laying increasing burdens on the common people, mainly in the form of growing indirect taxation, inflation and fleecing the peasantry through the capitalist market. Therefore, there is increasing contradiction between the growing industry and the impoverishment of the people. This impedes the development of industry itself and prevents the full utilisation of the productive capacity of industry and the man-power of the country. The rate of economic development lags seriously behind even the plan targets and recently has failed to keep pace with growth of population.

24. The national bourgeoisie in India, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists which control our foreign trade and some vital lines of production as in tea, jute, oil, etc. On the contrary, it tries to expand by inviting foreign private monopoly capital in partnership with itself.

25. Foreign private investments have in recent years increased phenomenally, both due to the investment of retained profits and inflation of book values to demand higher compensation in case of nationalisation and repatriation of capital. The non-banking foreign private investments have now reached the figure of nearly

Rs. 800 crores as compared Rs. 250 crores in mid-1948. This foreign private capital is mostly entrenched in old and established undertakings like tea, jute, coal, etc. But many new ones are in vital industries such as oil, aluminium, etc.

India's external trade is tied up with the world capitalist market and a very substantial share of her exports and imports goes to the foreign monopolies. As a result, every year many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, royalties, allowances, freight charges, interest payments, repatriation of inflated capital and under various other visible and invisible heads. This plunder considerably diminishes capital accumulation for our economy.

26. The conditions on which so-called economic aid from the imperialist powers is secured hit our national interests and serve the interests of imperialism. The economic aid from the West goes largely to meet balance of payment deficits resulting largely from India's unequal trade with the West. Well over 50 per cent of the US aid has been used for importing foodgrains at high prices, compared to their internal cost of production and the "aid", instead of helping us, hits our peasantry and development of our agriculture.

27. So long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given even more concessions, India cannot develop fully her national economy. Nor can the country's political life be made safe from the pressures, interference and blackmail by the imperialists who function closely linked with the reactionary circles within the country.

28. The Indian national bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. As a result of capitalist development and competition inherent to it, there has been a considerable concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the other broader sections of the national bourgeoisie.

It has been noted that in the capital assets of the private sector, amounting to Rs. 3,000 crores, two monopoly houses (Tata and Birla) alone control Rs. 600 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the entire private sector in India.

The concentration of banking capital has proceeded to such lengths that on a paid-up capital of Rs. 39.97 crores, they gather and utilise public deposits of Rs. 2,225.18 crores. And they use these to finance the industries of their own directors and related houses. They advance credits for hoarding and speculation and hold society to ransom by enabling hoarders to create a crisis of supplies and prices.

Five big banks dominate the credit structure of the country. The top bosses of these banks and those of the giant industrial and business monopolies are the same set of millionaires. A study of 4,174 directorships showed that 44 persons held 2,000 of them and 520 persons held the remaining 2,174.

They not only hold these positions in their own private sector, but infiltrate into the state sector companies and banks and use "public money" for their own personal aggrandisement and profits. The strategic state sector itself being under bureaucratic management and devoid of democratic control, is vulnerable to the pressure of these monopoly groups who seek to sabotage its proper growth and strive to gain control over it.

The growth of monopoly and its increasing grip over the country's economy have led to corruption and blackmarketing on a wide scale, rising prices and the resulting impoverishment of the people. The appalling poverty of the mass of the people stands in sharp contrast with the astounding concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

The growth of Indian monopoly and foreign collaboration deals in recent years have not succeeded in halting the process of India's independent economic development. That development has continued, though the threat to such growth has increased and it would be a grave mistake to underestimate or ignore it.

IV

Condition of the people

29. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially as most of the increasing wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle-classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen are hit by 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.

30. Not only total production, but also 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 price depresses the real 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.

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 organised industries. A well-defined national minimum wage has been accepted as being necessary. The organised strength of the trade unions and the striking power of the working class have increased.

Yet, for securing the implementation of all these gains, the worker has had 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 obligations 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 families of the working people. 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 and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. The result is that industrial peace is disturbed and workers have to resort to strikes and other forms of action to protect their interests.

31. Millions of our peasants live in appalling poverty and backwardness. Despite the Acts abolishing landlordism, three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. Legal limitation on rents, provision of credits and loans, development of irrigation and other facilities have brought some relief to a certain stratum of the peasantry. But the high taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or a living and in many backward areas they are treated no better than serfs.

The middle-classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living and declining living standards are their lot too. In recent years, the number of middle-class unemployed has grown considerably. The middle-class wage earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, newspapers, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of life as the industrial worker.

32. The large mass of the urban and rural intelligentsia, especially the youth, is suffering from growing high cost and the inadequacy of higher educational and cultural facilities in science, technology and arts. And not all those who are lucky in getting such necessary education get jobs due to low rate of industrial and economic growth. The problem of educated unemployment is serious and is leading to frustration and other moods in this very important class.

33. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen

and traders are hit by the policies of the present government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers. Allocation of raw material, transport facilities, import-export and capital issue licences are made by the government and bureaucrats in such a way that the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of the big business. Many small and medium industries are adversely hit and those engaged in small-scale village industries live in a permanent crisis.

V

Agrarian Question

34. Agriculture constitutes the major sector of our national economy, accounting for 46.8 per cent of the national income. As much as 69.5 per cent of the total population derives its livelihood from agriculture, which covers 324 million acres of cultivated land while 60 million acres of cultivable land are lying fallow.

35. Independent India inherited from British rule a backward and decaying agrarian system which, despite the growth of commodity production and money economy that took place during the British regime, remained under the domination of feudal landlordism and a variety of other semi-feudal vested interests. The main features of this agrarian system were—(i) a rackrented, pauperised and resourceless peasantry which was the victim of triple exploitation of heavy rents and taxes, usurious rates of interest and a price mechanism which fleeced it both as a producer and consumer, (ii) primitive methods of cultivation with an extremely low level of yield per acre, (iii) very poorly developed means of irrigation and the almost complete dependence of crops on the monsoon and other seasonal vagaries, (iv) total absence of modern credit facilities and the subjection of the mass of peasantry to the usurious exactions of moneylenders, and (v) total absence of any direct state aid to the peasantry for developing agricultural production. It is patent that such a system, which imposed heavy shackles on the forces of agricultural production, brought about a continuous fall in the

purchasing power of the peasantry and thereby seriously curtailed and restricted the home market, could not serve as a base for the economic development of the country after independence.

36. The national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself to the task of putting the country on the path of independent capitalist development. This development could not take place without the initial reorganisation of agriculture, which had to be lifted out of its age-long backwardness and freed from the shackles of feudal vested interests if the needs of a growing industrial economy in respect of food and raw materials had to be met.

37. The main aim of Congress agrarian legislation has been to replace semi-feudal relations and forms of production in agriculture by capitalist relations and capitalist forms of production. In pursuance of this general aim the Congress government have substantially curbed feudal vested interests through various legislative measures ; they have enacted laws for tenancy reforms, for imposing ceilings on landownership, for the consolidation of land holdings, for minimum wages to agricultural labourers, etc. The enactment of these anti-feudal measures has gone hand in hand with conscious efforts to develop and foster a class of rich peasants and capitalist landlords who could become the backbone of the new capitalist agrarian set up and who, with state aid, could expand production, adopt modern technique, develop money crops as raw material for industries, build and sustain cooperative credit institutions, etc. But it is important to note that the ruling national bourgeoisie, being itself an exploiting class, did not pursue these aims on the basis of an all-out offensive against the semi-feudal vested interests, but through a process of compromise with and concessions to the latter. Hence, Congress agrarian reforms did not bring about a radical transformation of the agrarian set up in the interests of the mass of the peasantry. On the other hand, while effecting certain changes in the old order, they left a considerable scope for the semi-feudal exploiting interests to maintain and rehabilitate themselves under various legal and other devices. In most cases,

the positive aspects of the legislation were counteracted by negative developments arising out of certain loopholes left in the legislative measures themselves. No wonder that in the totality the gains of agrarian legislation under Congress rule have been partial and limited, being confined mainly to the upper strata of the rural population, while a large section of the toiling peasantry still lives in conditions of gross poverty and subject to mutifarious forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

38. The policy of compromise with semi-feudal interests has naturally given birth to certain glaring contradictions in the agrarian set up under Congress rule. Take, for example, the abolition of statutory landlordism in the so-called zamindari areas. There is no doubt that the various legislative measures, seeking to abolish zamindaris, jagirdaris, inams, and such other systems of semi-feudal landlordism have affected the lives of millions of peasants and agricultural labourers all over the country. Because of these measures, ownership rights of the semi-feudal intermediaries in 115 million acres of cultivated land under peasant occupation and 145 million acres of forest, pasture and waste lands have been extinguished and transferred either to the peasantry or to the state. The position of the peasants and agricultural labourers who have thus acquired proprietary or permanent occupancy rights has undoubtedly been strengthened in as much as they have been relieved of feudal harassment, illegal feudal levies and arbitrary evictions by landlords under legal and economic pressures. But since agrarian legislation in this respect was based essentially on compromise with semi-feudal vested interests, millions of peasants were allowed to be evicted either forcibly on the basis of wrong land records or under various legal devices provided for in the Zamindari Abolition Acts themselves. This happened particularly in the name of resumption by landlords for self-cultivation of *sir*, *khudkasht* or *bakasht* lands, which come to about 64 million acres. Thus a big section of the peasantry got uprooted from the soil during the very process of zamindari abolition and the great bulk of them either joined the ranks of agricultural workers or

again became tenants-at-will of their former feudal or semifeudal exploiter. Apart from this, the entire burden of compensation amounting to Rs. 641 crores fell on the shoulders of the peasantry of these areas. This amount is still being realised from the peasantry by the state either directly or in the form of enhanced rents or indirectly in the form of taxes.

39. Despite the legal abolition of statutory landlordism, some of the worst forms of semi-feudal exploitation, such as subletting or leasing at exorbitant rents and share-cropping are still widely prevalent in the erstwhile statutory zamindari areas. Though self-cultivation by all categories of landholders has expanded, yet subletting and share-cropping still continue to occupy a significant place in the rural economy of these areas.

The *batai* system which forces the tiller to part with as much as 50 per cent of his produce to the landlord prevails in open and disguised forms. Bengal has been and is still, even after the abolition of statutory landlordism, a classical example of this type of semi-feudal exploitation. There a big section of the peasantry is still the victim of a most iniquitous and oppressive system of share-cropping.

40. In the ryotwari areas, as is well known, a class of landlords had already developed under the British regime. These landlords, though they came under the legal terminology of raiyats, nonetheless enjoyed complete ownership rights and exploited a vast number of tenants-at-will through rack-renting. Tenancy reforms carried out in these areas provide for certain security of tenure and reduction of rent to the tenants: simultaneously, they provide for the right of resumption to the landlords. This right, however, became a weapon in the hands of landlords for evicting their tenants on a mass scale. A very small percentage of the tenants actually benefited by these laws. On the other hand, the landlords carried out the eviction of the maximum number of tenants, sold parts of their holdings, began self-cultivation on certain other parts or after eviction leased out their holdings again to the same tenants under various disguises.

41. The ceiling laws have similarly defeated their own

purpose. There were so many loopholes in these laws for the landlords to escape that the entire ceiling legislation has turned out to be almost a farce. Big landholders sold out parts of their holdings before the imposition of ceilings, the remaining land they successfully divided up among their own family members and relations, while some land was saved by falsely declaring it as orchard land. The net result was that in no state did the landless peasantry get any land on account of ceiling legislation. The utter ineffectiveness of this legislation is seen from the fact that, despite it, a high degree of land concentration in the hands of the upper strata of rural society still persists. It is note-worthy that in the country as a whole 2.43 per cent of total rural households, each owning more than 30 acres, hold between them 28.5 per cent of the total land, whereas the other end 82.5 per cent own between them only 27.43 per cent of the total land.

42. Despite the oft-repeated declarations of the Congress Governments to curb usury and establish modern credit institutions, the vast mass of peasantry still continues to be in the grip of usurious semi-feudal vested interests. The fact is that from 1951-52 to 1961-62, the proportion of credit supplied by cooperative credit societies has increased from 3.1 per cent to 8 per cent only. The rest of the 92 per cent of the credit is still supplied by professional moneylenders at usurious rates of interest. During this very period, the indebtedness of cultivators has increased from Rs. 954 crores to Rs. 1,332 crores. It is obvious that nothing short of compulsory and substantial scaling down of all rural debts, cancellation of the indebtedness of agricultural labourers, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions and supply of adequate long-term credit at cheap rates to the peasants could break the stranglehold of usurious vested interests over agriculture and enable the productive forces to expand.

43. The failure of the Congress agrarian legislation to protect the actual tiller of the soil from exploitation of the upper classes of landholders is seen most strikingly in the conditions of life and labour of the agricultural workers who constitute not less than

one-fourth of the rural population with regional variation going up to 40 per cent. This disinherited section of the population has been the worst victim of semi-feudal exploitation and the present agrarian set up holds out for it no promise of relief or rehabilitation. Even the so-called minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers has remained only on paper. About one-half of them do not own any piece of land. More than three-fourths of them are casual workers who are employed for less than six months a year. The general level of their wage rates is very low and they receive a part of the wage in kind. The incidence of indebtedness amongst them is very high and a large number of them work under conditions of bond slavery. Most of them, coming as they do from the lowest stratum of Hindu society, are still subject to multifarious forms of medieval social oppression. Any system of agrarian reforms which does not take fully into account the interests of this vital massive section of the rural population cannot possibly regenerate rural life. The utter failure of the Congress agrarian reforms in this respect stands out in bold relief.

44. The Congress governments have poured out vast amounts of money, approximately Rs. 2,000 crores, in the rural areas for irrigation projects, community development projects and national extension schemes for bringing about an increase in agricultural production. With the same aim, they have developed and expanded credit cooperatives and promoted such technological measures as the use of fertilisers, improved implements, better seeds, etc. Though all these measures have helped to develop production to some extent, the main benefits flowing from them have been reaped by the upper strata of the rural population, particularly the rich peasants and the bigger landholders who dominate the village panchayats, credit societies and the block development organisations.

45. To sum up, the net effect of Congress agrarian legislation has been as follows:

- a. Statutory feudal landlordism has been abolished in the erstwhile zamindari areas, but in such a manner that strong semi-feudal survivals still persist. They are also there in

erstwhile ryotwari areas. The stranglehold of usurious loans has not been broken.

- b. In spite of the abolition of statutory landlordism and various tenancy laws, a considerable concentration of land in the hands of landlords still exists.
- c. Capitalist relations in agriculture have grown and a certain development of cultivation by modern methods has taken place, though this is restricted to a small stratum of rich peasants and big landholders.
- d. The economy of the bulk of the self-cultivating peasantry has not improved and continues to be a deficit economy on account of the continuation of semi-feudal burdens and the exploitation of the producers through the market.
- e. The number of agricultural labourers has grown as a result of mass evictions in the course of the agrarian reforms introduced by the Congress and the general impoverishment of the peasantry.

Though the above-mentioned effects of Congress agrarian legislation are common to the country as a whole, the degree of their intensity varies not only from state to state, but also from region to region within a state.

46. The stranglehold of commercial and financial interests over the rural market during the last several years has been tightened enormously. The price mechanism and market manipulations deprive the peasants of whatever little benefits they secure on account of land reforms and technological development. The peasant is fleeced by commercial capital both as a producer and as a consumer. Utter instability of agricultural prices makes agricultural operations a gamble in which the producer invariably loses to big business. Violent fluctuations in the prices of commercial crops often bring ruin to millions of cultivators. Hence the question of remunerative and stable prices of agricultural produce has assumed great importance for all sections of the peasantry. It is in this context that the question of state-trading in foodgrains has assumed urgency. The failure of

the Congress governments to introduce state-trading in agricultural commodities has not only strengthened big speculators and hoarders but has thrown the mass of the peasantry to the tender mercies of commercial and financial sharks.

47. The agrarian policies of the national bourgeoisie are now in a state of crisis. All its vacillations, weaknesses and compromises in favour of the rural and urban propertied classes are now coming home to roost. After registering an initial release of some productive forces and expansion of agricultural output, the agrarian economy has started stagnating and agricultural production is not growing. In fact, the rate of growth in agriculture has lagged far behind the rate of growth in other sectors of economy and national planning is facing a critical situation on this account. Chronic food deficits and a precarious reliance on foreign food imports have become the order of the day. In the countryside, the impoverishment of the mass of the toiling peasantry is growing. Landlessness is on the increase. To the traditional exploitation of the peasants by the remnants of semi-feudal vested interests has been added a more intensified fleecing of the peasantry through the market by big trading interests, speculators and hoarders.

48. The solution of the agrarian problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of our population, is of the utmost importance for national regeneration of India. Without radical agrarian reforms, it is impossible to solve the food problem and accelerate the economic growth of the country. Hence a clean break has to be made with the past by reorganising our vast agricultural sector, eliminating all feudal and semi-feudal survivals, breaking up the concentration of land through the imposition of real ceilings and distributing surplus land to the landless and land-hungry peasants, enabling the peasants through abundant state aid and cooperative effort to use modern technique and develop production, nationalising banks and other credit institutions, supplying cheap long-term credit to the tillers, breaking up the monopolistic trading interests in agricultural

produce, ensuring stable and remunerative prices for the peasants both as producers and consumers and guaranteeing an adequate living wage to agricultural workers. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, will bend all its energies for bringing about these radical transformations in the agrarian life of the country. Basing itself on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry and uniting all sections of the peasantry in their struggles, the Communist Party will leave no stone unturned in thus putting the toiling millions of our countryside on the high road to a new life of prosperity and freedom.

VI

Bourgeoisie and the State

49. The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, which upholds and develops capitalism and capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India.

In the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie often wields considerable influence.

The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admitting them in governmental composition, especially at the state levels and giving them concessions at the cost of the peasantry.

In spite of the bourgeois class character of the state, the ushering in of the bourgeois democratic state was historic advance over the imperialist-bureaucratic rule over our country.

50. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and certain fundamental rights for the people and directive principles for the state.

It must, however, be noted that although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, 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 in favour of the exploiting classes. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people

by putting them under Section 144, even for months and years, under the plea of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against the workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights and demands in a resolute manner.

Even with these limitations, the existence of these rights in the Constitution can be made the platform and instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests.

51. Although a form of class rule, India's present parliamentary democracy has enabled the people to a certain extent to fight the distortion of that class rule in the direction of autocracy in the service of reactionary monopoly and landlord interests. India's Parliament has provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and for demanding social transformations in favour of the people such as land reforms, working-class rights, curb on monopolies, etc.

52. Within the national bourgeoisie itself, as the top monopolist groups get more and more differentiated from the rest of the bourgeoisie, a struggle grows among the various sections to get hold of the parliamentary machine in order to wield power over the budget and other economic measures, laws and policies and to shape them in their own particular group interests.

The influence of foreign monopoly interests is also felt in these developments, in which they generally support those monopoly groups and princely feudal circles who demand measures that facilitate the entry of foreign capital in the country, who demand curtailment of the state sector and the abandonment of non-alignment.

53. The monopolist groups and feudal circles represent the main anti-democratic forces of reaction in the country. Their constant effort is to exercise pressure to shift Parliament and

government policies to the right. Hence they oppose extension of democracy, support restrictions on parliamentary democracy and promote bureaucratic authoritarianism.

Hence the democratic and socialist forces back the strengthening of the state sector and its democratic control and parliamentary democracy.

54. Since there is no right to recall, the masses have no means to intervene immediately when their elected representatives are found going against their interests, except through the five-yearly elections. The elections under the capitalist regime, however free they may be, are intrinsically loaded against the toiling masses as the press is controlled by monopoly interests, the ruling party is influenced by the millionaires who donate to the election funds.

Under such conditions, only extra-parliamentary mass struggles become the effective vehicle of influencing and changing the course of parliamentary policies in favour of the masses and against the monopolists, which in effect means the defence of democracy and the Parliament itself.

55. One of the most important problems which Indian democracy had to face on the attainment of national independence was the re-fashioning of the state structure in a manner which would ensure democracy and opportunities of economic and political development in equal measure to all the constituent units of the Indian nation—units distinguished by their well-defined territory, developed language, history and cultural features. It was faced with the problem of eliminating casteism and religious communalism, of eradicating the curse of untouchability and caste discrimination, of ensuring rapid development of and equality to the tribal and backward people.

The imperialist rulers had divided India into feudal states and into arbitrarily carved provinces in order to prevent India growing into a united democratic nation, to prevent its various language groups from flourishing and prospering in a united India and to divide and weaken the national-liberation struggle.

Imperialism used casteism and communalism, especially Hindu-Muslim antagonism, to disrupt the freedom struggle, to

split the country into two states of India and Pakistan, to weaken the independence of both.

56. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of Republican India on the basis of linguistic principle, granting full autonomy to the states so formed. The national bourgeoisie abolished the princely states and merged them in the Indian Union. But, under the influence of the shortsighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis and redraw their boundaries on the basis of contiguity and taking the village as the unit. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

57. The Communist Party has always stood for the formation of linguistic states, for regional autonomy for the tribal people in their majority areas, ensuring equal opportunity for development and democracy to all the constituent units of the Indian Union. The Communist Party stands for the complete eradication of untouchability and caste discrimination against the so-called scheduled castes by eliminating remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression, by securing land to these people and by taking effective measures for the rapid liquidation of their cultural backwardness.

58. Although our state structure is a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the Central Government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy limited autonomy and power. This restricts their rapid economic and cultural growth.

59. In such a situation, contradictions develop between the Central Government and the states. The uneven development of capitalism in the British period has led to some states being industrially advanced and some being backward. This unevenness has not been overcome by the Five-Year Plans, despite the spread

of investments, due to the influence of the big bourgeoisie, which tries to draw all new capital to the centres of its old investments. Instead of seeking a democratic solution to these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to chauvinism and provincialism and other disruptive influences which impede the progress of each state and the country as a whole.

60. There are certain areas of the country which are centrally administered. They are governed by officers appointed by the Central Government. While the people there, in general, are denied any hand in the management of the affairs of their area, some areas are given the right to elect representatives to the Parliament. They are considered fit enough to send a member to the Parliament of the whole country, but are unfit to have even a local assembly of their own for their area!

In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct language, culture and tradition of independent tribal states. These Adivasi people are undergoing rapid transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness which finds no expression for growth in their present conditions of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian union with whom they cannot get easily assimilated. They demand regional autonomy under their own guidance and control to advance their interests. In some cases they demand statehood for their region where their numbers and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility.

But the national bourgeoisie, for whom these tribals became good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who because of their tribal conditions which are fast breaking down, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or by some concessions to their top layers, in conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights to the minorities provided in the Constitution are also not fully implemented.

61. The administrative system being based on a highly

centralised bureaucracy, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interest of the exploiting classes. As these classes in their competition utilise their power of money to influence the administrative organs for their private gain, there is a tendency for corruption to taint the highest circles of authority and the lower circles follow suit.

Local organs of self-government, which are supposed to draw the masses into direct administration of local problems and development and thereby provide a democratic correction to bureaucratic centralisation, are themselves made subject to the dictates of high officials with their control over revenues, advances and loans for the work of the panchayats and their constructive activities. The so-called panchayati-raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the bourgeoisie seeking to consolidate its power in the countryside. Real functional democracy of the people cannot grow in such a bourgeois democracy run by the exploiters and their bureaucrats.

62. The judiciary, which is an important organ of state power, is weighted against workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice, though holding the rich and 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.

63. The limitations of parliamentary democracy that exist arise from the class role of the bourgeoisie. With the growth of monopoly and right reaction, a new threat arises aimed at undermining even the existing democratic liberties and parliamentary democracy as a whole.

It is the right reactionary forces which undermine the parliamentary system, both from within and without, by making it an instrument to advance their narrow class interests and to repress the toiling masses. The Communist Party defends the

parliamentary and democratic institutions and strives to preserve and develop them further, to make democracy full and real for all.

VII

Foreign Policy

64. The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. It conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, meets the needs of India's economic development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of people of India. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved.

In the earlier years, India's foreign policy suffered from the imprint of British pressures, an inheritance from previous dependence. But soon it underwent significant change.

65. Disillusionment with Anglo-American imperialist policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the growing contradictions between the consolidation of independence and independent development of national economies of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of the Indian state structure, the rising tempo of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and retreat of imperialism and the mounting strength of the socialist world, brought about a new turn in India's foreign policy. The policy of non-alignment was positively formulated. There was the famous Panchsheel Pact with the People's Republic of China in 1954 and the Bandung Conference in 1955. Friendship with the socialist countries began to be developed and economic cooperation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit followed. The policy of anti-colonialism was demonstrated in the forthright condemnation of the imperialist invasion of Egypt and unequivocal support given in the UNO to the resolution on anti-colonialism and the liberation of all colonial countries. The government voiced support for peace and peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament, for the banning of atomic weapons

and for Afro-Asian solidarity.

66. The policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism was strengthened further when India took military action in December 1961 to liberate and recover her territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, from the four-hundred-year-old occupation of the Portuguese imperialists, who refused to yield to negotiations. The Anglo-American imperialists disapproved of these actions of India, while the socialist camp and newly-liberated countries supported the government and people of India in their just action. The policy that was pursued strengthened the forces of peace and anti-colonialism and earned for India a high place in the peace-loving countries of the world.

67. The imperialist disapproval of India's policy is also seen in their encouragement to Pakistan in its aggressive attitude towards Kashmir and its claim to that state of the Indian Union. The imperialists support the policy of creating a hotbed of tension in Kashmir by befriending Pakistan in the Security Council. As a result, Pakistan refuses to agree to India's repeated proposal for a pact a friendship, non-aggression and peace.

68. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 gave a rude shock to the Indian people. The anger of the people was sought to be used by extreme right reaction to attack India's policy of non-alignment and Panchsheel, the leadership of Nehru himself was assailed and his resignation demanded since he was the main architect of this policy. Immense pressure was put on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy of non-alignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists.

69. Thanks to the firm stand taken in defence of the policy of non-alignment by Nehru backed by the Indian people, the correct positions taken by the Communist Party of India in regard to national defence, the settlement of Cuban crisis which averted a world war, the friendly attitude of the USSR and other socialist countries towards India and the ceasefire by the Chinese after a short-lived advance, India's foreign policy survived the severest crisis it ever faced.

70. But Chinese aggression had so strengthened the political onslaught of right reaction that for some time they were able to weaken the policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism. The VOA deal episode, government's hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically against the extension of the operation of the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, or rather the evasion of the issue, the joint Air-Exercises, etc., are instances.

71. That the policy of non-alignment has been preserved in the main is borne out not only by formal declarations but also by the fact that in the midst of the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right reaction, the Government of India supported the Soviet Union during the Cuban crisis, continued to back the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the UNO, endorsed the nuclear test ban treaty, yielded to the popular demand to cancel the Voice of America deal, and rejected the imperialist offer of an Air-Umbrella against China.

72. The main opponents of India's foreign policy are certain monopoly capitalist circles having strong links with Anglo-American capital and the remnants of the feudal princely order who go with them. The parties which oppose India's policy of non-alignment generally draw their main support from these classes.

These circles often get support from the rightwing inside the Congress. Thus they are in a position to attack it, both from within and outside the Congress, and exert pressure on government for a shift towards a close alliance with the Anglo-American bloc.

As a result of these pressures, there are often serious vacillations on the part of Congress government, which are not in conformity with India's general foreign policy. Especially, there are marked failures in taking a consistent and firm stand against neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists (e.g., on Congo, South Vietnam, Malaysia). This tarnishes India's anti-imperialist anti-colonialist image in the eyes of the African and Asian nations. Therefore, the democratic forces must exercise vigilance and mobilise the masses in broad peace and solidarity

movements to counteract these pressures and to prevent these weaknesses and vacillations in India's foreign policy.

The policy of non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction. The policy of non-alignment is a positive and progressive policy for all non-socialist newly-liberated countries and its main strength is derived from the existence and support of the socialist camp in the new epoch, when socialism is becoming the decisive trend in world history and when imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to subvert independence attained by its former colonies.

Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.

VIII

National Democratic Revolution and the Path Forward

73. Which path should India take in order to complete the national democratic revolution, wipe out all legacies of the former imperialist rule, develop industry and agriculture rapidly, abolish unemployment, raise the incomes and standards of living of the masses, help their cultural advancement and take the country forward to a bright happy future?

Life itself teaches our people that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger, along the path of capitalist development which India is following at present.

74. The people's urges for rapid progress and for a better life are seen in the tremendous popularity of the ideas of socialism. Socialism goes on influencing and radicalising the minds of our people chiefly by its economic and other achievements. No wonder, even bourgeois politicians today are constrained to use socialist slogans. The ruling Congress party has even proclaimed the establishment of a "socialist state" as its goal.

75. The example of the socialist countries in successfully solving problems similar to the ones we are facing, the possibility of drawing on the varied and increasing assistance from socialist

countries for India's rapid industrialisation and development the general discrediting of capitalism and our people's own painful experience of it, the growing force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses, the advance of the democratic movement and the increasing role of the working class in the political life of the nation—all this shows that both external and internal factors favouring the development of our country on non-capitalist and democratic lines are growing. Already vast sections of our people of have rallied to resolute struggles for eliminating the power foreign monopolists, for curbing their Indian counterparts and for radical agrarian reforms, for radical changes in our social and political life.

76. The Communist Party believes that real socialist reconstruction of society, which is free from capitalist crisis, can be built only by applying the scientific and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to Indian conditions.

The basic requisites of socialism are the social ownership, control and management of the main means of production, exchange and distribution, and the establishment of a state of workers, peasants and the middle classes headed by the working class. The Communist Party of India declares that this is the goal of India's future economic and political development. It leads the working people to the establishment of a proletarian statehood, a real, genuine democracy for carrying out, socialist transformation.

77. In order to embark on the socialist road and begin the construction of a socialist society, India has, however, to go through the stage of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. The main tasks to be carried out by the national democratic revolution are set forth in detail in a subsequent section.

78. But the present government, which represents the national bourgeoisie and is pursuing the path of building independent national economy along the path of capitalist development, is incapable of implementing this programme.

The conflicts and contradictions of the path of capitalist development—which we have outlined in the previous sections,

condemn our country to a low rate of economic growth, to stagnating agriculture, to growing inequalities of income, to continuing low standards of living of the broad masses. They also lead to the growing power of monopoly groups which, in alliance with feudal elements and in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, are presenting an increasing threat to India's independent economic development itself.

That is exactly the reason why an ever-growing number of our patriotic people is asking the question: Must India travel the capitalist path? Is there no other path? The programme we have put forward is such an alternative path of development.

79. As the development proceeds along this path, it is not capitalism or capitalist relations as such which will be the immediate target of attack and elimination.

First and foremost, the grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy will be completely eliminated.

Secondly, a state sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis, will be expanded and strengthened as a powerful lever for building a self-reliant national industry and economy.

Thirdly, the growth of Indian monopoly groups will be effectively curbed and their economic power broken.

Fourthly, the power of landlord and feudal remnants will be completely eliminated; radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry will be carried out and the grip of usurious, trading and bank capital on our agriculture will be removed.

This will open up for our people a path of development which, through far-reaching reforms, unshackles the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensures rapid economic growth, rising living standards of the masses and their active participation in the production. This will create the pre-requisites for putting our country on the road to socialism in the next stage. This intervening stage can be described as the stage of non-capitalist path of development.

80. Which are the classes interested in carrying through this programme?

First and foremost, the working class, which stands for the complete and consistent carrying out of this programme and which has already begun to rise in countrywide mass actions, demanding the implementation of some of the items of the same.

Secondly, the broad masses of the cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers. The completion of the radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry, as well as other democratic reforms given in the programme will unshackle the productive force of the cultivating peasantry and enable fuller employment of the labour power of the landless peasants and agricultural workers, ensuring steady rise of agricultural production and of the living standard of the rural masses.

Thirdly, the rising class of urban and rural intelligentsia which is suffering from unemployment, impoverishment and inadequate facilities for educational and cultural development under the present dispensation.

Finally, the national bourgeoisie, excluding its topmost monopoly sections, which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, without which it knows truly independent national economy cannot be built, nor backwardness and impoverishment eradicated. But this class is also an exploiting class in the present society and as such has a dual nature. While it strives to eliminate the imperialist grip and the feudal remnants from our economy in its own interests, it vacillates and is inclined to compromise with these elements and pursues anti-people policies.

In this connection, it is important to note, as pointed out earlier, that capitalist development has resulted in a certain differentiation in the national bourgeoisie, powerful monopolist groups have arisen, which in alliance with reactionary parties outside the ruling Congress Party, as well as with rightwing elements within it are seeking to subvert national policies and bring about changes which will harm the interests of the bulk of the national bourgeoisie.

81. Thus, in order to create the instrument for implementing

the programme we will have to build a National Democratic Front, bringing together all the patriotic forces of the country, viz., the working class, the entire peasantry, including the rich peasants and agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the bulk of the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. Such a front is not in existence today, when not only the national bourgeoisie but a considerable section of the democratic masses are behind the present policies of the ruling party, while another section of the democratic masses is fighting for bringing about a leftward turn in these policies in the direction of the programme. Such a National Democratic Front will arise and take shape in the course of overcoming this main rift among the democratic masses. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements and struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction seeking to subvert national policies, which strive to bring about changes in government policies and radical reforms necessary for the implementation of the above programme.

82. The working class, forging the unity of its class organisations, will have to take the initiative in launching this national mass movement. Its struggle for the defence and betterment of its living standards, for democratic measures like the nationalisation of banks, oil monopolies and foreign trade, and for the expansion and democratisation of the state sector will form a vital part of this national movement.

This national movement will attain its countrywide sweep and striking force when it embraces the broad mass of peasantry and the agricultural labourers in the vast rural areas. The struggles of the broad masses of the cultivating peasantry, for consistent and thorough completion of agrarian reforms eliminating feudal survivals, for putting peasant economy on a sound footing, for ensuring protection from the exploitation by trading and usury capital, for the expansion of credit facilities and the increasing use of the modern technique ; as well as the struggles of the landless peasants and agricultural labour for fallow and surplus land, for minimum living wage, for setting up state farms and

other rehabilitation schemes for scheduled caste and Adivasi landless—all these struggles of the broad rural masses have a national significance. Their struggles for these demands are not only for raising their living conditions but also for the raising of the country's agricultural production, for eliminating the recurring food crises and for creating a reliable base for our expanding industrialisation.

On the working class in the cities and urban areas rests the responsibility to assist the peasants and the agricultural workers to build their mass organisations and to develop their struggles as a part of the national campaign. This will bring into being the worker-peasant alliance, which, together with the mobilisation of the middle classes and the intelligentsia will be the main driving force behind the National Democratic Front.

The national movement will, of course, embrace the broad-based campaign for strengthening India's independent foreign policy of non-alignment, peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, for establishing relationship of friendship and cooperation with all countries, and especially socialist countries, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, for defending India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, for solving outstanding disputes with neighbours like Pakistan through peaceful negotiations and without interference of imperialism.

83. Developing out of the joint actions of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, employees and agricultural workers, as well as of the Communist Party and other left and socialist parties, the National Democratic Front will draw into its ranks not only the masses following the Congress but also its progressive sections.

As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it is able to isolate and defeat the forces of reaction, paralyse the rightwing inside the ruling Congress Party and to enforce decisive leftward shifts in government policies. There arises a shift in the balance of forces in favour of the democratic front. The victorious National Democratic Front is in a position to form its own government and create its own state,

the state of national democracy, representing the fighting alliance of all the patriotic and democratic elements in the country pledged to carry out its programme.

84. This state of national democracy will be qualitatively different from the present state which is a state of bourgeois democracy, representing the interest of the entire bourgeoisie, including its rightwing, and pursuing a vacillating and compromising policy vis-a-vis the forces of reaction. The state of national democracy, on the other hand, will be an organ of struggle against these forces, and will break the power of monopoly groups and utterly rout the feudal elements.

National democracy also differs from the state of people's democracy, which we had put forward as our central slogan in our Programme of 1951. The class composition, as well as the programme, which were put forward for people's democracy in our 1951 document, are about the same as put forward for national democracy here. The difference consists in this that, in a people's democracy the alliance of the patriotic classes is under the exclusive leadership of the working class. In the case of national democracy, the leadership of the alliance of the patriotic classes is shared between the national bourgeoisie and the working class.

As a result of our experience of the last ten years of democratic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly-independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present government and of its role in building independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peace, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy. Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks, even crises in the economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance

with feudal elements and foreign monopoly are seeking to subvert national policies and set back the clock of progress.

This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working-class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful National Democratic Front, to defeat reaction, to bring a leftward swing in the policies of the government and to take the country away from the present bankrupt path of capitalist development to the alternative path of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and to break the power of the monopoly groups?

Objective conditions are most favourable for building up a national mass movement as described above and to forge a National Democratic Front in the course of it a front which will include the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie. It is possible to achieve this by utilising to the fullest the democratic rights and liberties that exist today and by pursuing steadfastly the policy of struggle against and uniting with the patriotic national bourgeoisie.

The slogan of setting up the National Democratic Front and later the government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilising force. That is why we make it the central slogan of this period.

85. The state of national democracy, which will arise on the crest of the national mass movement, will be an instrument of the National Democratic Front. Such a government, including the national bourgeois elements, and acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, curbing Indian monopoly groups, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy to ensure the active participation of the working class in the economic and political life of the country. In this process the balance

continuously shifts in favour of the working class and the worker peasant alliance, paving the way for the strengthening of the leadership of the working class in the state and thus creating the conditions for transition to the stage of construction of socialism

IX

Political Parties

86. The Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, is the ruling party today. The role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Pandit Nehru's leadership has given it a big mass base, which extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class, peasantry, artisans, intellectuals and others.

The influence of the Congress, though much less than what it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is still vast and extensive. Thus the Congress has been and is still a very important factor in the political life of the country.

The division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the democratic opposition is the most important division in our democratic forces today.

87. The bourgeoisie not being a homogeneous class, its contradictions reflect themselves within the Congress and in government policies also. Furthermore, the contradictions between the anti-people policies of the Congress governments and the interests of the masses, expressed in mass discontent and struggles—accentuate the political divisions inside the Congress.

As a result, differences on policies and governmental measures are growing inside the Congress. For instance, there are differences on such vital issues as foreign policy, aid from socialist countries, conditions for the import of foreign monopoly capital, nationalisation of banks, price control, state-trading in foodgrains and the implementation of land reforms.

88. Centring around these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation. There is no question of building a general united front

with the Congress as a whole because the Congress also includes reactionary elements. Nevertheless, no National Democratic Front would be real unless the vast mass following of the Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it. It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress directly and through common mass movements for the realisation of the demands of the National Democratic Front.

89. Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party which has emerged after the merger of the PSP and the SP, has an all-India character. Before the merger, the rightwing leaders of the PSP often sided with the parties of right reaction and were notorious for anti-communism, but the rank and file members of the party and a section of the leadership were genuine lefts despite their anti-communist prejudices. After the split in the PSP and the merger, the SSP should play a positive role in the struggle against reaction. It will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party to win this party for the National Democratic Front.

90. As against these parties, there are parties of right reaction.

The Swatantra Party is the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes, though these classes have not yet withdrawn their support from the Congress. They are trying to capture the leadership of the Congress through the extreme right within the Congress, and simultaneously they have set up the Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress and other democratic parties. Their aim is to reverse the policies of the Congress in reactionary directions. The Swatantra Party tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policy and acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies. It is growing in the wake of the growth of the monopolies and the compromises of the Congress government with imperialism and feudalism.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS are not only communal organisations but they are fascist type of parties organised along paramilitary lines and committed to violence against all

progressive elements. They foment communal fanaticism against the minority community and organise communal rioting. The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal party.

91. The reactionary organisations exercise a pull over a section of the masses by utilising their elementary discontent against the anti-people policies of the government, and playing upon backward, feudal and semi-feudal sentiments and prejudices. Very often the chauvinism and communalism of the rightist elements within the ruling party and the government brings grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary, communal, chauvinist leadership of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence.

92. The National Democratic Front will grow in strength and volume in the measure that it unleashes the struggle for the programme of national regeneration and the well-being of the masses and mobilises and consolidates the forces of democracy, unity and national advance, as against the dark forces of communalism, separatism and reaction.

X

Programme of the National Democratic Government

93. The victorious National Democratic Front will form a national democratic government which will implement the following programme with a view to transforming the existing social-political order and lay the foundations for building of socialism.

94. *International Relations:* The national democratic government will defend and strengthen India's independent foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism and firmly counteract all efforts to weaken or paralyse it.

- a. It will strengthen the camp of peace by participating in common initiatives of peace-loving countries and all other peace forces for the reduction of international tension. It would fight for universal and complete disarmament, for

banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases.

- b. It will build solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will give moral and material support to all countries which are struggling for national freedom. It will build close political, economic and cultural relations with newly-independent underdeveloped countries.
- c. It will work for peaceful settlement of all differences and disputes with neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon and will establish friendly relations with them on the basis of Panchsheel.
- d. It will develop relations of close co-operation with the socialist countries.

95. *State Structure:* The national democratic government will pursue policies and adopt measures which will strengthen national independence, territorial integrity of the country and the sovereignty of the people. It will safeguard and strengthen the secular character of the state and take all steps to cement India's national unity and the internal cohesion of our national-political life.

Strengthen and Broaden Democracy:

- a. The national democratic government will put an end to the present bureaucratic set up and will reorganise the administration and the services in such a way as to make them subordinate and responsible to popularly elected state organs at all levels.
- b. It will concretely enforce the directive principles of the Constitution through appropriate legislative and administrative measures, particularly the right to work, living wage, free education, social security, etc.
- c. It will ensure inviolability of person and domicile, unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

- d. It will guarantee equal rights to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality; equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex.
- e. It will abolish social disabilities from which women suffer. Women will be given opportunities to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to professions and services.
- f. It will abolish social and economic oppression of one caste by another, as also all social and personal bans and prohibitions imposed by the so-called upper castes on lower castes, especially the scheduled castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion. Such oppression shall be made punishable by law. It will pursue a policy of giving financial and other assistance for the educational and cultural advancement of the people belonging to scheduled and socially oppressed castes, to eradicate these inequalities.
- g. It will strengthen the secular basis of the state. It will ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state and public funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the fostering of religious and communal hatred are not given the protection of any rights guaranteed under the Constitution.
Religious minorities shall be given protection against all forms of discrimination and their religious and cultural rights will be fully safeguarded.
- h. It will grant universal and equal suffrage to all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years, in the elections to Parliament, Legislative Assemblies and local bodies, through secret ballot. The principle of proportional representation will be adopted in all elections and the right of recall of elected representatives by the majority of electors will be established.

- i. It will abolish the second chamber and such reactionary, out-dated institutions and practice as the post of state governors, rule by ordinances, detention without trial and privy purses and other privileges of the princes. It will accomplish India's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.
- j. It will establish the elected legislatures and responsible governments in centrally administered areas such as Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, on par with the other states.
- k. It will extend and strengthen elected local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities.
- l. It will ensure simpler, cheaper and speedier justice, which will be within the reach of the common man. The poorer sections of the population will be provided free legal aid by the state.

Cement India's National Unity:

- a. The national democratic government will complete the process of the formation of linguistic states and work out solution of the problem of inter-state boundaries by the application of the twin principles of contiguity and accepting village as the unit in the demarcation.
- b. At the state level, it will ensure wider powers and greater financial resources to the various states comprising the Indian Union in the interest of their rapid economic and cultural development.
- c. It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages. Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments and public institutions. It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

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

between the centre and the state governments.

In Parliament, a member will have the right to use his state language. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

Urdu language and script will be protected in states and areas where it has been in traditional use. Provision will be made for large linguistic minorities in different states to receive education in their mother tongue.

Government Servants and the Army:

- a. The national democratic government will ensure to the employees of the government at all levels adequate salaries and D.A., social insurance benefits, provident fund or pension, housing and other facilities that are required for living as human beings. It will eliminate corruption, nepotism and such other evils that have engulfed government administrative apparatus. It will implement the just demands of government employees regarding appointments, promotions and conditions of service.
- b. It will ensure decent living standards for members of the armed forces, including the police, in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc. It will take care of the families of members of the armed forces who are killed or disabled and will provide them with means for decent living.
- c. It will ensure them all democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty in defence of our country and maintenance of the internal order.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love of the people of our country.

96. Industry and Commerce:

- a. The national democratic government will take effective

steps to stop further entry of foreign private capital into the country. It will further adopt all necessary measures to bring about the total elimination of the existing foreign private capital from Indian national economy.

- b. It will institute an enquiry into the anti-national and anti-people practices of the concerns of the Indian monopolists and will introduce measures to curb their power in the life of the country. It will nationalise banks and other big credit institutions of the country. It will impose a ceiling on the profits of the monopolists. In the case of existing large scale monopoly industries producing cotton and jute manufactures and sugar, etc., it will impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit.
- c. It will rapidly expand the scope of the state sector and make it the dominant sector in our national economy, by developing the key and heavy industries in the state sector as envisaged in the Industrial Policy Resolution; and also by extending the sphere of nationalisation to banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines, and plantations.

It will reform and democratise the management of the state sector undertakings by removing persons connected with monopolists and by ensuring the participation of the elected representatives of workers in their management.

- d. It will give facilities to all non-monopolistic private sector enterprises by providing them with raw materials at reasonable prices, credit and marketing facilities, and allowing them reasonable profits.
- e. It will help the organisation of handicraftsmen into their respective cooperatives and will provide them with all possible help like cheap raw materials, cheap credit remunerative prices and marketing facilities.
- f. It will abolish the present unjust taxation system where the main burden falls on the common man and will introduce a taxation system based on the principle of capacity to

bear the burden. It will introduce a ceiling on profits and incomes and a graded tax system in industry, trade and agriculture.

- g. It will introduce state trading in essential commodities like foodgrains, cloth, etc., and supply them to the people at reasonable prices.

Win Workers Cooperation:

- a. The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will fix a national minimum wage based on the needs of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

- b. It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill health, and old age. It will also provide housing facilities at cheap rent.
- c. It will guarantee the employees full trade-union and democratic rights such as compulsory recognition of trade unions on the basis of the secret ballot of workers, collective bargaining and the right to strike.

97. *Agriculture:* The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems :

- a. The monopoly in land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism and land will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. Suitable amendments will be made in the existing legislation of various states with this end in view.

All types of fallow lands in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

- b. The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

- c. All debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and usurers will be cancelled.
- d. All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries. Cheap credit, better seeds and manure will be provided through cooperatives. Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storage for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, fruit, eggs, fish, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

- e. Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off seasons.

- f. State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes, while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the aid of machinery and other modern methods.

98. *The Tribal Problem:* It is common knowledge that vast tracts of tribal areas are spread throughout the length and breadth of our country; that the people living in those areas are most

backward politically, economically, socially and culturally; and that they are now becoming conscious of their wretched state of affairs and want them to be improved. Unless an all-sided improvement takes place in their position, the advancement of our country suffers greatly and hence national democratic government will take measures for radically improving the status of the tribal people:

- a. The tribal areas inhabited by the tribal people will be given regional autonomy as parts of the present states comprising the Indian Union or the status of states as component units of the Indian Union like Nagaland, depending on the stage of development, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas.
- b. Liberal financial and technical assistance will be given to the people of these areas to help them to discard the system of shifting cultivation and take to settled cultivation. Sufficient land will be provided to them for this purpose. Industries and communications will be developed in these areas to provide tribal people with other venues of living.
- c. Full protection from the exploiters of plains will be given to the tribal people. The occupation of the lands of the tribal people by outside vested interests will be prohibited.
- d. The tribal people will be allowed to utilise forest produce freely.
- e. Trading cooperatives of the tribal people will be organised to save them from the loot of the rapacious traders. These cooperatives will provide the tribal people with necessities of life like cloth, kerosene, sugar, etc., at cheap prices and ensure them reasonable prices for the produce they want to sell.
- f. The tribal people will be assisted to develop their culture and language. They will be provided with free education and medical facilities, with a view to improve their cultural and health conditions.

99. Education and Health Services:

- a. The national democratic government will introduce free and compulsory education up to 8th class to all children of both sexes.

It will ensure the eradication of illiteracy by making arrangements for adult education.

- b. It will reorganise our entire system of education; since rapid industrialisation of our country is the objective, the pattern of education will be made to conform to this aim. There will be rapid expansion of facilities for training courses for workers for the various industries and trades; and an extension of facilities for higher technical and scientific education; a coordination between the output of training, educational and technical scientific institutes and the needs of public sector and private sector industries, trade and transport and services by a system of forward looking man-power planning.
- c. It will ensure academic and democratic rights for students and teachers.
- d. It will provide adequate salaries to teaching staff at all levels as well as to research workers and scientists.
- e. It will put the minimum medical facilities within easy reach of the common people through the establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity service. It will take special care in the eradication of epidemics like cholera, small-pox, malaria.

100. Literature, Art and Culture: The national democratic government will assist literature, art and culture of every nationality, including tribal groups, to develop in their own way. At the same time, efforts must be made to develop their democratic content and bring them in unison with the common aspirations of the country and the democratic mass of toiling humanity.

Literature, art and culture, while eschewing the trends of violence and hatred between man and man, of subordination and

oppression, must reflect the creative labour of man, the heroic struggles for independence and freedom, for better life and living for all. It must help people to overcome hostile feelings of caste and communal divisions, without interfering in anyone's religious beliefs. It must foster love of peace and hatred of war between nation and nation and abhor the exploitation of man by man.

All creators and workers of art must get special care and assistance from the state as they are among the most important builders of new society and its values.

XI

Struggle for peaceful path and its possibilities

101. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of national democracy and create conditions for the advance to the goal of bringing about a socialist transformation by peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority in Parliament, backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform parliament from an instrument of serving the bourgeoisie into a genuine instrument of the people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and state structure.

102. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

103. The form of transition depends on the international situation and on specific internal conditions, mainly on the latter. The Communist Party and the working class work for creating and strengthening necessary conditions for the peaceful path to socialism by developing broad-based popular struggles for the strengthening and extension of democracy, by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them, by giving a resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements, by ceaselessly developing class struggles of the

workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction.

104. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes will not relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to suppress it by lawless and violent methods. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twists and turns in the political life of the country.

105. Marxism-Leninism is a great revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of the great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society—communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist Party can be effectively accomplished.

106. In our time, when communism is the most advanced doctrine guiding the existing socialist system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Party, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois

ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a distorted light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic forces and organisation.

107. To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience and achievements of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

108. Communism assures people freedom from the fear of war, from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, from economic crises, from tyranny of moneybags over the individual, by guaranteeing lasting peace, general well-being and a high standard of living, a rapid growth of productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, all round spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in our country.

XII

109. 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.

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

111. The Communist Party of India devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—the great task of building a mighty National Democratic Front for the realisation of the Programme. In all its activities and struggles the Communist Party is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism, which alone show to the toiling masses the correct way to end the exploitation of man by man and to their complete emancipation.

112. In the struggle for the realisation of the noble aims of mankind in the present epoch, our Party firmly relies on the Statement of the Meeting of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties in Moscow in November 1960 and also on the earlier Declaration of 1957. These two great documents of creative Marxism-Leninism are a reliable guide for the communists, the working class and the progressive forces the world over.

113. Carrying forward the revolutionary, fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and takes its place in the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Party unites in its ranks the most advanced, the most active and the most selfless sons and daughters of the working people, imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism. The Communist Party of India has no interest apart from the interest of the working class and the working people of our country.

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The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country will find our Programme a correct guide and a reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course to the victory of the national democratic front and the establishment of national democracy.

(July 9, 1964)

Appendix (ii)

Comments on the Two Draft Programmes

Bhupesh Gupta

Some Preliminary Observations on the Draft Programme

1. Last evening I received a cyclostyled copy of the Draft Programme as finalised by the Secretariat and released to the press which has published its summaries today. I have just gone through the Draft Programme. The document will, no doubt, merit both deep study and critical examination. This will be for all of us to do in the course of the next few months preparatory to the Party Congress. However, I cannot help expressing my first impressions of the Draft which is now issued in the name of the National Council.

2. I listened to a good number of speeches that were made at the last meeting of the National Council on the two draft Programmes placed before it (one by Comrade S.A. Dange and the other by me) as well as on a Note on the Programme prepared by Comrade P.C. Joshi. I regret to find that the views expressed in the National Council, both in their critical aspects and their positive suggestions and proposals, are not at all properly reflected in the Draft finalised by the Secretariat. I realise it is a difficult task ; but that was perhaps all the more reason why we should have finalised the Draft, by moving amendments etc. and voting upon them, in the National Council itself. Anyhow, I wish to make it clear that if this Draft were put before the National Council, I would have voted against it. I am sure at least some others would have done the same. Further, I would

have put my Draft also to vote, despite all its defects, to be taken as the basis. The present Draft may at best represent the views of the majority of the National Council minus the 32 comrades who had walked out of the Council. I am sure comrades of the National Council will participate in the discussions on the Draft and where they stand will be known in due course. My stand is against this Draft as finalised by the Secretariat.

3. As far as the 32 comrades of the National Council are concerned, I assume that this Draft does not reflect their views and that of others who think, broadly speaking, like them. Not even Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad would find himself in agreement with the Draft finalised by the Secretariat. Vast sections of the Party who share their views are thus altogether counted out at the first instance. What about people like me who have been certainly closer to the Secretariat on ideological and even on some important political questions? I regret to say that we, too, are virtually counted out and our views have, at least on some crucial questions, been given no value in the present Draft. The net result of this will be that this Draft will widen and aggravate the present differences within the Party instead of lessening and narrowing them down, consistent, of course, with basic principles. The unifying aspect of a Draft Programme in the present situation is a singularly important consideration. I am afraid it is precisely this aspect which appears to be lost to the view of at least the authors of this finalised Draft.

4. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that the Sixth Congress of the Party, after considering the three Draft Programmes and Com. EMS's Note, left it to the National Council to go into the question of preparation of the Draft Programme deeply and profoundly. We have done nothing of the kind and the instructions of the Party Congress stand all but disregarded. How all the different Drafts before the last meeting of the National Council came to be prepared is well-known to its members and our gross failure on this score will also be known to the Party ranks. I wonder what they will then feel. This I mention because it will be now for the Party ranks at all levels

to make up the deficiency on our part in preparing the Draft Programme. Most vigorous discussions and searching examination of this Draft will naturally be called for.

5. In my view, it is the right, opportunist trend inside the National Council which has found its satisfactory reflection in the present Draft. In fact, the rightist and reformist trends have been consolidated in the document.

6. In due course I shall, of course, offer my detailed views on different propositions of the Draft and it will be my endeavour to share my thoughts as fully as possible not only with the members of the National Council but with all other comrades. This is perhaps all that an individual like me can do, leaving the rest to the Party Congress. But my above critical observations probably make it incumbent upon me to touch on at least some of the major points in the Draft Programme. Hence I am stating below briefly only some of my points of disagreement. They will be elaborated and I will not have the least hesitation to modify them if these are found incorrect or unwarranted. For the present they naturally stand.

The Question of Independence

7. The first two chapters deal with the attainment of national independence and what is described as ‘Towards Independent Development’. If the Programme must touch on the history of the days immediately preceding independence and the early days thereafter, it must do so objectively. The years between 1947 and 1950 and even 1951-52, were *not* what the later years were to bring.

The achievement of national independence was undoubtedly a historic event and this must be forcefully recorded. But historical truth demands that while accusing British imperialism of partitioning India, we do not miss the fact that the national bourgeoisie and the Congress leaders accepted the partition scheme guided not primarily by the interests of the masses but by its own narrow class interests. Suppose, the working class had been in a better and stronger position in the

freedom movement, would British imperialism have succeeded in its vivisection of the country? We should look at history, even if in retrospect, from the standpoint of the revolutionary class ; our historical criterion is a Marxist-Leninist one—not that of the bourgeoisie.

8. It is true that the British calculations behind partition etc. have been thwarted internally by the Indian people including the national bourgeoisie but, let it not be forgotten, some times *in spite* of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress leaders. The country's democratic movement, the sharpening of all the contradictions in Indian life and the historic international developments made this possible. I am prepared to give the national bourgeoisie its due but not to paint it as if it did not manifest the negative side of its dual nature.

9. What was the role of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress Government vis-a-vis imperialism in the years 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951? There was of course the oppositional role in relation to British imperialism. Not to recognise it would be a serious error. But was it all that was there? Did the GOI defeat the manoeuvres of the imperialists by taking the Kashmir issue to the UNO and agreeing to the plebiscite formula at the behest of Lord Mountbatten? (The other day even Indira Gandhi called it a mistake in one of her statements in the USA). What was the national bourgeois Government doing about the anti-imperialist fight in Malaya? Was it not helping the British in more than one way including granting them all facilities for the recruitment and training of the Gurkha soldiers? It is we, Communists, who exposed, fought and ultimately, with the support of all other patriotic minded people, stopped the abetment. What was the role of the Indian Government in the US war in Korea under the UN colours? If history must be recalled, then how one can forget all these and the celebrated statement of Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit in the USA on September 19, 1951 deploring neutralism and boasting that "In the recent sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, we have voted, as you (the Americans) thirty-eight times out of fifty-one,

abstaining eleven times, and differed from you only twice." *At that time the foreign policy of the bourgeois Government, as we know, very inadequately reflected anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Foreign policy of the Congress Government began to take its present shape in the course of intense contradictions and struggles. The impact of the Epoch was palpable in the context. Here the working class, and the CPI, too, played their part and I do not see why we should not mention it while giving encomiums to the national bourgeoisie, not all of which it at all merits. A Party Programme should rouse pride in the working class and in the Party.*

Consolidation through struggles and contradictions

10. The Draft refers to the abolition of Princely States, the adoption of the Constitution, the pensioning off of the British services and Indianisation of the armed forces. All these are no doubt significant positive achievements and these led to the consolidation of our political independence etc. *But here again the history is related to as it suits the bourgeoisie.* These developments did not come along a primrose path or without the most shameless anti-people behaviour on the part of the Congress rulers at least in some respect. Did not the peasant uprising in Telangana against the Nizam have its tremendous impact on the developments in the other princely States? The national bourgeoisie pursued a miserably compromising policy with regard to the Princes—first only limited accession, then merger, then integration. One has only to read the official publications and V. P. Menon's (who was Sardar Patel's right-hand man) book on the subject. By all means, highlight the abolition of the States but not by one-sidedly portraying, directly or indirectly, the role of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress.

11. Indeed, there is little indication in the first pages of the Draft that these and other positive developments in the early years of Independence took place not without mass struggles, growth of the democratic movement and the sharpening of social contradictions. After all, it is in this period that the bourgeois-landlord rulers conducted one of the bloody campaigns in India's

recent history against the Communist Party and the working class and the peasant movements. At one time, the Communists and others held in detention without trial numbered more than 10,000 (official figures). In Telangana alone 4000 comrades were killed. The Party remained illegal in most States for 2 to 3 years. These certainly suited the interests of imperialism and feudalism and the ugly face of the national bourgeois leadership was shown in this rampage. The masses moved away from the Congress and the very first General Election of free India was to register this fact unmistakably. One must not miss this popular, democratic aspect while speaking of the "background" in which India took the path of "independent development". The background is made up of both international and national developments—in the centre of which stood the working class and the popular, democratic forces. As far as the internal scene is concerned, the Draft puts the national bourgeoisie in general and the Congress in particular, as it were, in the centre of the stage. It is no accident that in the historical reference in first chapter of the Draft, there is practically no mention of the role the working class, peasants and other democratic forces played—in some ways in sharp contrast to the role of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress—in building up the background. Yet it is part of history that the drubbing received in the hands of the left forces—especially the Communist Party, in 1952 General Elections shook it up and caused rethinking in bourgeois circles. Even bourgeois writers have had to admit this. To avoid subjectivism or sectarianism in historical analysis, it is not necessary to fall victim to bourgeois historical science or ideologically hover around the positions of bourgeois politicians.

12. I have no objection if all these one-sided and highly distorted references to history are avoided in the Programme. But once we prefer to embark on this, we must not do it in the manner in which the authors of the Draft have done. It is impermissible to gloss over facts of history that are inconvenient to the Congress rulers or which legitimately bring the working class, democratic movement and the Party credit, while, at the same time, mentioning only those—and that, too, in a particular manner —

that are pleasant to the national bourgeoisie, and its political representatives. Let such one-sided presentation be done by the bourgeois ideologues and their propagandists.

Treatment of Economic Development

13. The Second Chapter of the Draft deals with the economic developments and seeks to sum up the experience of the Five Year Plans. One can say quite a lot by way of criticism of this chapter but here I will only make a few observations. At the outset, I wish to say that as far as statistics, facts and certain very elementary conclusions are concerned, the Draft is ill-informed and otherwise highly defective. In fact it is no summing up of the economic developments at all—certainly not a summing up that one would expect from Communists or even, if I may say so, the Leftwing of the Congress. Not that some of the statements of the Draft are incorrect. But taken as a whole, what the Draft says is an apologia for bourgeois line of development. It conceals what exactly the Treasury benches (not the back-bench Congress Members) are at pains to conceal ; it highlights what they highlight. The two Five Year Plans are over and we are now in the fourth year of the Third Plan. We have by now got enough experience to give a more objective, realistic, *all-sided* picture. The anti-imperialist aspect is not the only aspect and even in regard to this, the Draft misses the serious shortcomings, which are by no means fortuitous but which follow from the line of the national bourgeoisie, of the Five Year Plans and the present-day bourgeois planning in general. The heavy reliance on foreign private investments and the improper type of economic aid from the U.S and other imperialist sources are eminently an inherent feature of the planning under the bourgeoisie and of India's still continuing unequivalent economic relations with the West. Even the UN Economic Surveys cannot escape this grim truth. Let us not forget that India's foreign debt already amount to Rs.1900 crores, of which more than Rs. 1200 crores are repayable in foreign currency. Up to January 31, 1964, India had signed loan agreements totalling Rs. 3745.37 crores. It is the US imperialists who have the lion's share. Even the Third Plan warned against

heavy reliance on “foreign assistance” but this warning has gone practically unheeded.

14. Is it not necessary for the Party to point out this and similar other basic defects of bourgeois planning? As a matter of fact, in this respect both the Palghat and the Vijayawada political resolutions seem to have done greater justice to the subject. Yet, the Party Programme is a document in which our basic criticisms should be emphasised. And this can be done without passing over the positive gains some of which are no doubt very significant.

15. I have no objection to the statistics about industrial and agricultural production or the rise in national income. But the Draft does it in the way the Government spokesmen used to do at one time (they are more cautious now). Take for example the Draft’s reference to 42 per cent rise in the national income side by side with 120 per cent rise in industrial production, as though both are in the equal category of satisfaction. The rise of national income, i.e. the growth of economy has been slow, and is causing grave anxiety even among the bourgeoisie and their planners. It has been pointed out that in several underdeveloped countries the rate of growth has been faster even without planning. The anxiety was expressed only recently in Parliamentary debates on the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan. At this rate not only the economic development will be retarded but the standard of living of the population is bound to *fall below even the existing level*.

16. It is surprising that the Draft repeats what we heard about this 42 per cent about three years ago but does not at all reflect the deep concern of all thinking sections including the bourgeoisie and even the Congress Ministers over the problem of economic growth. We are three years behind time and even three years back, the Party did not make this sort of one-sided statement without at once pointing out the lag. Indeed, the bourgeois plans stand condemned by the fact that they have failed not only to ensure the minimum required rate of growth but even the fulfilment of their own targets in the course of more than a decade of planning. It is strong criticisms—not cudis—that the

present rulers deserve. The slow rate of growth means more anti-people measures to force savings, organise a kind of forced march of economy and as such it has far-reaching social implications, including reliance on imperialist quarters. The question of economic growth is a major question and different classes give different answers to it. Anyway, it needs deep and comprehensive treatment from the standpoint of the democratic forces.

17. About food production, again, the Draft mentions only the rise to 43 per cent. What should be stressed is the most yawning gap in production and requirements (population is growing at the rate of over 2 per cent annually). The failure of planning in regard to food is admitted even by Government spokesmen and one does not nowadays much hear from those quarters the old talk about 43 per cent rise. It is PL 480 which is worrying even sections of the ruling circles and to which they helplessly succumb with meaningless lamentations ! The irony of it all is that the Draft is published, with such statements about food production, at a moment when the newspaper columns are filled with the accounts of an alarming food situation. Self-sufficiency in food, a declared objective, is nowhere in sight and the late Prime Minister Nehru had to say, in his inaugural address at the Ludhiana Agricultural Institute, that he hanged down his head in shame because of this dependence on food imports.

The bourgeois planning deserves the most scathing criticisms for the performance on the food front. In fact, bourgeois economists are doing this in their own way. A basic document like the programme of the CPI should go deeper into the question.

18. Figures about investments in the private sector and public sector are confusing. Capital investments in the industrial private sector are confused with the capital investments in the public sector. Whereas, according to the Draft, the rise since 1950-51 in the private sector is from Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 2500 crores, that in the public sector in the corresponding period is from Rs. 604 crores to Rs. 5902 crores. *It gives an altogether wrong impression of the relative growth of the private and public*

sector, especially industrial public sector. The fact is that by the end of 1960-61, the Government invested Rs. 953 crores in 42 public sector undertakings, the largest single investment being Rs. 606 crores in Hindustan Steel. Public sector under the Plans include many non-industrial projects, including irrigation, etc. Of course, the public sector has grown and will continue to grow, but it would be wrong to draw an exaggerated picture of this growth. Public sector is not growing even as fast (relative to the private sector) as the Second and Third Plans promised. We can go into the relevant data later. The presentation of the statistics in the Draft is highly misleading.

19. Capital outlay in organised industry and minerals in the public and private sector under the first two Plans is as follows:

(Rs. Crores)

	<u>Public</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Total</u>
First Plan	Rs. 55	Rs. 233	Rs. 288
Second Plan	Rs. 938	Rs. 675	Rs. 1613
Total	Rs. 933	Rs. 908	Rs. 1901

These above figures are in actuals. It should also be noted that while all investments in the public sector are accounted for and included in the statistics, that is not so in the case of the private sectors. The investments in the *unorganised* private sector, for example, are not at all included. Private sector investments are actually much higher than these figures would show.

20. As for the Third Plan, the envisaged outlay under the above mentioned head is Rs. 1520 crores in the public sector (the actuals are likely to be higher) and Rs. 1050 crores in the private sector (it is assumed as likely actuals are not available). Thus significant change in the outlay ratio in favour of the public sector takes place only under the Third Plan.

21. As regards industrial production, the Programme should not miss the uneven growth in the two sectors. Whereas, the public sector shows a good measure of steady increase, the private sector has begun to lag. "Progress in a number of

industries” says the III Plan Midterm Appraisal, “has not been satisfactory” and a whole number of industries are cited (page 125, para 22). The overall rate of growth in industrial production has not been steadily maintained either. In the Programme, we should sum up the trends and not merely confine ourselves to certain increases and in certain lines and that, too, over a given, limited period. Despite all the gains, the capitalist path and bourgeois planning do not ensure either rapid or steady growth in industrial sector, commensurate with the actual possibilities or needs of the economy. This is what the Vijayawada Resolution noted: “*The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting*”. But this is missed in the Draft, notwithstanding the disclosures of the Third Plan Appraisal.

22. No one will deny that a notable degree of expansion (I would not say “considerable”) has taken place in the field of small and medium industries. But in the first place one must not put the medium and the small in the same basket. *And what requires to be particularly highlighted, at least in our Party Programme, is the vastly more important role that small industries can and must play in our economic development.* This is much underrated by the bourgeois rulers. There is no reason for our expressing satisfaction and stopping at that. Even the official reports on Small industries are a *sad reading*.

Contradictions of Capitalist Path of Development

23. The Draft notes insufficiency but then certifies that “the percentages are indicative of the direction and effort”. Which direction and which effort? The percentages are indicative of the limitations of the capitalist path and it is precisely this path of development which is our main point at issue. The Draft correctly rejects the suggestion of stagnation (none has suggested this) but its approach to the “welcome development” does not seem to be very much from the point of view of the working people. The Vijayawada Resolution does not merely point out the shortcomings but emphasises that the Plans “are fundamentally defective”, that “the solution that have so far been offered by the planning authorities have not led to the solution of the basic problems of planning”.

24. *The assessment of the Draft revises even the Political Resolution of our Sixth Party Congress in a right, reformist direction, whereas the Programme which covers the entire stage of revolution should really be more basic and principled in its approach and presentation. The ideas contained in the alternative political resolution at the Palghat Party Congress seem to be echoed in the present Draft. Those ideas the Party Congress rejected.*

25. The Third Chapter carries the heading “Contradictions of the Path of Capitalist Development” and it would appear that this heading is not without some meaning. *Here we should come out with a basic critique of the capitalist path—underscoring all its more important negative features from the standpoint of the nation generally and the masses in particular. The capitalist path is the path of suffering for the masses. This must stand out at least in our Programme.*

26. The Draft treatment of the subject is very inadequate and defective. Only a few examples. Entrenched position of foreign imperialist monopolies in our economy and the growing fresh penetration under the cover of planning are much underplayed. Even TTK had to admit that the share of the foreign private investment (based on incomplete returns) was about 27% of India's total estimated capital of the corporate private sector (Reply to Unstarred Qestion No. 1329 in Lok Sabha on 19-6-64). These dangerous development. has also been noted in the Mahalanobis Committee's Report.

According to the latest available official figures the total non-banking foreign business investments stood at Rs. 690.5 crores in 1960 (out of which the British share was Rs. 443.3 crores and that of the USA Rs. 72.6 crores). Approvals given for fresh investments since 1960 are Rs. 32.75 crores in 1961, Rs. 29.56 crores in 1962, Rs. 34.46 crores in 1963 and Rs. 14.21 crores in Jan.-June, 1964, thus making a total of another Rs. 120.98 crores.

Now the door is being thrown "wider open". The national bourgeoisie and its Government are at pains to justify their wholly wrong and harmful policies in this respect. The Programme of the party, one of the principal objective of which is the of expulsion of foreign monopolies from our economy and achievement of economic independence must give more thought and attention to this question. We must join issue with the national bourgeoisie and equip our ranks for a powerful ideological, political confrontation on this score. The Draft Programme does nothing of the kind but only makes a passing reference. The Draft says that "so long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given more concessions, India cannot develop fully her national economy". Correct.

27. But it is not merely a question of not "developing fully". India cannot even attain economic independence and this is what the Draft omits to say. Further, the *retarding* and negative aspects of foreign monopolies in our economy need to be exposed. There is a trend in the Party to underplay foreign private capital and it is this trend that has the better of our assessment here. If some comrades exaggerate the question of foreign private capital, that is no reason why it should be played down in the National Council Draft. The disturbing and treacherous phenomenon of the so-called "collaboration agreements" are not mentioned when this private foreign collaboration is being stepped up even in the public sector (e.g. oil) in disregard of the Government's own Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. The Draft would require very drastic and forceful modification on this particular vital question. In the context of our anti-imperialist tasks, the issue is undoubtedly a major one.

28. The bourgeoisie draws the resources for industrial economic development not merely by the methods which are correctly mentioned in the Draft. The *intensified* exploitation of the labour is one other method. This is missed (although all T.U. documents stress it). The Draft says that the rate of economic development "recently has failed to keep pace with the growth of population". The fact, however, is that it has *always* failed.

29. The reference to the growth of monopolies is much too inadequate and very casual. Indian monopolies deserve greater attention in our Draft Programme. It is not merely the question of concentration in banking which is, of course, a serious issue. The entire system of monopoly operations should be summed up. We can use the Mahalanobis Committee Report as well as certain other materials such as the studies by Hazari and even Company Law Administration. On monopolies the Draft is very unsatisfactory. The role of the state and the Congress Government in bolstering monopolists must be graphically stressed. Even the Mahalanobis Committee Report does not miss it.

30. It is strange that neither in this Chapter III nor in the previous one which deal with economic development, there is any reference to unemployment and underemployment—a crying evidence of the Plan failures. Now it is estimated that the unemployment will be of the order 12 million (official computation) at the end of the III Plan. The rising prices are a built-in feature of the Plans and bourgeois economic development. This needs more than a mere passing reference.

31. *There is the big question : Planning for whom? The Draft does not give any sharp answer either by way of powerful criticism of the bourgeois planning or by way of putting forward the claims of the masses on the plans. Yet our task is to ideologically equip the people to break from this path of development and take to an alternative consistently anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, anti-feudal and democratic path.*

Agrarian Question

32. The chapter on agrarian question is happily somewhat comprehensive and perhaps better worked out. I would require further study to offer any remarks on this chapter. But it seems to me that while speaking of development of capitalist relations in agriculture, the limitations are not sufficiently kept in view. Capitalist development in agriculture requires a certain degree of industrial development (for modern equipments for agriculture). In the absence of industries to supply implements, fertilisers, etc. the Semi-feudal type of exploitation is likely to continue.

Pauperised peasants will swell the ranks of agricultural labourers and this trend is already there and is also noted in the Draft. The line of the national bourgeoisie is somehow to get the required marketable surplus for keeping up its industrial development. The question of domestic market does not yet seem to worry them very much, or else they would have paid a little more serious attention on the question of land-reforms. The dual nature of the national bourgeoisie is most nakedly seen in its attitude towards this question.

33. No one will deny that the old feudal relations have been substantially curbed but it is equally undeniable that production relations in agriculture have not still fundamentally changed. At one end there are landlords with their concentration of ownership, though rearranged and manipulated, and at the other there are the vast masses of agricultural labourers, poor peasants with or no little land. It does not seem that these sections of the peasantry are getting employed in substantial numbers in what is called capitalist farming. The extent of capitalist farming needs an objective appraisal. We do not have any such study before us and the official documents do not throw much light either. Apart from the question of surplus land, there is also the question of conferment of ownership to the tillers. Every one talks about agrarian reforms. Our Programme must sharply say *what it means*. We should bear in mind that *radical* agrarian reforms will not come through bourgeois legislations but as a result of peasant upsurge backed by the entire democratic movement. The question of radical agrarian reforms has to be linked with the fundamental tasks of the democratic revolution. All this needs special attention in view of growing weakness of the country's present-day peasant movement.

Draft Programme's Characterisation of Indian Staff:

34. I disagree with the Draft Programme's thesis on the State. According to the authors, it is now a State of the national bourgeoisie only. And then, it maintains that the big bourgeoisie "often" wields considerable influence. Is this how a basic

question is to be settled? It is difficult to understand what all this—"in the formation and exercise of governmental power" etc. politically and ideologically mean. We are here essentially concerned with the question of power and State—and not ministry-making.

35. What position does the big bourgeoisie occupy in the context of State power? Is it in the leading position or its position is something less. *My view is that the big bourgeoisie is certainly a leading force in the State but it has not yet established its decisive leadership. The struggle for this goes on giving rise to profound contradictions and even differentiations among the national bourgeoisie. I have no hesitation, however, in saying that the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence (monopolies do not so rapidly grow without this). The State power is first and foremost expressed through the Government and it is of little avail in this context to draw laboured distinction between the State power and governmental power.*

36. *In my opinion the landlord still has share in the State power, although his position is declining vis-a-vis the national bourgeoisie and the Draft is wrong on the point. This is a strange revision. One can argue this point at length but I am not doing it here.*

37. The main organs through which State power is exercised are Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. The army and the police are really the chief instruments of the State power and it is with their help that the exploiting classes retain their rule. There is also the bureaucracy another instrument of oppression.

38. *In all branches of the Executive where really the power lies, the landlord elements and landlord influence exist. Landlords play a prominent part in the elections to Panchayats and Assemblies and Parliament and it is through the mutual co-operation between them and the national bourgeoisie that the Congress Party is returned to power. The influence of the landlord class on the State Governments is still tremendous. It is because of the landlord's hold on the State that the ceiling legislations could be frustrated and mass evictions carried out.*

In the class antagonisms between the peasants and landlords, the present State fundamentally functions not on behalf of the peasants but for the landlords. Is there any doubt about it? If the landlords as a class were not a partner in the State power, the story of the post independent India would have been perhaps somewhat different.

39. The legislature is an important forum of the State power—the instrument through which policies are enacted. *Landlords are present in them in large numbers and most of them are perhaps in the ruling Congress Party. Their representatives are in the State Governments. Police, specially its officers are linked with the landlords and the members of the landlord families are also in the armed forces. The Socio-economic picture of India today is unthinkable without taking into account the bourgeois-landlord nature of the State.* It is not merely a question of the national bourgeoisie making concessions to landlords or of what is described as “admitting them in governmental composition”. This is sheer casuistry. The landlords support the Congress. The power and influence of the landlord in the combine is, however, waning. The draft misses Lenin’s teachings about the “social structure of State power”. It is this social structure and the nature and role of the State that is of material importance. Is not the Indian State an instrument of suppression of the peasant masses also—and a weapon in the hands of the landlords against the peasantry. We should avoid both revisionist and sectarian mistakes on this question.

40. The Draft Programme goes into the details of Parliamentary democracy and many of its Statements are, of course, sound. But it suffers from serious drawbacks also. *For example, the negative results of the exclusive control of the State power by the Congress in somekind of alliance with the landlords are not brought out. Our slogan for breaking the monopoly of political power of the Congress must be given its ideological foundation. Besides, it is also necessary to stress the thesis of the sharing of power under the National Democratic Front.*

41. The Draft gives the impression as if all the evils in Parliamentary democracy come from the monopoly groups and feudal circles. It overlooks that the evils stem from the national bourgeoisie and even their so-called political representatives in the control of the Government. The dismissal of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala was a foul blow to Parliamentary democracy and this blow came from the rulign bourgeoisie and the Congress High Command. It is the bourgeois rulers who rushed to arrest about 1000 Communists under the DIR recently while these gentlemen did nothing by way of preventive actions before the recent communal riots in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal of earlier in the Assam language flare up. Who shot down the people in Bombay and Gujarat for their democratic demands for the linguistic reorganisation of the bilingual Bombay State? The narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie reinforced by its lust for the monopoly of political power lie at the root of such blatant anti-democratic behaviour. In our Party Congress we have already noted the growth of authoritarian trends and there is no reason why now of all times we should modify this.

42. Further, the political monopoly breeds corruption and the latest revelations of Das Commission should not be missed. Pratap Singh Kairon is indeed a progeny of this political monopoly. The national bourgeoisie and its politicians in power are, far from enriching democracy, perverting and degrading it. Its present attitude to the Emergency and the DIR is an example of this perversion. We should not gloss over the fact that Emergency continues even twenty months after the cease-fire—an unthinkable affair in any liberal bourgeois democracy. Who is responsible for this? The national bourgeoisie and the Congress Government—and not merely some monopolist groups and feudal circles. *The tendency not to bother about Emergency and the unrestrained powers under it arises precisely from ideological and political capitulations to bourgeoisie on such questions.* This is all the more harmful when the bourgeois rulers are trying to get the people acclimatised to Emergency powers. That there is no powerful movement in the country for lifting the Emergency is a sure sign of weakness of the democratic movement.

43. Parliamentary democracy cannot be regarded safe in the hands of the national bourgeoisie and the present bourgeois government. In fact, in every way they are playing fast and loose with it and, in particular, strengthening the bureaucratic apparatus and oppressive laws. *Hence the need for breaking this exclusive control has become all the more urgent. Our concept of "sharing power" must be thus given a broad democratic import.* There is no reference to the armed forces in the Draft. The line of the national bourgeoisie in regard to the armed forces is undemocratic and is fraught with dangerous potentialities. I do not see why we should be altogether silent about this vital matter.

44. *The treatment of the question of the State and State power—fundamental question of all revolutions—in the Draft Programme leaves one with a lot of queries as to what its authors really mean by their innovations and omissions. Not only are the bourgeois rulers, in actual control of the State power, at least to an extent, given a clean bill but an impression is created as if the troubles and dangers arise not from our Lal Bahadur Shastri and the rest of them but from the monopolists, rightists and feudal groups alone. Apart from being theoretically unacceptable, such a position is belied by all contemporary facts. Leave alone oppression and exploitation which the Congress rulers bolster up, who, for example, run the elections with the funds of the Big Money? That it is a major threat to democracy has been said in their judgments by at least four eminent bourgeois judges of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts.*

45. If the Programme wants to elaborate the dangers to democracy as it has sought to do, then it must be done truthfully and objectively. By all means fire must be concentrated on those who shamefacedly want to turn the wheel back, but that is no reason why we should miss the follies and crimes of the other sections. India's future is bleak if the monopoly of political power of the Congress, with all its misrule and blatant corruption, is not broken. This misrule is putting parliamentary democracy in

disrepute and the masses are getting disgusted. In the absence of higher political consciousness, apathy on the part of the masses, as we know from history, only paves the way for an authoritarian and dictatorial regime. Are not the Congress rulers helping this by their behaviour?

46. I hope these questions will be thoroughly discussed and thrashed out from the point of view of the Marxist-Leninist theory and in the light of our own concrete experience. On this question there is every danger of both revisionist and right-opportunist deviation on the one hand and dogmatic and left sectarian one on the other. Pretty sure indications of both are already there.

On Foreign Policy

47. The Draft contains a lengthy discussion on foreign policy. The Party Programme is not a political resolution on a given current situation or a given issue and it is, of course, a document of a more permanent nature. I wonder if such a long discussion on foreign policy is necessary in our Programme, although the issue is one of undoubted importance.

48. It is perfectly correct to emphasise that India's foreign policy is "in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism". Its significance, both internationally and nationally, has also to be sharply brought out. *I find that the national significance of this policy is not sufficiently stressed even in this lengthy treatment of this subject. In my view that is very necessary to fight and expose the false patriotic heroics of the rightists, expose them as really anti-national and defend and carry forward the positive aspects of the foreign policy amidst rightist onslaughts and the vacillations of the bourgeois rulers.*

49. However, the treatment of the subject in the Draft is again very superficial, restricted to some recitals only and that, too, by methods of pick and choose. Here, again, not merely in acknowledgment of the concrete positive steps but a subjective eulogy! Who went in for the massive US military aid in the winter of 1962 and early 1963? Was it simply because of the pressures of the Rightists that the Nehru Government rushed to

the USA, Britain and offered concessions to the imperialists? Who built pressures on Nehru to support Malaysia and issue that joint Communique with Tunku? The Rightists did not put any particular pressure for the Nehru-Duncan Sandys confabulations over Kashmir or for the issue of that capitulatory Indo-Pak joint statement in the winter of 1962 through Sandy's intervention. More such instances could be cited but that is perhaps not necessary here. The Draft underplays the weaknesses and vacillations that arise from basic socio-economic nature of the State, from the dual nature of the Congress Government. Significantly there is not a word in the Draft about the Anglo-US military aid which is still being received and negotiated (this aid has, for one thing, aggravated Indo-Pak relations). Further, this "military aid" business greatly compromised India's position in the eyes of the peace and freedom loving world, especially newly liberated, non-aligned countries.

50. The Vijayawada Political Resolution deals with the subject in a far better way. It speaks of the counteracting pressures of the popular democratic forces which is practically missed in the Draft ; it pinpoints both sectarian and reformist and tailist tendencies ; it warns that the foreign policy must not be taken for granted (then Nehru was still living). The Resolution criticised the weakness of the democratic force in this context (they do not act to shape Government's policy. They only react to declarations made by the Government'', etc. etc.).

51. All these vital considerations are ignored in the Draft. The role of the masses and mass mobilisations should stand out. The Draft is open to the charge of reformist and tailist tendencies against which the Vijayawada Resolution warned. I am afraid both in letter and spirit, this resolution stands somewhat revised in a reformist direction in the Draft—and that, too, after Nehru's death. The need for popular intervention and mass mobilisation as well as vigilance is now all the more pressing.

National Democracy and N.D. Front

52. The Chapter VIII—National Democratic Front and the Path Forward—is again theoretically evasive on certain points

and confusing on some other. Besides, it does not clearly chart the course of the revolution in the present stage and its transition to the next. It is likely to foster and strengthen right, reformist and revisionist trends within the Party.

53. I, of course, fully agree with the basic slogan of the National Democratic Front and the formation of the Government of such a front through militant mass movement. I am aware that the majority of the Members of the present National Council (excluding the 32) are strongly in favour of giving the slogan of the State of National Democracy, (the state reorganised and reformed by a National Democratic Government). My main difference with the Draft does not lie on these slogans—not even on the slogan of national democracy as such, although, I think there is no need in our specific conditions to advance this slogan. *However, if the old, right-opportunist understanding is given up and the State of national democracy is understood as a product of the militant mass movement in which the national bourgeoisie is dislodged from its present exclusive control of the State and obliged to share power with the working class and other democratic forces, it all becomes then essentially a question of description and nomenclature. Some may prefer it ; some may not. What we are really concerned with is the class content of the revolutionary movement and the class character of the State.*

Struggle for Socialism in the Draft ... * ...

54. The Draft mentions socialism as our goal but the way it handles the question of socialism is rather interesting. It speaks of “the basic prerequisites of socialism” and mentions “ownership, control and management of the main means of production” etc. (para 76). This much even some bourgeois leaders who call themselves “socialists”, let alone the Indian brand social-democrats, would also say. What the bourgeois socialists and social democrats, however, try to deny and conceal is the need for socialist revolution, the conquest of political power by the working people etc. The reformists spread the ideas of gradualism and the bourgeois politicians who talk about socialism of course try to preach it. They want thus to disarm

ideologically the proletariat and the masses. In our country such propaganda is carried on by the Congress and the PSP-SP leaders—the votaries of the so-called “democratic socialism”. It is absolutely essential that in the sphere of ideology and propaganda, we counter this propaganda and educate the working people in the spirit of revolutionary ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism.

55. One should have thought that for this reason and for the sake of theoretical solidity, the Draft would set the record straight in regard to so important a question of principle. But that is not done. *Why does the Draft not frankly tell that only after the conquest of power by the working people and the establishment of a proletarian statehood (one or another form of the dictatorship of the proletariat—this expression need not be used) can socialist transformations begin? The social ownership of the main means of production (as distinct from state capitalism) comes only after the social revolution and the conquest of power by the working people and not before.*

56. To leave out the question of social revolution and state power and then to start with the talk about “basic prerequisites” etc., as is done in the Draft, is not Marxism-Leninism but revisionism. Immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU this is what some Communists tried to do by distorting the correct theses of that Congress. The CPSU delegation at the 1957 Moscow Conference pointed this out and complained that the correct theses of their historic Congress had been so distorted to justify departure from Marxism-Leninism and substitute for it revisionism.

57. Our Party Constitution lays stress on “the achievement of power by the working people”. In a Programmatic document, a fundamental question of principle should not be treated in this manner, especially when even in our ranks some rather eminent Communists are some time found to lose their ideological bearing when it comes to speaking about socialism of the Congress.

58. Once again I should like to stress that for socialism the following is the categorical imperative :

(1) conquest of power by the working people and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another;

(2) the leadership of the working class and a Marxist-Leninist Party.

59. These questions of principle should not be diluted. Not even a vague reference to the establishment of a proletarian statehood (which is of course a correct formulation) will compensate. The proletarian statehood itself comes as a result of the socialist revolution —whether peaceful or non-peaceful and whatever the form of transition or the transitional stage, the revolutionary forces have to be educated and prepared for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution.

No Anti-capitalist Edge?

60. The Draft defines the nature the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution and says that the fulfilment of the four tasks, (para 79), will create “prerequisites for putting the country on the road to socialism in the next stage” and then it characterises the intervening stage as the stage of “non-capitalist path of development”.

61. There are, first, some queries. Is it the contention of the authors of the Draft that in the non-agricultural sector the mere elimination of foreign monopolies and the curbing of the growth of Indian monopoly groups or even a democratically functioned State Sector will so fundamentally transform social relations, and private ownership of certain other means of production, bring about social emancipation that the productive forces will be unshackled ? After all, the Draft does not say here that capitalism will be abolished and this is quite correct of course. But how then the productive forces are going to be all unshackled when the wage-labour would still continue in vast fields of industry ? One must not overstate things or make theoretical errors of this kind in a Programme. Secondly, what do the authors mean by “prerequisites”; they do not say that they mean “material prerequisites” nor do they say that the carrying out of these tasks will prepare the masses to advance to the next stage.

Anyhow, the formulation is loose and such looseness helps reformist distortions—in the present case, “capitalism growing into socialism through an intervening stage”. The concept of a transitional stage in Marxist-Leninist theory has nothing in common with the social democratic or reformist theory of “gradualism”. One has to bear all this in mind because a revolutionary theory is sometimes first emasculated and then openly abandoned.

62. Then how does the Draft say that capitalist relations as such will not be the target of attack when it is advocating non-capitalist path and co-operation in agriculture. Surely, after giving the land to the tillers or making the tillers owners of the land, the National Democratic Front is not going to promote capitalist relations in agriculture. It will have to promote co-operation and co-operation will be the symbol of the non-capitalist path in agriculture. What will happen to the capitalist forms or the prevalent capitalism in agriculture (the Draft in its section on agrarian question has spoken about it quite a lot)? Is the NDF going to retain it or observe neutrality? Anyhow, what was the need for saying in the Programme that the Communists will not attack capitalist relations? Non-capitalist path and all this assurance to capitalism and capitalists make confusion worse confounded.

63. It is true the non-capitalist path does not immediately mean socialist path. But in the conditions of India, where not only capitalism is already somewhat developed but even monopolies have grown, how can one expect to take to the non-capitalist path without coming to grips, at least in some limited ways, with capitalist relations? *In fact, the non-capitalist path in India will demand vigorous measures not only in agriculture but also in industry and the extent and scope of these measures will naturally be determined by the correlation of social forces and, above all, by the position of the working class in the common front. What non-capitalist path in India's present socio-economic conditions means need to be a little more concretely defined.*

On Sharing of Power

64. Politically non-capitalist path would mean not merely the formation of a National Democratic Front and the sharing of power by the working class with the national bourgeoisie. *It would mean a decisive shift of the balance of class forces in favour of the working class—a kind of non-socialist revolution.* India is *not* like the backward countries of Africa where the industrial bourgeoisie, far from being powerful, hardly exists. I am afraid this “sharing of power” has begun to be already given a reformist twist and this is partly seen when the “non-capitalist path” is spoken of in our context without taking into account its political and economic implications and requirements. The question of path in India is going to be decided in the intense struggles of the masses. This is what Comrade Khrushchov said at the plenary session of the Moscow 81 Parties Conference:

“It is the logic of national liberation that being at first aimed at national liberation it turns in the end against capitalism and imperialism.

Thus the non-capitalist way of development for the countries that have freed themselves is a quite realistic one. But this question is resolved in the most intense struggle between socialism and capitalism on the international plane and inside each country, in the formation of the independent state of national democracy”.

Then Comrade Khrushchov went on to point out the need for “uniting all the forces of the nation, securing the leading role of the working class in the national front.....etc.”

65. Is there any doubt about the validity of the above statements of Comrade Khrushchov in relation to India? If one thinks, these do not apply in our case, let him say so and advance his arguments. But to pick up the words “national democracy” and “non-capitalist path” and then freely elaborate them, emasculating them of their revolutionary content, is not how one should set about the task. But deviations of the Draft are not confined merely to this.

The Tasks of NDF

66. In paragraph 83 (Second para), the Draft Programme defines how the N.D. Front will win victory and form its own Government and create its own State—the State of national democracy. According to the Draft, the task of the broadbased, militant and powerful N.D. Front are:

(i) to isolate and defeat the forces of reaction;

(ii) paralyse the rightwing inside the ruling Congress Party and to enforce the decisive left-ward shift in government policies. Then there will arise, the Draft says, a shift in the balance of forces in favour of the democratic front.

67. But all this is only a partial elaboration of the proposition. *What about the question of breaking the monopoly of political power of the bourgeoisie and dislodging it from its present exclusive control of the State? The shift in the balance of forces must bring this about. Secondly, what about the position of the working class in the N.D. Front? For ushering in a State of national democracy or non-capitalist path, it is not only necessary that the balance of forces generally shift in favour of the democratic front, within the front itself it must also shift decisively in favour of the working class (that does not necessarily mean the leadership of the working class).* Unless we bear this mind and plainly say so, we will be miseducating the party ranks and the masses and make our ranks vulnerable to reformist interpretations of the concept. The slogan may be raised for a coalition ministry with Congress in this or that State in the name of “national democracy”. The concept of National Democracy does not at all teach us to push the Party in the direction of the bourgeoisie either in theory or in practice. On the contrary, it enables the Party to draw the bourgeoisie in the direction of the positions of the working class and other revolutionary forces.

68. The Draft says that the State of national democracy will be qualitatively different from the present State (correct) but then it gives its own idea (incomplete and hence incorrect) of what this means (para 84). The Moscow Statement seems to be virtually

ignored on the point. The State of national democracy is qualitatively different from a bourgeois state not merely because it does not vacillate or compromise in relation to reaction but for other fundamental reasons. For one thing, national democracy is a state form of non-capitalist development and is called upon to carry out a whole number of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic tasks and profound social reforms. All this is missing in the chapter. Here, again, one comes across a serious distortion of a revolutionary concept. Right reaction or monopoly or feudal groups are certainly not the only concern for a State of national democracy. The negative side of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie and its policies which compromise with imperialism and feudalism or are directed against the interests of masses are also what the state of national democracy will have to give up. And this is another sign of the qualitative difference. In fact, the Programme (Chapter X) of the Draft itself should have made the authors realise that their manner of demarcation (in para 84) was very defective.

69. It will also be noted that while the Draft contains a good deal of schematic discussions or how the NDF will be formed, it omits to mention certain rather important premises of the Moscow Statement. The Moscow Statement does not stop merely at pointing out which classes will constitute the NDF. It says something more which no Communist Programme for a Party like ours should miss. The Statement emphasises that “the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force” etc. and is “the basis of a broad national front”. Further the Statement points out that the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends in no small degree upon the strength and stability of this alliance. All these have very important bearing ideologically and politically and even from the point of view of concrete practice. For one thing they provide a safeguard against any tailist and reformist approach to the question of building of the national democratic front. And it also tells where the Party must, first and foremost, concentrate its efforts in building the

NDF, while not neglecting the work among other sections. The emphasis of our Vijayawada Resolution in this regard is completely missing in the Draft Programme. It is a major omission.

70. I am not dealing with various other formulations in this particular chapter (VIII). Not a few of them are very defective and even open to the charge of right-opportunist distortions. I should, however, like to have a word or two before I conclude my say on this chapter.

Anti-Monopoly Aspects of Democratic Revolution

71. The Draft certainly does not overlook the forces of right reaction and feudalism etc. But it does not clearly point out that there cannot be any successful struggle for building the NDF without resolutely fighting all forces of right reaction and their parties. We should link up the struggle for building the NDF with the struggle against the rightist forces. This is very necessary to guard against opportunist electoral alliances and "mutually advantageous" adjustments with these reactionary forces. The rightists in India have not only to be exposed but also ideologically, politically and organisationally defeated. At no place in the Draft Programme is it sharply pointed out how the imperialists today, by using their lever of the so-called "economic aid" and otherwise strive to create favourable conditions for neo-colonialism and how for this purpose, internally, they rely precisely on the rightist forces. The question needs a bit special attention because there are pronounced tendencies in the Party to underestimate the dangerous potentialities of these treacherous forces. But it should also be mentioned how the anti-people policies of the Congress Government and indeed the monopoly of its political power make the soil fertile for reaction. The fight against Right reaction is certainly a specific important question ; but the fight will not produce much results unless the masses are moved into struggles against the anti-people policies under the leadership of the party and other democratic organisations. This point does not stand out in the Draft Programme. The Vijayawada position should be reiterated.

72. I have already said earlier in this note that the Draft is defective and weak on the question of Indian monopolies and monopolistic groups—i. e. the monopolistic sections of the big bourgeoisie. In connection with this chapter, I should like to know why we cannot lay emphasis on the anti-monopoly aspect of the democratic revolution. The edge of the revolution in the specific conditions of India should certainly be directed also against the monopoly groups, thus giving our revolution a markedly anti-monopolist character. The fight against monopolies has already become a popular rallying slogan which attracts even sections of the bourgeoisie.

73. It is rather paradoxical that while denying that the landlord has any share in the State power, the Draft Programme uses the expression "anti-feudal" in defining the stage of the revolution; but it does not call the stage also "anti-monopoly" even though the economic power of monopoly groups is to be broken (para 79). Would it not be more appropriate to describe the stage of the revolution at least in some places in the Programme as "anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly and democratic" ? Would not the Indian conditions justify this ? The point may be considered.

74. Politically it would better equip us to fight against the monopolist big bourgeoisie who are trying not only to retain their present grip over the State but also to establish their decisive leadership in it. The democratic forces have to thwart this bid and dislodge the big bourgeoisie even from its present position in the State. This indeed is a pressing task of the hour and the objective conditions are very favourable to develop in Parliament and outside the most broad-based, common fight—against the monopolistic big business. This naturally means, in the political sphere, fight against their political representatives, whether in the Congress Party or outside. This fight sharpens the contradictions generally and differentiation within the national bourgeoisie in particular. It broadens the common front of the democratic and patriotic forces, while increasing the isolation of the reactionary big bourgeoisie and its political representatives.

Approach to the Congress in the Draft

75. A whole chapter is devoted to the "political parties". Is it necessary to go into this sort of description of political parties in a Programme? Anyhow, the chapter is not without serious shortcomings. As far as the Congress is concerned, the chapter has only very nice things to say. Is it only that the Congress has lost much of its former influence of the pre-independence days? What has since happened to the Congress is indicated in the Vijayawada Resolution. For example, the Resolution noted:

"The increasing grip of the vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress, the growth of corruption and the decline those values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all these combined with the impact of the mass movement give rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress".

76. The present-day character of the Congress both politically and organisationally, its social base, its relations with the exploiting classes, its attitude towards the working people and their interests and rights—all these are of material consideration if we must at all describe the Parties in our Programme. When the Swatantra Party has been described in some details, why should the Party that is ruling the country ever since Independence not be gone into a little more? After all its post-Independence character is such that in the three general elections, the majority of the voters refused to vote for it.

77. Is it necessary to state in the Programme that "there is no question of building a general united front with the Congress", except for answering the allegation that the present leadership stands for a general united front with the Congress? We have said it in the Vijayawada Resolution and we can say it again in the resolution of our next Congress. Having regard to this allegation as well as the strong tendencies of tailism behind the Congress, I should normally have no objection to this assurance.

78. But then we are drawing up our Programme. Suppose between now and the formation of the Government of the National Democratic Front, some extreme rightist forces dislodge the Congress from power and form a Government, will this assurance also stand then? I realise it is a theoretical and a hypothetical question at the moment. But the Programme embodies and applies the theory and provides for all twists and turns. And it need not also be ruled out that the Congress may be thrown out of power by the forces of extreme right. Is it then to be maintained that even in such a situation there should be no truck with the Congress under any circumstances, no common front to confront and defeat and oust a right reactionary Government—whether in a State or in the Centre. Anyhow these are questions of tactics and will be determined according to the given situation and whether or not there should be a united front with the Congress then we need not speculate now. The Party Programme should not go into tactical details which should be left to the sphere of resolutions on current situation.

79. It should not escape one's attention that the Draft does not want a general united front with the Congress "because the Congress also includes reactionary elements". Is this the only or the real reason why our Party does not advocate a Congress-Communist united front? Or, are there more profound reasons? Here the Draft does not seem to much remember what is said even in the Vijayawada Political Resolution, and in the speech of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. These omissions would not seem accidental. As far as the Congress and the Congress Government are concerned, the Draft Programme appears to be at pains to underplay and, at times, even shield their negative and objectionable features. On the question of the Congress or the evaluation of its rule, the Political Resolution of our Sixth Party Congress and Comrade Ajoy Ghosh's speech there (all adopted unanimously) would appear to be highly subjective and sectarian compared to what is now stated in the Draft Programme. In every respect, the documents of the Sixth Party Congress are more objective, more principled. If we cannot further enrich their understanding in the basic, programmatic context, let us not at

least dilute and revise it in a right reformist direction. Life has proved the fundamental correctness of the Vijayawada line.

80. With regard to the Programme (Chapter X), I do not wish to say anything here at present. I do not think there will be much controversy over this aspect of our Programme. There are, however, a number of inexactitudes and defects. By the way, elected legislatures have been established in Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Manipur, though Ministries and the set up have not been given the status which they enjoy in the States. Anyhow, this part would require careful examination and will have to be modified. For the public this part of the Programme has its special attraction.

81. As for the last chapter, my one criticism is that it mixes up the establishment of the State of national democracy and the transition to socialism. I suppose the stand of the Draft Programme is that the national democracy will be a form of transition to the socialist stage. If that is so, the proposition should be more clearly and scientifically explained. It should not be made to look as if national democracy will somehow grow into socialism without the State power passing to the working people, without the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (may be described as proletarian statehood).

82. It will be noted that in the opening para (101), there is no mention of the 'non-capitalist' path, although earlier in one place it has been suggested the path of development under National Democracy will be non-capitalist one. Indeed it is the non-capitalist developments which will create *material* prerequisites for transition to socialism. Neither is it said here that the national democracy will ensure the completion of the present national democratic stage of the revolution. The opening sentence is very hazy and confusing.

Conclusion

83. It is perhaps interesting to note here what *Patriot* (July 13) editorially writes in enthusiastically welcoming the Draft Programme:

“The multiclass peaceful struggle for a transition to socialism will be conducted not under the exclusive leadership of the working class (that is, the Communist Party itself) but under a leadership in which responsibility is shared by the ‘national bourgeoisie and the working class’”.

So *Patriot* understands the Draft Programme as preaching the “multiclass peaceful struggle”, the sharing of power between the national bourgeoisie and the working class without the latter’s “exclusive leadership” not only for national democracy but also for transition to socialism. This is nothing new for *Patriot* which has of course all along been preaching tailism and class collaboration. What is, however, new and noteworthy here is that *Patriot* now uses this Draft Programme to reinforce its advocacy. If nothing else, this jubilant effusion on the part of *Patriot* should at least cause some rethinking on the question.

84. What really the national democracy may be expected to do is to clear the way to the movement, in the final analysis, towards socialism. And that would, among other things, depend on how thoroughly the tasks of the present national democratic stage of the revolution are carried out, on the solidity and the strength of the National Democratic Front, on the position of the working class and its vanguard in the front etc.

85. Not to stress these factors would amount to glossing over the basic principles. After all, it needs to be borne in mind that national democracy may not also provide a transitional form, if the mass movement is not developed ideologically, politically and organisationally to the requisite high level which would ensure the essential conditions for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution—the transition to the socialist stage.

86. Even if it is maintained that the transitional form will be “national democracy”, let us not confuse “national” democracy with “socialist revolution”, or import into our theoretical understanding, directly or indirectly, the concept of gradualism. Intense struggles will have to be developed to win a Government of national democratic front and establish a state of national

democracy and even sharper class struggles will have to be waged to ensure the transition to the next stage.

87. Finally, I should like to say that the Draft read, in many parts, like a current political resolution in which the distinction between the questions of strategy and tactics, between what should be the theme of a Party Programme and what belongs to the domain of current political resolutions, between the fundamental and the incidental, between principles and practical questions is often blurred and sometimes even missed. The Party Programme encompasses the whole stage of the revolution, relatively a long period; it functions to provide a compass on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, clearly determine the perspectives and direction. Ideologically and from the point of view of principles, the Programme must be firm and must not give any concessions, while in other respects it has to provide for resilience and flexibility so as to facilitate the formulation of correct tactics to meet all twists and turns in the political life of the country. The Party Programme is expected to educate and orientate the Party ranks in the Marxist-Leninist principles and equip them for principled struggle against both right-opportunism and revisionism on the one hand and sectarianism and dogmatism on the other.

11—13 July, 1964

Some Observations on the Left Draft Programme

A "Draft Programme of the Communist Party of India" has been published, and is currently under discussion. This document which appears with an introduction by Com. M. Basavapunniah is the "outcome", we are informed, "of preliminary discussions among two or three hundred comrades in several states". The introduction further says: "some fifty of us representing different parts of India, gaining from valuable contributions made available to us, have tried to incorporate this collective understanding in the draft. Among the fifty were 31 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."

The extraordinary manner in which this draft has been prepared is left in no doubt. The document is clearly the work of some, shall we say, like minded comrades who evidently got together outside the normal Party forms to draw up a Draft Programme. The discussions on the draft must have been conditioned by this abnormal procedure, with the majority of the Members of the National Council and other leading Party bodies of course precluded from them. No wonder the document is taken as the draft programmatic platform of a group of comrades known as the "Left". For the sake of convenience, the document will be referred to as the Left Draft.

The fact that so many comrades are associated with this Draft Programme has given rise to particular interest in what is said in it. And the interest is all the more keen because of the fact that authors of Left Draft have been vehemently accusing the majority of the National Council, of pursuing a line of "class collaboration", of "tailism" behind the bourgeoisie. The majority of the National Council is further denounced as "revisionists". The Left Draft embodies the ideological-political standpoint from which its authors and those who go with them are today assailing the present Party leadership—the majority of the National Council. In fact, in his introduction Comrade M. Basavapunniah himself says: "A programmatic document is nothing but translating and concretely applying the ideological-political understanding of the party based on the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism." It will be my attempt here to examine and evaluate this understanding of its authors.

The Left Draft claims to have provided, tentatively and subject to finalisation, the definition of "the stage, strategy, nature and tasks of the revolution as Marxists-Leninists should lay them down." It will be now for all comrades to carefully consider the draft and see how far this claim is justified or substantiated by the ideological and political contents of the document. In short, the basic question is: does the Left Draft provide a correct and reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course. In para 103, the Left Draft solemnly declares: "Our Party firmly upholds the Statement of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties held in

Moscow in 1960 and also the Declaration of 1957. It goes on: "These two great Marxist-Leninist documents are invaluable guide for all Communists..." etc. On this there can be no two opinions. The point for us to consider is whether or not the Left Draft upholds the Statement and the Declaration and takes guidance from them.

Repudiation of declaration and statement

If one examines the Left Draft from the standpoint of the Statement and the Declaration of the World Communist movement, *it would almost at once leap to the eye that this draft Programme repudiates the understanding of the two Moscow documents. If the experience of our own movement has any meaning or relevance, that, too, stands largely distorted and repudiated in the Left Draft. In fact, some of the accepted positions of the Party, accepted unanimously and tested by life, are openly and covertly abandoned in the Draft. That is my main criticism of this Draft Programme.* The ideological and political deviations and shortcomings of the Draft is marked by this basic fact. As will be seen, all these deviations are dogmatic and sectarian in nature.

The Moscow Statement devotes a whole chapter to the question of National Liberation movement in all its stages. Based on a profound analysis of the contemporary national liberation movement (for winning both political and economic independence) the Statement focusses on *the task of building the National Democratic Front as the pivotal strategic task for all Communists fighting for national liberation. The correct application of this fundamental principle of the Statement is essential for uniting all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic forces in a single front not only in enslaved countries but also in countries like India where the national liberation process has yet to be completed by winning, above all, economic independence.* The Statement says:

"The urgent task of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against

imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national democratic front.”

An Alternative Strategic Line

There is no mention of the National Democratic Front in the Left Draft and the concept of the People’s Democratic Front is substituted for it. This divergence is no mere preference for a name. The Left Draft on this question *clearly presents an alternative understanding, an alternative strategic line*. It may be recalled here that there was no controversy at the 1960 Moscow meeting on this very important question and the Statement made a great contribution by summing up the experience of the national liberation movement of our time and indeed enriching and elaborating the understanding of the earlier Declaration of 1957. One should have thought that while claiming to uphold the Statement and be guided by it, the authors of the Left Draft would not discard so fundamental a proposition.

Not only the general line of the World Communist movement but our own experience in India led the Sixth Congress of our Party to declare: “It is necessary therefore that all patriotic and democratic forces should come together to carry out these tasks and form, for the purpose, *a broad national democratic front*”. At that Party Congress, there were of course many differences but *none disputed the strategic slogan of the National Democratic Front*. Is it not then an open rejection of the unanimous conclusion of our own Party?

What is our experience since the Vijayawada Party Congress? The National Democratic Front became the sheet-anchor of our political approach and of our mass line. On the platform based on this basic slogan we fought the third general elections. The current events in the country’s political life more and more point to the urgency of unity of all patriotic and democratic forces and the creation precisely of such a front. I hope the authors of the Left Draft will not deny the growth of Right reaction within and of imperialist pressures from abroad. Not can it be missed that the poisoned weapon of anti-communism is being used to isolate the Communists from the rest of the democratic and patriotic

forces. What else could be our answer in such a critical situation than to work for rallying all these democratic forces in a common, broad front. The objective possibilities for their coming together arise from the sharpening of the contradictions between the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and those of imperialism and reaction.

I venture to say that the distortion of the proposition of the Moscow Statement, not to speak of its repudiation, is *fraught with the gravest consequences for the entire democratic movement. The Party will ideologically and politically be disarmed. It will lose its capacity to intervene in the country's political life.* High sounding slogans are no substitute for such political intervention.

The concept of the National Democratic Front closely links up the working class movement with broad democratic movement and indeed puts the class and the Party in a position not only to muster forces to rebuff imperialism and domestic reaction but carry forward the democratic movement to a higher stage. The Left Draft is bound to give rise to narrowness and sectarianism in tactics. It does not require to be said that at a time when the need of unity of all democratic forces on the broadest possible scale has become so urgent, sectarianism, in theory and practice, cannot but prove extremely harmful. Objectively, this will be of undoubted advantage to imperialism, neo-colonialism and domestic reaction.

The Left Draft says that "the nature of our revolution in the present stage of development is essentially anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic." From this correct basic position the authors of the Draft should have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion as to the forces that must be brought into the arena of struggle for the completion of the present stage. Except the forces that are linked with imperialism and feudal and semi-feudal reaction, all other social forces have a positive part to play in this context. The National Democratic Front offers the broad rallying ground.

Wrong Programatic Slogan

The Left Draft advances the slogan of the People's Democratic Front and the State of People's Democracy. It says : "It is obvious that for the complete and thoroughgoing fulfilment of the basic tasks of the Indian revolution in the present stage it is absolutely essential to replace the present bourgeois landlord stage headed by the big bourgeoisie, by a state of People's Democracy led by the working class." The divergence between the formations of the Moscow Statement and that of the Left Draft is plain enough for all to see.

It will be recalled that *our old Party Programme of 1951* which was formally adopted by the Third Party Congress (1954) took *more or less the same position as that of the Left Draft*. That Programme said: "But, our party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular Government by a new government of People's Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country..." At the Sixth Party Congress *we gave up this strategic line and we did so unanimoulsy*. This was of course facilitated by the orientation given by the 1960 Moscow Statement.

Since the November 1960 Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, we in India and other fraternal parties have acquired considerable new experience which does not at all disprove but on the contrary firmly corroborates the position of the Statement. Not fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party has repudiated this line. Even the leadership of the Communist Party of China has not formally disowned the slogan of the national democratic front, although its June 1963 Letter to CC, CPSU omits to mention this proposition (national democratic front) of the Statement. After all, it is difficult to formally denounce this slogan and yet acclaim, for example, the slogan of the *Gotong Royong* of the Indonesian Communist Party. *Gotong Royong* means "get-together" and its political content in the Indonesian context with their popular slogan of NASAKOM (nationalists plus progressive Muslims plus Communists) we all know.

Indeed, the Left Draft not only takes the Party back to old

Programme but it apparently goes one "better". Even the 1951 Programme (adopted by the Third Party Congress) did not speak of "People's Democratic Front". It said: "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 the freedom of the country and the development of prosperous life to unite into a single democratic front...." In this connection it should perhaps be mentioned that it was no easy task in our Party to break from the sectarian propositions of that Programme.

Now about "People's Democracy"—the central programmatic slogan of the Left Draft. People's Democracy is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Moscow Statement does not say that in order to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stage of the revolution, as in the case of India, there must necessarily be a state of people's democracy or a people's democratic front. Basing itself on the definition of the present epoch and the real possibilities it has created, *the Statement makes a break from the old, dogmatic understanding of the hegemony of the working class and does not content that the leadership of the working class or what has been known as the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is essential for completing the national democratic revolution. What is essential for completing the national democratic revolution is that in the present epoch the task of national liberation will be accomplished by a broad front of all democratic and patriotic forces in which the working class may not still be in the leadership.* This does not however mean that the working class is not called upon to play an increasingly weighty role in the front.

Working Class in National Liberation in The New Epoch

The objective possibilities in the present epoch are favourable not only for a broad united front, drawing within its fold all democratic force, but also for the working class to play, through correct slogan and tactics, such a role.

The Moscow Statement emphasises the indispensibility of the

leadership of the working class for accomplishing a socialist revolution. But in the case of national liberation what it highlights as "the most important force" is the alliance of the working class and peasantry—the basis of broad national front.

To put forward the line of people's democracy and in effect, the line of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, is a clear departure from the Statement on the question of national liberation.

There was a time in the international Communist movement when we could not conceive of the completion of national-democratic revolution without the leadership of the working class. *But today national liberation is advancing in many countries without working class leadership and indeed even without the existence of any sizeable industrial proletariat. What makes this possible is the vastly changed balance of world forces, with the world socialist system as the most decisive factor.* The new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism is of course a major contributory element.

The Left Draft does not evidently take due note of what is *new and growing* in the contemporary world situation. Herein lies the root of its dogmatic and sectarian error. Whereas everything must be done to create a broad front and thus transform the great revolutionary possibilities into the reality of a powerful, united movement, *the line of the Left Draft would restrict the alliance and unity of social forces in the present stage of the revolution.*

Climax of Sectarian Understanding

In para 55, the Left Draft notes that "Even many industrialists, manufacutrers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operations of the foreign and Indian monopolies and financiers." It calls upon the national bourgeoisie "interested in a truly democratic development and creating a prosperous life to unite in a single People's Democratic Front'...etc. But then in order to fulfil the unfinished tasks of national liberation, the Draft demands not a broad based of national democratic state but *a state of the working people and a government led by the working class on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance.*

Here the sectarian understanding of the Left Draft reaches its climax. *Nowhere has Marxism-Leninism laid down that in order to complete the national democratic revolution one must have a State of the working people.* Is it the contention of the authors of the Draft that the national bourgeoisie which participates in the present stage of the revolution will not have any share in the state power? If it does have a share (in the state power and not merely a place in some Ministries etc.) how then is it going to be state of the working people?

Anyhow, once you prescribe “the immediate establishment of People’s Democracy”, as the Left Draft does, the Moscow Statement’s concept of the State in which all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic classes including the national bourgeoisie share power goes by the board. The idea of multi-class composite State gets substituted by that of the “state of the working people”. Survey this is a violent break from the Statement. One might ask: if our immediate objective is to be a State of the working people, why not then also the establishment of socialism? Even the Left Draft puts the building of a socialist society not as the immediate objective but as an aim and of course correctly so.

Back to Political Thesis of 1948

Incidentally, even the 1951 Programme which gave the slogan of People’s Democracy did not, however, make such a howling sectarian formulation. That Programme spoke of “a new Government of People’s Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country.” There was no mention of the “state of the working people”. While retaining much of the position of the 1951 Programme on the question, the Left Draft has added its own ideas about the character of the state. The innovation is patently sectarian....and takes the Party back to the 1948 *Political Thesis* of our Second Party Congress.

“The present state”, said the Political Thesis, “will be replaced by a People’s Democratic Republic, a republic of workers, peasants and oppressed middle classes”. That political Thesis, as we all know, completely discounted the possibility of

participation of the national bourgeoisie in the present stage of the revolution and excluded it from the Front, from the government and the State. Though fundamentally wrong, the Political Thesis was at least consistent from the point of view of its own formal logic. But the Left Draft recognises on the one hand the national bourgeoisie has a part to play while on the other counts it out of the State power. I do not think it is anybody's expectation that the national bourgeoisie will do a spot of *shramdan* for a state of the working people to be established !

From the above, it should be clear to all that both in substance and form nothing is left of the Moscow Statement and our Vijayawada Political Resolution in what the Left Draft has to present on so vital a question. The result is that the Draft topples over the 1948 Political Thesis.

No Grasp of New Epoch

A correct objective *all-sided* appraisal of the present-day socio-economic conditions in their *totality* and with their contradictory features is essential for charting the course of the revolutionary movement. More than on one occasion we have had to pay heavily for failing to do so. And the objective laws of social development, whether in a given country or on the world plane cannot be properly understood unless one takes into account the distinctive features and the new opportunities of the present epoch. The contributions of the 1960 Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties have been of historic significance in this respect.

After going through the Left Draft one cannot avoid the impression that *there has been no little resistance on the part of its authors to grasp the meaning of the epoch and fully recognise the realities. What is new in the situation seems to have appeared very dimly, if at all, in the eyes of the authors. The result is subjectivism and lop-sidedness in approach and evaluations.*

Wrong Understanding on Independence

Take the question of India's political independence. We are all well aware how the Party suffered from a gross sectarian and

subjective understanding of the event. The 1951 Programme was highly defective on this score and it was only by the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses that some important corrections were made. Unfortunately, even those corrections are not properly reflected in the Left Draft.

Certainly the Indian bourgeoisie came to power. But here it was the cardinal question of national freedom and the historic event in the context was the attainment of political independence by India. This opened up tremendous possibilities for shaping the destiny of our country by the people and for strengthening the world-wide struggle for peace, against imperialism and colonialism. Only after forcefully recording this historic fact of political emancipation should one come to the question of class power within India. But the Left Draft opens us on the subject by saying (para 3) that “power was transferred in India to the leaders of the Congress Party on August 15, 1947.” *This is a hang-over from the 1951 Programme.* We all celebrate this day and we do not do so because the power passed into the hands of the Congress leaders or the national bourgeoisie. We celebrate because on this day over four hundred million people won, after two centuries of colonial enslavement, their freedom. India became free.

Full-throated acknowledgement of this great landmark is no reformism. Even the Draft calls it the “completion of the first stage of the Indian revolution, viz. the political emancipation from the British yoke....” Such acknowledgement is necessary to find a common voice with the rest of the people and defend and strengthen independence by all means even though the national bourgeoisie and the Congress rulers may still be in exclusive control of the state power. Faced with neo-colonialism and other forms of imperialist pressures, our task is naturally to meet the situation on the basis of the broadest possible unity of the Indian people including the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie, by and large, is *objectively* interested in defending and strengthening independence.

Wrong On Bourgeoisie's Role

The Left Draft correctly refers to the *dual* nature of the national bourgeoisie and the latter's concessions to and compromises with imperialism. But here again it makes a serious mistake—a mistake which is liable to cause all manner of sectarianism. The Draft does not bring out the fact that despite all its vacillations and compromises etc. the Indian national bourgeoisie has since independence enormously strengthened its position in relation to imperialism. What has dominated the post-independence scene is precisely the strengthening of our independence and the weakening of the position of imperialism. This has been particularly noted in the resolutions of our Palghat and Vijayawada Party Congresses. It is rather surprising that the Left Draft now chooses to underestimate this important development.

The Draft understands the role of the national bourgeoisie during the freedom struggle as one of "actually balancing between imperialism and revolution." And this balancing, the Draft says, has been carried to a high level after independence. *This assessment is fundamentally wrong. No one will say that the national bourgeoisie pursued a national revolutionary line in the freedom movement. But then how independence could at all be won under its leadership if it were only balancing between imperialism and revolution? The dominant role was one of opposition to imperialism—and not balancing.* It is equally absurd to suggest that State power is now being used mainly for the purpose of such balancing. If it were all primarily a case of balancing, India and the national bourgeoisie would not have been in the position in which they are today.

Not that compromises and concessions, some even patently anti-national, are not there. Not that there are no tendencies to balance on issues. But the dominant feature of the state power in the hands of the national bourgeoisie has been *one of strengthening India's independence* (it does not mean that the process may not be reversed) and *the position of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis imperialism. But for this there would have*

been neither non-alignment nor independent economic development. Of course, at the same time the state power is used to strengthen the position of the national bourgeoisie in relation to the masses. One must objectively evaluate both anti-imperialist and anti-people functions of the present State. From the point of view of tactics, this is essential.

It is not left to the national bourgeoisie *alone* to decide how the State should function. Contradictions between the people as a whole and imperialism, between the national bourgeoisie and the people create new possibilities and opportunities for the democratic forces to strengthen the anti-imperialist role of the State and weaken its anti-people aspect. This hardly emerges from the theoretical postulates of the Left Draft.

For completing the stage of national liberation such as ours Communists have naturally to struggle for ending the *exclusive control* of the state power by the national bourgeoisie but this task cannot possibly be carried out in the interests of revolution unless we pursue a correct policy of both unity and struggle in relation to the bourgeoisie. It is wrong to maintain that a national bourgeois state as we have in India is only a weapon of balancing. Has not the Indian state also proved to be a weapon of struggle against imperialism? For one thing, the policy of non-alignment, the anti-imperialist significance of which will not be disputed is certainly not the result of balancing although within the framework of non-alignment balancing on this or that issue goes on. The existence of the world socialist system is a major factor that enables the national bourgeois states to take anti-imperialist position and fight imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Approach To Foreign Capital

The Left Draft correctly stress the plunder of our resources by foreign monopolies as well as their dangerous potentialities. There cannot be two opinions that these imperialist exploiters must be curbed and completely ousted from our national economy. Some of the figures given in this connection are however not quite correct. In some ways, they are misleading.

Investments of the indigenous capital in private sector today

are much higher than what is suggested in the Left Draft. According to the draft it stood at Rs. 2,500 crores minus Rs. 830 crores which is shown as the foreign component — that is at Rs. 1,670 crores. In the first two Five Years alone, the investments (both indigenous and foreign) came to Rs. 908 crores in the *organised* private sector. Add to these investments in 1961 and 1962. One should not miss the fact that a lot of investments take place in the *unorganised* sector also and in business enterprises whose investments are not included in the figures for the organised private sector. Non-banking foreign private investments (including reinvestments of retained profits) amounted Rs. 690 crores (out of which Rs. 124.1 crores came from the IBRD, Export-Import Bank, etc.) This official figure is for 1960 and is the latest available.

It will of course be misleading to assess the position of foreign capital merely by comparing the figures of foreign and Indian private investments. For there is an expanding public sector in which large investments under the head industries and minerals are taking place. During the first two plans, these public sector investments totalled Rs. 993 crores. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, these investments have a great anti-imperialist significance. As for the Indian private capital, not only is it growing faster than foreign capital but it now operated in a politically free country with backing of the state power and in favourable world conditions for independent development.

There is a tendency to underplay the role of foreign capital in India by all manner of facile arguments. In essence this is a *bourgeois nationalist* approach which most certainly has got to be fought from the standpoint of the Declaration and the Statement. It is also very necessary to expose the nature and functions of foreign monopolies which the bourgeoisie and even some petty-bourgeois elements are at pains to shield. But that is no reason why one should go to the other extreme and draw an exaggerated or one-sided picture.

It is also to be noted that the operations of foreign monopolies in India sharpen the contradictions between the Indian people and

imperialism and in particular brings about differentiations within the bourgeoisie itself. This broadens the base for struggle.

In part 56, the Left Draft says, ...“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.” Then in the next para, it goes on: “Far from this dependence getting reduce, it is actually increasing year by year.” No one will deny India’s dependence on loans and grants from the West or her unequal trade ties with the latter. Dependence on heavy food imports has reached dangerous proportions.

Underplaying Socialist Aid

But to say that the dependence of the country’s economy is increasing “in many respects” is again very wrong. First of all, the quantum of foreign assistance has to be reviewed in the context of the entire economic activity, the plans etc. After all, if the amount of foreign assistance has been increasing the traditional dependence of our economy is lessening. This is to be seen in our industrial sector, in our external trade and in other spheres. For one thing, the bulk of this assistance is used for importing plants, machinery etc. for industrialisation. Indigenous production of tools and machinery has risen from a little less than Rs. 9.50 crores per annum in 1955 to about Rs. 285 crores now.

It is not surprising therefore that this Draft has only a passing reference to make about the disinterested economic assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. *The great economic and political significance of such assistance and of the economic co-operation between India and the socialist camp is all but missed in the Draft* which says: “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.”

It is true that the availability of the assistance from the socialist countries enables the bourgeoisie to resist pressures from western monopolies and secure better terms from them. But that is only a secondary aspect. The main thing is that this assistance

enables independent development of our national economy and strengthens its anti-imperialist substance. If the national bourgeoisie is in the main using this assistance for deals with imperialism, then, should our line be one of opposition to what the Left Draft characterises as “and extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals...”? Even the Draft would not say that. We urge for greater economic co-operation with the socialist countries precisely because it strengthens our economy and independence. We take a positive attitude towards the bourgeoisie on this score and certainly not the kind of approach the Left would suggest. *To view the economic assistance essentially as means for striking favourable deals on the part of the bourgeoisie is to understand nothing on the question—and miss wood for trees.*

The public sector, another very positive feature, of national economy is much underplayed in the Left Draft. Not that India's public sector does not suffer from various weaknesses and shortcomings. It is perfectly right to point them out. But the Draft does not recognise that *India's public sector*, despite all these weaknesses, *is playing a progressive role* (it is not merely a hypothetical question of “can play”). This approach of the Draft may benefit public sector under “state monopoly” capital, but would seem sectarian and negative in the case of an underdeveloped economy like our own. *How can one develop anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle if on such concrete practical issues the understanding and approach is so faulty?*

Treatment of Agrarian Question

On the agrarian question, many of the observations of the Left are correct, taken individually. But there appears to be an obvious resistance to recognising the changes in the anti-feudal direction. The backbone of feudalism (which must not be confused with landlordism) has been broken; many old time big feudal and semi-feudal estates have disappeared with far reaching implications, both economic and social. Would it be right then merely to say that “The agrarian legislative measures of the Congress Government only modified feudal and semi-feudal

landlordism? There is still the concentration of ownership and there will be no agrarian revolution in India unless this concentration is broken and land given to the tillers (physically or by conferring ownership as the case may be). But the concentration of ownership now is certainly not what it was before the land legislations. Rich peasants and possibly sections of the middle peasants have benefited. Clearly the national bourgeoisie now relies upon them as its social base in the countryside for maintaining its political rule. Not a few giant landlords but a wider range of landowning families today dominate the village scene, of course closely linked with various Government agencies as well as with the operations of the capitalist market.

Draft On Foreign Policy

“India” says the Vijayawada Resolution, “stands in the camp of peace and anti-colonialism, against war and for disarmament”. While noting the vacillations, inconsistencies and shifts etc., all the last three Party Congresses highly appraised India’s foreign policy. Criticisms by the Left Draft on the one hand and the inadequate stress on the positive content on the other hand, of the foreign policy make the draft’s assessment defective. Yet India’s foreign policy by and large has been an outstanding development not only in world affairs but for the country’s internal life as well. It stands out as one of the biggest gains of the post-independence era and one cannot effectively defend the gain, much less carry it forward without properly evaluating what has been achieved — and how it has been achieved. *The fact that things are moving in a bad direction particularly after Nehru’s death does not minimise but on the contrary underscores the need for this positive approach. The gains are the rallying points for resistance against reactionary pressures and against shifts to the right. The Left Draft seems to prepare the ground ideologically and politically, for a kind of passive submission to the inevitability of continued shifts to the right.* Communists can never accept this position.

It is doubtful whether such formulation as made in the very

first sentence of para 63 [“The foreign policy of any state and its Government, in the final analysis, is *nothing but* (emphasis mine) the projecting of its internal policy....”]. Interconnections and interactions between the two cannot be denied. But it is open to debate how far this “projection” theory holds good in the complex world situation of today. After all, we have known of States pursuing generally anti-democratic policies at home, while remaining in the non-aligned camp and taking anti-imperialist stand in the international sphere. One has to be careful because life does not always corroborate many of the old, set ideas.

The Left Draft refers to India-China question but then it should have mentioned *how the line of the CPC leadership on this question has been a great blow to India’s foreign policy of non-alignment and has objectively served imperialism and domestic reaction all along the line. Without this no truthful assessment of “the border dispute with China” vis-a-vis India’s foreign policy is possible. Nor is the defence of non-alignment easy today without a correct stand on the India-China border question.* The Chinese line tragically demonstrates how in the international sphere a socialist country can by repudiating the common line of the international Communist movement undermine the non-alignment and weaken the struggle for peace, against imperialism.

As incorrect stand on the question, whether of the right or left variety, plays into the hands of imperialism and domestic reaction.

Right Reaction Almost Ignored

Forces of right reaction receive but little attention in the Left Draft (sub-para in para 119). These forces have got to be isolated and routed in the country’s political life if the democratic movement has to advance. And this task cannot be carried out without concentrating fire on these retrograde forces by constantly building the broadest possible unity of all progressive forces. The Political Resolution of the Vijayawada Congress and our electoral strategy in the third general elections laid particular stress on this task. Developments since then have not only proved

the correctness of our line but added to the urgency of the task. The Left Draft however presents the task as follows : "The Communist Party will firmly combat the reactionary ideology and programme of the Swatantra Party." This can be said in respect of almost any bourgeois party. From a very partial assessment follows an equally partial and inadequate slogan. A burning issue of concrete day-to-day struggles, ideological, political and practical is reduced to a mere fight against "ideology" and "programme" of one of these parties.

The understanding of the Left Draft will not even ideologically equip the Communists for the fight, much less move them into practical actions. This understanding may even throw the door wide open for all kinds of opportunist deviations and manouevres. A Programme that does not highlight the challenge of right reaction and give a resounding call to fight against it is hardly a programme for our living movement of the day. Let us not forget for a moment that imperialism and neo-colonialism pins its hopes precisely on these forces of right reaction. For the completion of the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of our revolution the most powerful confrontation of these forces here and now is a categorical imperative.

Characterisation of the State

The Left Draft holds the view that the present bourgeois-landlord state is headed by the big bourgeoisie. This has been of course our old understanding but it is necessary to re-examine ideas on the question in the light experience. In my view, the big bourgeoisie certainly occupies a very important place in the state and doubtless wields considerable influence. But it has not yet won the *decisive leadership* in the state, though it is trying to attain that position. This bid on the part of the big bourgeoisie sharpens the contradictions between itself and all other sections of the people including sections of the national bourgeoisie. One of the manifestations of the bid is the bolstering of reactionaries both within and outside the Congress by the monopoly press and big money.

An urgent task of the Party is to prevent the big bourgeoisie

from securing the decisive leadership and to dislodge it even from its present position in the State. The political offensive of the rightist forces from within and outside the Congress symbolises the bid for the decisive leadership of the State by the big bourgeoisie. In its wake, this dangerous move also opens up new opportunities for broad, growing unity of democratic forces.

As for the landlord, its position is weakening in relation to the bourgeoisie. This phenomenon is also noteworthy.

Earlier in this note, the question of the Front and State has already been dealt with. Only a word or two more. It is of course correct that the present stage of our revolution is not the "old type bourgeois-led democratic revolution" (to quote the Left Draft). In the view of the Draft, it is "a new type of People's Democratic Revolution, organised and led under the hegemony of the working class." Having thus set for the task of establishing a form of dictatorship of the proletariat (which People's Democracy really means in the context), the Draft calls upon, among other classes, also the national bourgeoisie to participate in the revolution (para 128).

This is not the understanding of the Statement. The Draft further confuses the socialist stage with the present one and prescribes the working class leadership as a must for both stages. For example, it says : "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." That working class leadership is essential for socialist revolution is not disputed. But here we are concerned not with socialist revolution, nor even with the march to the socialist stage but with *the completion of national democratic revolution*. Does the Moscow Statement hold that the hegemony of the proletariat is *essential* for the accomplishing the latter stage? It does not.

But that does not detract from the significance of the position of the working class in the national democratic front. The sweep and tempo of the revolution will much depend on what role the working class plays and again it is the role of the working class which will also determine the transition to the next stage, the socialist stage. The hegemony of the working class which is essential for socialist revolution will have to be won by pursuing

correct policies in the present stage of our national, democratic revolution, by uniting all democratic and patriotic forces for its completion. Neither by right opportunism nor by left sectarianism in the current stage can the Party aspire to establish the proletarian leadership. One leads to tailism behind the bourgeoisie, the other to revolutionary phrase-mongering and isolation.

The Question of National Democracy

It will be further noted in the Left Draft that it does not at all provide for any intermediate stage between now in which the national bourgeoisie is in control of the State power and when the working class will be in the leadership of the state.

The Left Draft rules out the establishment of a national democratic state and “the talk of non-capitalist path of development” as unreal. From this *basically incorrect* understanding arises as we have noted, the concept of *the state of working people and people’s democracy*, presumably the first stage of socialism. Yet the Draft strangely enough speaks of national democratic revolution. Further, *it mixes up non-capitalist development with socialism*. It misses that in the present epoch the development of national economy can be ensured on non-capitalist lines even in the stage of national democratic revolution and before the socialist stage has begun. Nationalisation of foreign concern as well as major industries in the hands of the Indian monopolists, the rapid expansion of the State sector and co-operation in agriculture—these will constitute one of the main characteristic features of the non-capitalist path. Non-capitalist path and the struggles for it create material prerequisites as well as prepare the masses for the transition to the socialist road. It goes without saying that the question of path is settled in intense class struggles of democratic forces.

Non-capitalist path is of course not possible in India unless the monopoly of power of the national bourgeoisie is broken and the State power is at least shared by all consistent, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic forces and unless, above all, the working class plays a very weighty role and occupies a

very important place. A big shift in balance of class forces will be necessary for launching the country on the non-capitalist path or even ushering in a national democratic state. I should mention here that the question of non-capitalist path or national democratic state *under the bourgeoisie leadership* does not in my view at all arise in our country.

The Moscow Statement quite realistically points to these perspectives but the authors of the Left Draft ignore and repudiate them. One does not quite know what the Left Draft means when it speaks of "an alternative Government with alternative democratic policies," (para 106). Is it People's Democratic Government? If not, what kind of a State will produce such a government? The point needs to be clarified.

If one goes through the tasks and programme which the People's Democratic Government will carry out as a prerequisite to the building of socialism (note, the formulation "completion of the national democratic revolution" is here avoided,) it will be difficult to understand why the Left Draft takes such a narrow, sectarian view on the question of the Front and of the nature of the State, etc. If these are the tasks, why then a broad-based front and broad-based state representing all democratic forces are ruled out? The stand of the authors of the Draft that these tasks cannot be carried out except under a state of people's democracy, and of the working people headed by working class etc., would seem paradoxical.

Finally, I should like to deal with the question of "national democracy" which has become a subject of somewhat heated controversy. The Left Draft gives its own understanding of "national democracy" and contends that the proposition does not apply in the case of India. According to the Draft, in "several economically backward and underdeveloped countries the developing working class can be gradually establishing the 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" (p. 90).

This certainly is not a correct interpretation of the Moscow Statement. For the Moscow Statement envisages and indeed

provides for the skipping of the stage of capitalism as well as for the development on the non-capitalist path even for those newly liberated countries where the industrial proletariat and Marxist-Leninist party do not exist at all or have just begun to be formed. The question of establishing the hegemony of proletariat in such situations does not naturally arise. The establishment of hegemony of the proletariat, gradually or otherwise, is NOT a precondition, in the new epoch, *either for creating a state of national democracy or for launching on the non-capitalist path. Here the Left Draft goes fundamentally wrong.*

As a matter of fact, the November 1960 Moscow Meeting had primarily these countries (especially in Africa) in mind when it considered the question of national democracy. The question was: must these countries where capitalism is very little developed and hence industrial proletariat hardly exists, where in fact, a kind of even tribal economy obtain, where there is no Marxist-Leninist parties, go through the hell-fire of capitalism before they could take the road to socialism. The answer was: No. The essence of the understanding was that neither people's democracy nor the hegemony of the proletariat is now necessary for avoiding the capitalist path or passing over to the non-capitalist road.

The same issue was raised at the bilateral talks between the CPSU and CPC in July 1963, and there again the debate was in the context of such very backward and underdeveloped countries. The Chinese Delegation's position was confusing. It did not want a period of capitalist development but then it could not explain how people's democracy could be brought about in such countries if that is the only way to take the non-capitalist path. After all people's democracy presupposes the leadership of the working class and it also means a form of its dictatorship! Incidentally, the CPC Delegation at the 1960 Moscow Meeting raised no objection to "national democracy". The Delegation moved many amendments to the Draft Statement but none on this question.

I may be permitted to make some observations in this connection for consideration by our comrades. My fear is that we

have been involved, at least in some ways, in an artificial controversy over this question. There have been tendencies to understand this slogan of national democracy in a thoroughly reformist and revisionist way by emasculating its revolutionary content. Some even went to the length of finding in it a theoretical justification for the line of Congress-Communist general united front, Congress-Communist coalition governments and all the rest of it. Fortunately these views are not much in currency now as they once used to be. On the other hand there have been tendencies to dismiss this slogan out of court as a hall mark of revisionism and dogmatically stick to the slogan of people's democracy. And between these two extreme positions it has been found rather difficult to give dispassionate, open-minded consideration to the question. Yet in the context of our Party Programme it merits percisely such consideration.

I am still not convinced why we should put forward this slogan in India.

One of the reasons why the Moscow Statement guardedly uses the expression "conditions in manys countries" instead just saying conditions arises etc. in the context of the applicability or otherwise of the slogan was the objection raised to any sweeping use of the slogan. It may be of interest to note that among those who raised the objection was the leader of our Party's Delegation, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh. Anyhow the whole thing was discussed in relation to the most undeveloped among the newly-free countries, mainly the African countries.

Immediately after the Moscow Meetings, during 1961 and 1962, quite a lot of confused writing appeared on what national democracy means or what it does not, where it applies and where not, etc. etc. At least in some vital respects that confusion has since been somewhat relieved, though I am not sure of the measure of clarity. The CPSU theoretical journal *Communist* (No. 11, 1963) characterises national democracy as a state form of non-capitalist development and I think, essentially this view correctly represents the understanding of the 1960 Moscow Meeting of the International Communist movement and of its Statement.

I suppose those who strongly advocate 'national democracy' for India would not now deny that the state of national democracy can be brought about not through *mere* coalition Governments, much less by pushing the line of general united front, in the present situation, with the Congress but by building a national democratic front, by developing militant mass movements and by breaking the monopoly of State power of the national bourgeoisie and by winning, through unity and power of the democratic movement, a Government of the NDF. The State power (as distinct from mere seats in Ministries) will be shared by all democratic classes. In this development, the working class and the Communist Party will naturally have to play a very important and leading role (leading role need NOT be confused with the leadership). Also it will not be denied that national democracy is linked with the non-capitalist path although the decisive shift to the non-capitalist path may not come on the morrow of the formation of the NDF Government. All the same, non-capitalist path remains the path of national democracy.

The meaning that some comrades from the "Left" read into 'national democracy' is not really warranted. And sometimes, the vehemence of their rejection of the slogan is sought to be matched by equally vehement assertion from the opposite end.

In my view, we should be mainly concerned with and try to deeply comprehend (instead of getting the Party bogged in certain slogans) *the class content* of the National Democratic Front, *its revolutionary significance* and, above all, *how to build it* avoiding both sectarianism and right-opportunism. The victorious NDF will form its Government and then proceed to reform and reorganise the State in a fundamental way. But is it necessary to force an ABSTRACT debate on the description of State just at this moment?

Possibilities of the Present State System

Neither the present State system nor the present Constitution has exhausted its possibilities for the country's democratic movement. It is not merely a question of how we Communists think and feel about the State and Constitution. We have to take into account how the masses and broad democratic elements view

them. Many, in fact, cherish the Constitution and the present parliamentary system. We can still use—I venture to say—many declarations and provisions of the present Constitution to give it—(i) radical and popular substance, (ii) to fight for people's rights and interest and thus (iii) facilitate the broadest possible unity of democratic forces including progressive Congressmen and others who have deep loyalties to the Constitution and present State system. Further, it may so happen that we are faced with a situation in the country when the defence of even this very Constitution and the present State system (parliamentary democracy in particular) against the rightist onslaughts may assume supreme urgency. Are we in such a situation going to assert the slogan of 'the state of national democracy'? There is no need to be in a hurry about issuing a slogan of this kind. In this respect, our past experience has not been encouraging. Let us not forget that our fight over the Kerala issue in 1959 became most broad-based and effective because, among other things, we wisely raised the issue of the Constitution and gave the call for its defence.

Let us first defend the gains of the democratic movement and the positive features of the Constitution (they will now be increasingly subject to open or covert subversion), build up a broad national democratic front—and win victory of the Front to form a Government of the Front. In this context, we will naturally have to popularise the concrete programme of that Government, including the tasks to be carried out in the sphere of the State.

We can defer the decision as to the exact form and description of the State to a later date. And there is no need to engage at this moment in a controversy as to under what *state form* (Lenin spoke of a variety of forms...) exactly socialism will come. Once we are clear and firm on the fundamentals, we can leave this question of form to be decided by life itself. Nothing will have been lost by this.

Appendix (iii)

Two Programmes—Marxist and Revisionist

B. T. Ranadive

1. Two Class Objectives

Within a few days of the Calcutta Congress* of the Communist Party adopting its Programme, the revisionist Dange group adopted its Programme in its Bombay session. A party that calls itself a Marxist Party places great importance on its Programme. Unlike other parties, a Marxist Party does not change its Programme every year. For the Programme of a Marxist Party is a programme for an entire epoch of the revolution. The analysis, demands, united front, class alliances and their political objective—a new state—all these have their importance during that entire epoch of the revolution. This objective, this class analysis, etc., do not change everyday. What change are the daily tactics. That is why the Programme of a Marxist Party is looked upon as its basic document for the entire epoch of the revolution.

The revisionist group, by declaring its Programme, has only come out announcing its complete divorce from Marxism-Leninism. A comparison of the two Programmes—ours with theirs—will make this abundantly clear. Not only this, such a comparison will also lay bare the fact that the basic difference

*422 Delegates representing 1,04,421 Party members from all over the country participated in the seventh Congress held in Calcutta and they represented 60% of the total membership existing on the rolls at the time of the Sixth Party Congress held in Vijayawada in 1961. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was thus formed in the Seventh Party Congress.

between the Communist Party and the opportunist lot centred on internal political questions. No matter how hoarse they shout that the split in the Columnist Party was on the issue of the India-China dispute, a look at the two Programmes will make clear how the revisionists are out to press forward their pro-Congress and pro-Congress Government policies, if only to betray the people's revolution.

What is the central objective of our Programme?

"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." (Para 92)

The Central point of our Programme thus is the ending of the class rule of the bourgeois-landlord class and replacing it by People's Democratic rule under the leadership of the working class.

Naturally, we have made it clear that the first stage of our revolution will be anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly capital and democratic. Only after it has completed this stage will it turn on to the road to the socialist revolution.

Why do we demand the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord class state? We do it because so long as the big bourgeoisie, which is in alliance with the feudal interests, is not dislodged from the state and replaced by working class leadership, none of the basic goals of the revolution can be fulfilled, namely, the carrying out of basic radical agrarian reforms in the genuine interest of the peasantry, the ending of the grip of foreign capital, the liberation of the people from the path of capitalist exploitation or the growing power of monopoly capital.

It is the big bourgeoisie leading this state and the government that are out for a compromise with imperialism and feudalism. It is they alone who are out to develop capitalism and launch attacks on democracy by leaving the field clear for the monopolists. That is why it is essential to replace its rule by People's Democratic rule led by the working class, if the democratic revolution is to

be successful. This will be accepted by everyone who has not turned his back on Marxism. For, that is the only road for the completion of the democratic revolution.

One would think that at least on this question there should be no difference of opinion. What is wrong if we work for the replacement of the present state led by the big bourgeoisie, by a People's Democratic state led by the working class, a state in which the decisive positions are held by the peasantry and the other oppressed sections like the middle classes? Which honest worker or peasant can ever oppose this? Which Marxist can ever oppose this?

But it is precisely against this concept that the revisionists who call themselves Marxists have launched their attacks and come out with their opposition. To begin with, they have made it clear that theirs is not the People's Democratic Revolution. They call their revolution the National Democratic Revolution. Of course, they put out an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly programme and announce it as their National Democratic Revolution.

Is the difference then only in the name? No. The difference is basic. They do not accept the need for working class leadership to complete the revolution. More, they just do not at all accept that the new state—the state to be established on the morrow of the successful revolution—will have to be a state led by the working class. According to them, the objective of their revolution is the establishment of a state under the joint leadership of the bourgeoisie and the working class.

They write, "The National Democratic state in the hands of the National Democratic Front will be a transitional stage in which power will be jointly exercised by all those classes which are interested in eradicating imperialist interests, routing the semi-feudal elements and breaking the power of monopolists. In this class alliance, the exclusive leadership of the working class is not established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists." (Para 82)

In the following para, however, they have solemnly assured their ranks about the ever-growing importance of the working class in the new state, if only because their National Democratic

Front is based on a worker-peasant alliance.

But the main question remains. That is, that the Government and the state, to be formed after the victory of the democratic revolution, will not be under the leadership of the working class. Of course, they have also added that this new state will not be under the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie either, which means the new state will be under a joint bourgeois-working class leadership.

Till date, these so-called Marxists have, under one form or another, consistently opposed the leadership of the working class in the revolution. It was Lenin who taught that the modern democratic revolution cannot be led to success except under the leadership of the working class and unless it brings into being a state led by the working class. The Indian revisionists have openly flouted this great teaching and are walking in the footsteps of the Mensheviks of Lenin's days.

They are out for class collaboration between the bourgeoisie and the working class during the period of the democratic revolution and then to sabotage and betray that revolution. While thus shamelessly advocating the cause of bourgeois leadership, however, they put on airs as if they are offering the working class a mighty gift, keeping it ever obliged unto them! Look, they say, today it is the bourgeoisie alone that leads the state. What we are going to do is to replace it by working class leadership. Does this not mean progress? In fact, we are compelling the bourgeoisie to share power with the working class!

How can their revolution, whose basic objective itself is to offer leadership to the bourgeoisie, ever achieve anything at all? The basic tasks of the revolution, namely, the complete liquidation of imperialism and feudalism and freeing the people from the grip of monopoly capital and the capitalist path—tasks that have been put forth by the revisionists also in their Programme—can these tasks be achieved if the new state offers leadership to the bourgeoisie in common with the working class?

Which section of the Indian bourgeoisie is today so revolutionary as to be in the vanguard of the democratic revolution along with the working class, as will take the lead in

completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of the revolution through the new state? But so infatuated have our revisionists become with the bourgeoisie that they look upon them as being as revolutionary as the working class and the peasantry and, therefore, insist on their having a share in the leadership of the new state to be formed on the morrow of the revolution.

This offer of leadership to the *bourgeoisie* can most certainly lead to nothing but the betrayal of the revolution. It is obvious that if this exploiting class, a class that has been taking a vacillating stand in the anti-imperialist struggle and compromising with feudalism, a class which is having ever-growing clashes with the working class and the peasantry, is kept in leadership, it will not stop at anything to achieve its class aims and smash the democratic revolution.

This is the meaning of their joint leadership. Its only meaning is to offer one more opportunity to the bourgeoisie to sabotage and smash the democratic revolution which has been led to victory by the working class, peasantry and the middle classes, all at the sacrifice of their own blood. This is certainly not progress but a setback.

We also say that a section of the national bourgeoisie—the non-monopoly section that is without any links with imperialism—may offer its support to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist struggle, and in that case it has a place in the People's Democratic Front. For it is likely that their interest may growingly clash with those of imperialism and feudalism and to the extent that they thus clash, the class will be inclined to support the basic struggle.

Our Programme has stated : "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 contradictions 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 Indian big monopolists and foreign imperialists, it is unstable and exhibits extreme vacillation between the imperialists and their Indian big bourgeois accomplices on the one hand and the People's Democratic Front on the other. Owing to its dual nature, its participation in the revolution depends on a number of concrete conditions, on changes in the correlation of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and 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.

"Every effort must be made to win them to the democratic front and by a diligent and concrete study of their problems no opportunity should be lost by the working class to render them support in all their struggles against both the Indian monopolists and foreign imperialist competitions." (Paras 106 and 107)

Because of its vacillating policy, it is not certain how far it will consistently remain in the anti-imperialist struggle till the end. But such a possibility is there and if it so remains in the struggle, it has a place in the new state. It, however, can never have a leading position. The driving forces in the new state are the people and their main sections, the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class. It is thanks to this leadership and backed as it is by the major forces, that is, the democratic forces that the democratic revolution is completed, imperialism and feudalism are routed, the grip of monopoly is broken and the revolution goes forward to socialism.

Basing themselves on the only premise that a section of the national bourgeoisie may take an anti-imperialist stand, the

revisionists attempt to give a place to them in the new leadership and reveal themselves as the faithful agents of the Indian bourgeoisie. By this device or that, they are somehow out to instal the bourgeoisie in the leadership of the working class and peasantry, ending only in the betrayal of the democratic revolution or in any case in helping the bourgeoisie to achieve that ends. Is it not out-and-out treachery to the revolution to place this class in the leadership of the new state, precisely when it is known that the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution can never be led to completion unless the vacillating policies of this class are routed in open struggle?

It is precisely here that we find the basic differences between our People's Democratic State and their National Democratic State.

The place of each class and each section of the people in the new state of the People's Democracy is determined by the extent of its participation in the democratic revolution. The working class alone is in the vanguard of the revolution, while the peasantry and the other exploited classes like the middle class etc. play a vital and decisive role in the revolution. Hence the leadership of the working class and the decisive majority of these classes in the new state.

Only to the extent that a section of the national bourgeoisie stands firmly till the end of the revolution, can it have a place in it. Its vacillating position in the revolutionary struggle, however, denies it a decisive voice in the new state and it certainly can never have the leading position.

As against this, in the state of the National Democratic Front as advocated by the revisionists, the bourgeoisie has a decisive place, on par with the working class. The national bourgeoisie continues to remain so powerful that even after the revolution, it has its decisive voice in the new state along with the working class. Under no circumstances can the people be freed from the leadership of the bourgeoisie even after their so-called revolution. What, in reality, is the people's share in the new state, even according to the revisionists, after the success of their National Democratic Revolution? Can the working class, sharing power

with the bourgeoisie, lead its programme to success through this new state? Far from it. On the contrary, it has to go once again through another national democratic struggle for the realization of its demands.

Their Programme states : “Such a state including patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie *acting under the constant pressure of the national movement from below*, will be forced to act unitedly and *implement the programme of national development* in a non-capitalist way..... (Para 82—emphasis added).

In other words, even after their so-called revolution, the working class and the peasantry are once again forced to resort to the pressure of mass movement. So weak and tenuous is their grip over the state and the administration that they are once again compelled to resort to a nation-wide mass movement. One does not require now to prove how under their joint leadership, the real state power continues to be in the grip of the national bourgeoisie. That precisely is the meaning of their National Democracy.

What are these men to be called? Revolutionaries or the paid agents of the bourgeoisie? What a pathetic faith in the bourgeoisie! Offering a share in the leadership of the state to the bourgeoisie means nothing else than expecting them to fight shoulder to shoulder with the working class and peasantry in the revolutionary struggle, expecting them to lead it. If that were not so, how can the bourgeoisie share in the leadership of the new state after the revolution? Amazing indeed, is this new contribution of our revisionists, that in the modern democratic revolution also, the bourgeoisie will have its share of leadership!

What their contribution amounts to is that throughout this revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie will continue to be in the leadership. Whatever their yarns about the working class and the peasantry fighting the main battles, about the revolution resting for its main support on the worker-peasant alliance, the fact remains that nowhere in their Programme do they accept or even mention that this struggle, this revolution will be under the leadership of the working class alone.

For, were they to accept it, then the question of offering

leadership to the bourgeoisie in the new state just does not arise; no matter how loudly you profess your love for the workers and peasants, they will never be liberated this way from the bourgeois grip. In other words, their struggles and their revolution can march only up to the point where the bourgeoisie will permit it and not one step beyond it, which means simply that the democratic revolution will never be completed.

It will now be clear why these men chose to split the Communist Party. When they realized that it was impossible any more to secure acceptance from the Party ranks of their treacherous outlook, straight they went in for splitting the Party. No wonder, their services were highly appreciated and lauded as “national” by Nanda and others and by the national bourgeoisie.

Its reality, the reformists in the Party had put forth their slogan of a ‘National Democratic Front’ and a ‘joint Government of National Democracy’ as early as at the Palghat Party Congress. Then they were completely routed. Today, the revisionists have again returned to the charge and have based their Programme on these very same slogans.

Establishing the People’s Democratic State under the leadership of the working class to complete the democratic revolution and prepare the preconditions of socialism, or betraying the democratic revolution by offering the bourgeoisie a share in the leadership in the name of National Democratic State—it is on this that the differences between the Communist Party and the revisionists are centred.

2. Character of the State

The second vital difference of opinion between the Communist Party and the revisionists is centred on the character of the present state and Government. Because the revisionists do not want to replace the present bourgeois-landlord state led by the bourgeoisie, their class analysis of it leads them to characterize it as being not under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, with the landlords not having any place in the state. By this they aim at only making certain changes in the present Government. They insist on holding that it is wrong to ask for its complete removal.

What is our approach to this in our Programme? We hold that "The present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, led by the big bourgeoisie who are increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital in pursuit of the capitalist path of development." (Para 56)

Because the landlords have a place in the state, it is imperative that power is wrested from their hands and this state abolished, if the anti-feudal revolution is to be led to completion. Because the leadership of the State is in the hands of the big bourgeoisie who are increasingly collaborating with imperialism, it is imperative that power must be wrested from their hands and this state abolished, if the anti-imperialist revolution is to be led to completion. Because the bourgeoisie and landlords share power in the state, this state, which is based on their alliance, has to be smashed, if the anti-feudal, democratic revolution has to be led to completion. We hold it absolutely essential to dislodge this state of this alliance, if we put an end to the predatory exploitation of the working class and people as a result of the capitalist path of development that it is pursuing, and if we are to beat back the growing attacks of the present state on the democratic rights of the people and to extend their democratic rights.

The central theme of our Programme is to give battle against the present state and its Government and to replace this state and Government by a state of the People's Democracy.

The Communist Party of India stands by its undying confidence in socialism and Communism. We firmly hold that the democratic revolution will be quickly followed by the preparation for socialism and that the working class is capable of leading the people on the road to socialism. It is obvious that it can build up socialism only by transferring the basic means of production into the property of the state. The guiding principle during the first phase of socialism is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; while in the second, the higher phase of Communism, it will be "from each according to his ability to each, according to his needs". It is just unthinkable that such a society, free from all exploitation, can ever be built up by a state

under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and landlords. That is possible only under a state led by the working class.

That then is our objective. We have to march along that road after completing the stage of the democratic revolution and not before that. The main objective of this vital phase, namely, the completion of the democratic revolution,—is the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord Government by the People's Democratic Government based on worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class.

Our Programme further states: "It is evident that without dislodging the present big bourgeois leadership which has allied itself 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 interest of the peasantry can be carried out, which alone can ensure enough food for our starving people, adequate raw material and expanding markets for our industrial goods and surplus capital formation for the country's development.

"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 and collaborating with foreign imperialist capital continues to rule. To uproot and summarily expel the foreign monopoly capital from the 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."

And further, "Above all, it becomes increasingly evident to one and all that until and unless the present Government with its anti-people policies is rejected and decisively defeated and is replaced by an alternative Government with alternative democratic policies, it is neither possible for our people to escape the tortuous path of capitalist development which is historically outmoded, nor liberate our people from the clutches of growing monopoly capitalism, a phenomenon that inevitably arises out of such a path of development". (Paras 93, 94, 95).

The main theme of our struggle is the replacement, through the present revolutionary struggle, of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords and hand over power, in the main, to the exploited classes. Towards this end we draw two conclusions :

1. This state and its Government are the organs of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords led by the big bourgeoisie. The big bourgeoisie are increasingly collaborating with foreign finance capital in pursuit of the capitalist path of development.

2. Without replacing the Government by a People's Democratic Government led by the working class, it is impossible to complete the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly-capital revolution.

The revisionists hold, "The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole which upholds and develops capitalism and capitalist relationship of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India.

"In the formation and exercise of Governmental power, the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence."

"The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admits them in ministries and Governmental composition, especially at the State levels, which allows them to hamper the adoption and implementation of laws and measures of land reforms and further enables them to secure concessions at the cost of the peasantry." (Para 46)

Here stands out sharply the distinction between the revisionists and ourselves. It shows how the revisionists hold the brief and plead the case for the bourgeois state and its Government.

Apparently the revisionists feel that they can easily fool all by just calling the present state the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie, that they can impress the people by this mighty revolutionary terminology and that they can easily fool the ordinary workers by its use.

What does a comparison of their analysis with ours reveals? According to them, the present state is the organ of the class rule of only the national bourgeoisie. We hold that it is the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

According to them, this bourgeois Government has offered

some ministries to the landlords in their administration, and that whatever compromise is there is thus far and no further! There is no compromise in the state form but only in the day-to-day administration, out of which all that the landlord class secures is a chance to create impediments in the path of progressive legislations.

We hold that it is in the state form that the two classes share power and not just in the day-to-day administration and that, therefore, it is just not the purpose of their legislation the completely liberate the peasantry from the feudal and semi-feudal shackles. Rather, this Government is out to complete the programme of capitalist development by the co-operation of the landlord class and the rich peasants, and by keeping the overwhelming mass of the peasantry under their oppression.

According to the revisionists, this is a state of the national bourgeoisie as a whole; only in the formation and exercise of Governmental power the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence. This influence, however, is limited only to the administration and does not extend so much to the state.

We hold that both the state and the Government belong to the bourgeois-landlord class, that they are led by the big bourgeoisie and that the big bourgeoisie are increasingly collaborating with imperialism.

In other words, the present state, according to the revisionists, is absolutely pure and innocent, has no place in it for the landlord class, nor is it led by the big bourgeoisie.

What this amounts to is that in the present stage of the revolution it is wrong to attack this state and demand its replacement. The argument is—the present revolution is an anti-feudal revolution and if that is so, what is the point in attacking the state which offers no quarter to feudalism? Is it not better instead to seek its cooperation? To state that the landlord class has no share in the state is tantamount to saying that this state is not so anti-peasantry after all; rather it is pro-peasantry. Because the present struggle is still anti-feudal, the landlord class has no share in the revolution, etc.! Our revisionists have thus offered a special certificate to the state holding that it is not so anti-peasantry after all.

Similarly, the revisionists also do not hold that the state is led by the big bourgeoisie. They do not even hold the state to be under the influence of the big bourgeoisie. All that they are prepared to concede is that this state is a state of the national bourgeoisie! This is nothing but an effort to hold the brief for the present bourgeois-landlord Government and to throw dust into the eyes of the people.

Acceptance of the position that this state is led by the big bourgeoisie inevitably leads you to accept the need to defeat this state and to replace it by a state with a different class content. It is obvious that the big bourgeoisie are daily flirting more and more and having increasing collaboration with imperialism. Maintaining their alliance with the landlords and offering wider scope to the monopolists, they are imposing the capitalist path on the people. It is, therefore, inevitable that the democratic revolution completely and thoroughly replaces the state led by them.

But when the revisionists do not want to achieve this end, what should they do? Because they do not want to do it, they put out their theory that the big bourgeoisie do not lead this state nor even that they influence it.

All that they want to say is that the leadership of the state is mainly with the anti-imperialist section of the bourgeoisie. There is, therefore, no question of leading an assault on this state in the present anti-imperialist stage of the revolution. Rather they imply that we must seek its cooperation.

The experience of the last eighteen years has amply taught the working class and the peasantry that the landlords share power in this state; that the big bourgeoisie is leading it, so as to flirt with imperialism, maintain its alliance with the landlord class and force the capitalist path on the people. The last eighteen years have seen vast import of foreign monopoly capital into the country; in fact it has become now a basic policy of the state; planning has been utilized to foist capitalism on the people, agrarian legislation has played havoc with the peasantry and forced starvation on the masses of the people. What is all this due to? Is it due to the absence of landlords in the state or to the fact that it is mainly in

the hands of the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie or to the fact that the big bourgeoisie does not lead it? But no matter what the reality is, our revisionists must turn their back on it and give its laudatory certificate to the present state, viz. that this state is free from the influence of the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, that it is not under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie and so on and so forth. Their aim is simple : they do not want the democratic revolution to lead an assault on the state and demand its total replacement.

In spite of all this, however, our revisionists are forced to admit at least the existence of landlords in the present Government and the influence of the big bourgeoisie on it.

For, they know that they cannot fool the workers and peasants by maintaining that the landlord class has no place in the present Government or that it is not led by the big bourgeoisie.

But how delicately and tenderly they put forth this position! For, who knows, that might suddenly infuriate the national bourgeoisie! And so they put it out in the most delicate manner.

“In the formation and exercise of governmental power the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence.” How delicately put!

A Government that dances to every tune of the big bourgeoisie, which massacres workers to serve their interests, which does not hesitate to turn and twist even a simple bonus legislation, which turns and twists its foreign policy as suits its interests, which rushes to secure U. S. military aid under the plea of the India-China dispute and which, in subservience to this aid, refuses to utter one syllable against the movements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, which adopts a policy as suits the imperialists in relation to North Vietnam, which goes in for capital formation in the country at the cost of incredible price-rise, which artificially creates a food scarcity in the country by driving out millions of peasants in the name of land reforms—is such a Government not led by the big bourgeoisie? Is it not sharing power with the landlord class?

There is not a shadow of doubt that the landlord class does share power in the Government and that it is led by the big

bourgeoisie. But the revisionists are out to cover and hide this reality and that is why they use such terms as the big bourgeoisie only yielding influence over it : in a similar vein they maintain that the landlords only hold certain positions in the ministries. The idea is that the people should thus accept that the Government is progressive, even if there are some bad elements in it and even if sometimes it goes under the influence of the big bourgeoisie.

What are their political conclusions out of this? They are that during the democratic revolution, it will be wrong to concentrate fire on this Government and to demand its liquidation. On the contrary since the Government includes only some landlord ministers, since it only sometimes yields to the influence of the big bourgeoisie, the central task of the democratic revolution, according to them, will be to demand the expulsion from the ministries of just these landlord ministers and to make the Government more progressive releasing it from the influence of the big bourgeoisie.

The concentration of the main fire of the struggle, therefore, has to be not against the Government but against the other reactionary forces—inside the Government and outside it. Such is their central tactics. Their scheme is not to change the Government in a thoroughgoing manner but to retain the leadership of the bourgeoisie in the Government, while simultaneously getting the working class involved in it. Naturally, they hold up the carrot before the working class, viz., that it would be sharing the leadership of the state, that it would be enjoying governmental powers on par with the bourgeoisie and completing the programme of the revolution, taking the bourgeoisie along with it. We have already seen how deceptive this joint leadership business has been.

The following extract will show how the revisionists have given up all anti-Government struggles. "As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of rising tempo of the mass movement, it defeats the forces of reaction inside and outside the ruling party and comes to the position of taking governmental power into its own hands." (Para 80).

Who has been defeated here? Not the present bourgeois landlord Government, not the Congress Government, but some bad elements, just the reactionaries inside and outside the Congress party! The Government of the National Democratic Front is to be formed by defeating these reactionary elements and by taking the others along with the working class.

It is an attempt not for the liquidation of the bourgeois-landlord Government, but for co-operation with it, for retaining a large section of it inside the leadership. The main attack once again here is on the “reactionaries” inside and outside the Congress and not against the entire Government of the bourgeois-landlord classes. There is no demand for its thorough displacement.

All that this policy amounts to is : “Remove Morarji and Patil” and “Support Shastri and Nanda”. Give them all your cooperation and work for joining their Government. The revisionists want to achieve this objective making use of the working class.

The following paragraph will make this deceptive policy absolutely clear : “As a result of our experience for the last ten years of democratic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world Communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present Government and of its role in building an independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peace, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy.” (Para 80).

What outright deception! Whenever it suits the aims of these pro-Congress revisionists to don the garb of militancy, they describe the economic policies of the government as “the bankrupt path of capitalist development”. Now, when they want to flirt with this Government and come out with their real policy, they describe this very same bankrupt path as “building an independent national economy” and use that characterization to make a new evaluation of this Government.

What other excuse have they found out for this new evaluation? "Maintaining a certain measure of democracy." Even shamelessness should have certain limits! A Government which under the excuse of Emergency came out with the Defence of India Act, put hundreds of Communists behind the bars, unleashed vicious attacks on the people's struggle and abolished all fundamental rights of the people, such a Government is being praised for its "democracy" and is being newly evaluated. Will it be unfair to brand these men as shameless agents of the Congress?

Besides, what do these very men talk about this very democracy in their own Programme? Under the mask of militancy they write: "It must, however, be noted, that although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, 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 in favour of the exploiting classes. 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 Preventive Detention Act and the DIR are used against democratic forces. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against the workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights and demands in a resolute manner." (Para 47).

Congress democracy with its particularly brutal violence, which the revisionists have thus described themselves, is now being utilized to bless the Congress Government and to make a new evaluation. If you must have family relations with the Congress, could you, gentlemen, not have found out another excuse for it? The revisionists have now come out openly with their policy of support to the Congress Government in the name of just that democracy whose bitter fruits are being daily tasted by our people.

Does the character of the bourgeois-landlord Government change merely because you choose to call their bankrupt capitalist

path the building of an independent national economy, or their use of lathi, firings and mass arrests the rule of democracy? Can your labels change the Congress Government at all? But the revisionists believe that mere juggling with words will throw dust in the eyes of the people.

What new evaluation have they reached through this jugglery? The old Programme of the Communist Party of India had characterized this Government as a Government based on the alliance of the bourgeoisie and the landlords under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie. The revisionists, however, enamoured as they are by this Congress type of democracy and overwhelmed by its independent national economy, have now decided to call it a Government of the national bourgeoisie. They see no share in the power by the landlord class nor the leadership of the big bourgeoisie over it. What next? They say : "Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks, even crises in economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of the reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance with feudal elements and foreign monopoly subvert the national policies and set back the clock of progress." (Para 80).

Are we then to build up a struggle against this Government which offers all this growing scope to the reactionary forces, and which introduces economic crisis and deadlock in our economy? Are we to replace this Government by a Government with a different class content? Oh, no! According to our revisionists, our Government is not in the least to blame for all these economic crises, deadlock, etc. The blame lies entirely and only at the doors of the reactionaries and the monopolists and hence our task is to wage a battle just against these monopolists, the remnants of feudalism, the pro-imperialist elements, etc., and defend the national policies of this Government!

Referring to the developments referred to above, such as the economic deadlock, etc. they say : "This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working

class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful National Democratic Front to defeat reaction and to take the country away from the present bankrupt path of capitalist development to the path of completing the alternative anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and to break the power of the monopoly groups?" (Para 80).

There you see in a nutshell the utter bankruptcy of the revisionists. Occasionally, in the course of their analysis, they have described the miseries of the people, thundered about the need for a struggle, indeed, have almost threatened to lead the revolution against all this! But then, there it ends; here they come out in their true colours. In no case do they want to lead the main battle against the bourgeois-landlord Government or to replace it by the rule of the people.

Here they advocate their National Democratic Front and talk big about accepting the challenge! Very good, gentlemen! But whose challenge? Front against whom? Is your front against the bourgeois-landlord Government? Is it directed against the Government, against its reactionary policies which have imposed the bankrupt capitalist path on the people, which has maintained its alliance with the feudal landlords and given free reins to imperialist capital to enter our economy, or whose policies are only leading to a closer grip of the monopolists on our economy? Not in the least! The challenge comes only from the reactionaries! The National Democratic Front is aimed only against the reactionaries and the pro-imperialists and pro-feudal elements. If there be any of these elements inside the Government, by all means fight against them. But the Front is certainly not against the Government! You will be searching in vain for any mention of the bourgeois-landlord Government in all this mighty thunder of this Front and all its challenges. There is not a word in it of the need for a struggle against this Government. Rather the aim is to create the impression that the imposition of the capitalist

path on the country is not the work of the Government but of a handful of reactionaries!! And so, the call goes forth : Fight against them only! Of course, in between there is a sprinkling of the democratic revolution, but that is only to fool the people, to see that their struggles are not directed against the Government.

And why all this change, why indeed this front? It is only to battle against those monopolists, etc., who are out to subvert the “national policies” of this Government. In brief, to defend the policies of the Government, to defend the Government itself.

We also call for a relentless struggle to rout all the secret agents of imperialism, the monopolists, the defenders of feudal interests and the like. Everytime these elements try to turn the governmental policies into more reactionary channels or lead an assault against the progressive aspects of these policies, we have to beat back these attempts. We must totally root out from among the people those reactionary parties that advocate India’s joining the U.S. imperialist camp.

At the same time, however, we hold that our main struggle for power is directed against the bourgeois-landlord Government; that it cannot be completed till we have finally defeated this Government, nor can the reactionaries be completely routed unless the Government is dislodged. For, it is these very policies of this Government that nurture and encourage the pro-imperialist, pro-feudal elements. By raising a scare about the reactionaries, by creating a hobgoblin out of them, our revisionists insist that the people concentrate their main fire not on changing the Government, but against the reactionaries only. As an alternative, they desire the retention of the present Government, if necessary, after eliminating some of the bad elements. That is why, their National Democratic Front is not directed against the bourgeois-landlord Government, but only against the handful of reactionaries. That is why they wish to include a majority of the Congress Government in their Front.

Something more. They even suggest that their National Front should back and support the Government policies. While opposing the reactionary groups, for instance, their charge is that these groups are out to subvert the “national policies” of this

Government. Whose national policies? Are the policies of this Government national policies or are they class policies? The foreign policies of the Government are also daily becoming more and more vacillating bearing more and more the imprint of opportunism and reaction, while the internal policies are daily tightening more and more the noose around the neck of the people. Where then is their national policy and which policy are you going to defend? True, the reactionaries will strain every effort to turn even these policies into more reactionary channels. But that does not make the present Governmental policies national, nor does it raise the question of your accepting that challenge.

Who was it that imposed the bankrupt capitalist path on the people? Who was it that offered all those concessions and facilities to the imperialists and the feudalists? Was it this Government, or was it the handful of monopolists? Then which "national policy" of this Government is this Front out to champion? Obviously, for this reason or that, they are out to support just these policies. For, simply call the bankrupt capitalist path the independent development of national economy and you clear the path for every such support. Is it not?

The tactics laid down by the revisionists make it abundantly clear that their National Democratic Front is directed not against the bourgeois-landlord Government, but only against the handful of reactionaries. Its objective is not the dislodging of the present Government, but rather defending its "national policies". Its objective is not to defeat the basically anti-people policies of the Government, but rather to beat back the attacks launched by the reactionaries against these policies. It is just unthinkable for them to dislodge the present bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie and to replace it by a Government of People's Democracy. No matter what revolutionary programme they put up, what is this tinsel worth if these gentlemen are basically opposed to dislodging the present bourgeois-landlord Government?

The revisionists refuse to lead the battle for power against the class Government of the bourgeoisie and landlords. They are out

to achieve their National Democratic “Revolution” by preserving intact this Government, in one form or another.

On the contrary, the Communist Party totally rejects such a bogus “revolution”. It knows and holds firmly by the view that the democratic revolution can never be led to completion unless and until the People’s Democratic Front dislodges the present bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie and replaces it by the Government of People’s Democracy.

Such are the fundamental differences between us and the revisionists on the question of the present Government.

The real meaning of the class analysis of the Government and the state made by the revisionists will now be clear. If this analysis is that this state and this Government are of the national bourgeoisie, that the landlord has no share in it, and that the big bourgeoisie does not lead it, it is only an excuse for their loyalty to the Government. It has no basis in reality whatsoever. This analysis only helps them to fool their ranks and tie them to the chariot-wheel of the big bourgeoisie.

The recent Kerala elections laid bare the real face of the “anti-reactionary” democratic front of the revisionists. Under the garb of fighting the communalists and the reactionary forces, they disrupted the front against the ruling Congress party and prevented the Left progressive forces from achieving a decisive majority in the Kerala Assembly. Massing an array of facts and figures, E.M.S. Namboodiripad has nailed down how, but for this disruption practised by the revisionists, Kerala would have unmistakably seen the victory of the popular and progressive forces. The people of Kerala taught the revisionists the lesson of their lives for all their foul and treacherous policies, when over sixty of their candidates lost their deposits. But how does it at all matter to the revisionists? They pat themselves on the back for their services in saving the Congress and preventing its defeat, thanks to their disruption, shamelessly parade their Kerala line as the only correct line.

The main battle in Kerala was for the defeat of the Congress. It was in the vital interests of democracy that the progressive front inflicted a crushing defeat on the Congress. It was also in

the vital interests of the people of Kerala to put an end to the Congress monopoly of power. Whatever happened, there was not the slightest chance of either the Muslim League or any other reactionary party getting a majority in the elections. The Communist Party, therefore, concentrated all its energies on defeating the Congress and building up the progressive front, to lead the main battle against the Congress.

Simultaneously, the Communist Party put up its own candidates against those of the Muslim League in the latter's very strongholds, and defeated a good number of League candidates. While working for this end, the Communist Party, in order to ensure the defeat of the Congress, entered into an understanding regarding three seats in Malabar, with some Independents inclined towards the League, knowing well that these three candidates were later likely to join the League. This was enough of an excuse for the revisionists to break away from the front and prevent a complete rout of the Congress.

Not a single League candidate could they defeat by their "anti-reactionary" policies. The Communist Party won over forty seats as against a bare three won by the revisionists. All that they succeeded in achieving was to disrupt the progressive front, preventing the Left forces from securing an assured majority of seats and saving the Congress from a thorough rout.

Such was their love for democracy that throughout these elections they could hardly launch any campaign to they have themselves admitted in their self-criticism. How can these men, who refuse to campaign against the Congress condemn the mass arrests of Communists in Kerala, a fact Government which imprisons such outstanding leaders of the people of Kerala as A. K. Gopalan, be called democrats? Such is the national front of the revisionists. In the final analysis, under the false plea of opposing the reactionaries, it only ends by stabilizing the Congress regime.

3. People's Democratic Front and National Democratic Front

For us, Communists, the central task of the revolution is to

build up the People's Democratic Front to be able to dislodge the bourgeois-landlord Government headed by the big bourgeoisie.

The revisionists, too, attach a similar importance to their National Democratic Front in their so-called revolution.

What is the difference between the two? In explaining the building up of our People's Democratic Front we put forth the following line.

The basic tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be completed except by waging a decisive battle against the bourgeoisie and their political representatives in leading positions inside the state. The People's Democratic Revolution is certainly based on its opposition to feudalism and imperialism. At the same time, however, it is also totally opposed to the big bourgeoisie who are leading the state, and foreign monopoly capital.

"Naturally, under these conditions the People's Democratic Revolution inevitably comes into clash with the state power of the big bourgeoisie in India." That is why the character of this People's Democratic Front is different from the National United Front of the days of the British imperialist rule. The edge of the Front and the struggles led by it in those days were directed against British imperialism and feudalism, as much as against the state led by the big bourgeoisie.

We further hold that such a PDF can be successfully built and the revolution led to success only under the leadership of the Indian working class and its political party, the Communist Party. No other class is capable of wielding this responsibility of leading the revolution. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is given the highest importance, indeed the central position, inside our Front.

"The core and the basis of the PDF is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. It is this alliance that constitutes the most important force in defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformation and ensuring all-round social progress." (Para 101)

Our struggle relies mainly on the firm alliance of these two main sections of our people. It is this alliance, indeed, that is the

most powerful driving force of our revolution. Not only this, it is the only force that can draw the other vacillating classes inside the Front and stabilize them.

“Further, it should be noted that the extent to which the different sections of the national bourgeoisie participate in carrying out the anti-feudal, 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.” (Para 101)

On the strength of this worker-peasant alliance alone will depend to what extent what sections of the bourgeoisie participate in the democratic revolution. Such is the all round importance that we attach to the worker-peasant alliance. That is why we attach such vital importance to the struggles and organization of these classes. That is why this alliance holds the position of highest political importance inside the Front. In fact, it is this alliance that is the main strength of the Front.

Which are the other sections which will participate in the Front? The other sections that will, equally firmly with the working class, participate in it are the sections of the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers. Seventy per cent of our rural population consists of these two sections. The worst exploited and, therefore, the nearest to the working class, these sections are the chief allies of the working class. The middle peasant, too, subjected as he is to intense exploitation at the hands of the usurers, the feudal elements, the capital market and the capitalist landlords, becomes the reliable ally of the working class.

The position of the rich peasants is somewhat different. It is they who have benefited the most under the land reform legislation of the Congress. Their interests come into clash with those of the agricultural labourers and, besides, they aim at becoming capitalist farmers. Even then they are harassed many a time by the governmental policies of price-increase and increase in taxation, as also by the ever-rising prices of industrial goods. Often they are not spared from the blows inflicted by the

capitalist market and are compelled to oppose the governmental policies which help the monopolists and the traders. It is, therefore, possible to bring this section, too, inside the Front and retain it there.

Conscious of the existence of different strata inside the peasantry, we assess their political importance accordingly and to that extent rely on them in the fulfilment of the tasks of the Front. Our main strength and support rests on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry. This most oppressed and utterly pauperised section in the countryside is the closest to the working class. The middle peasant is a small property-holder. But such, in general, is his oppression under this exploiting regime that he remains considerably firm in the struggle against this regime.

As against this is the strata of the rich peasantry, which has profited under the land reform legislation of the bourgeois-landlord Government. But this section also is not so immensely rich. It also suffers from the unequal treatment under this regime and is a victim to the ups and downs of the bourgeois market. We take both these factors into account and assess the rich peasant not as a prop of strength, nor even as a firm ally, but as one who can have a place in the Front and remain in it.

This analysis will now make it clear which strata of the peasantry is our main strength, on which strata to depend firmly in the struggle and to work for the retention at least of which strata inside the Front. If we assess all the strata equally, do not make any distinctions between the rich peasants, middle peasants, agricultural labourers and poor peasants, if we lay equal store by all of them, we shall be failing to make effective use of the main forces inside the peasantry, of the main forces of our Front.

Our Front will, in that case, aim at relying on the weak forces, on the vacillating, hesitant forces and will fail to achieve its objective. For instance, what will happen if the Front is built up keeping in view the rich peasantry or only the middle peasantry? We will be excluding from the Front just the main section of our peasantry. If, therefore, we are to complete the democratic revolution, it is essential that we find out which are the main forces of our revolution in the countryside and analyse the

different strata accordingly. Not doing this will only amount to pure opportunism.

An other strata that will participate in the Democratic Front will be that of the urban and other petty-bourgeoisie. Thanks to the capitalist path, they are facing ever-growing exploitation. Haunted as they are by the spectre of unemployment and of rising prices, their standard of living has been steadily falling. Under these conditions, this section, too, takes its place inside the Front as an ally of the working class.

What now remains is the bourgeoisie. What do we say about it? In an underdeveloped country like ours, the interests of the bourgeoisie come into clash with those of imperialism and feudalism. But in the post-independence period, the big and monopoly bourgeoisie utilised their grip over the state to solve these contradictions through compromise, pressure, bargaining and the like. Simultaneous with this they develop close ties with the foreign monopoly capitalists and share power with the landlord class. In their bid to drive a hard bargain with the imperialists and to strengthen their own position, they do not hesitate to seek aid from the socialist countries. Basically anti-people, anti-Communist, this section is a confirmed enemy of the People's Democratic Front and its revolution.

We have seen here how the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists are the confirmed opponents of the democratic revolution. Because they are out to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, they have no place in the Front. On the contrary, they are the enemies of the Front and it is against their state that the Front has to fight its main battle.

Even then the interests of this section come into clash sometimes with those of imperialist. This clash occasionally centres round such issues as war and peace, attitude towards the socialist states, the concessions being given to the foreign monopolists, etc. We fully utilise these contradictions and clashes to strengthen the people's struggles. Without entertaining any illusions about this section, we are ready also to lend our provisional support to any steps taken by the Government, if these are genuinely anti-imperialist and in the interest of the nation.

What do we say about the other sections of the bourgeoisie? As for other extensive sections of the national bourgeoisie whose interests are not tied up with those of foreign monopoly capital and who are not only not monopolists themselves, but rather whose interests are damaged by the monopolists—their objective interests lie in completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution.

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, the contradictions between the foreign monopolists and these sections of the bourgeoisie will grow sharper. As the big bourgeoisie will try to pass the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of these sections, utilising their economic and political power for the purpose, these sections of the bourgeoisie will have to stand up against the present regime and it will then be possible to find them a place in the Front. That is why our efforts should be to bring them in the Front.

We accept the possibility of these sections of the bourgeoisie—other than the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie—securing a place in the Front. But when will that be? Is this section going to join the Front today itself? We hold that this possibility will be created only as their contradictions grow and as their interests continue to be squeezed out by the foreign monopolists and the Indian big bourgeoisie. We entertain no silly illusions about this section being eager today itself to join the struggle against the Government.

On the contrary, we hold that even when such a possibility exists, today in any case this section of the bourgeoisie also is sharing state power with the big bourgeoisie. And further that it entertains fond hopes about achieving its prosperity under this regime itself.

Today this section shares state power with the big bourgeoisie which bargains with imperialism and feudalism and compromises with them. No sooner it finds its hopes, arising out of this sharing of power, crumble down, it will assume a new posture. There is absolutely no sense in going in for a fraternal embrace with them today itself. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind the possibility of its coming forward and keep up our efforts accordingly.

We further hold that even when this section is objectively progressive, its weak class position in opposition to the foreign monopolists and Indian big bourgeoisie leads to its adopting a vacillating stand. It shows tremendous instability and vacillations during the clash between the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie on the one side and the People's Democratic Front on the other.

The extent of its participation in the struggle for the People's Democratic Revolution depends on a number of factors, such as the changing correlation of class forces, the sharpness of the clash of interests between the people and the imperialists and feudalists, as also the sharpness of the contradictions between the bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie and the other sections of the national bourgeoisie.

It is thus that we explain the limitations of this section in its participation in the revolutionary struggle. We do not make revolutionaries out of them overnight merely because they have their contradictions with imperialism, and certainly do not put them on level with the working class and the peasantry.

Following are its limitations that we have noted. Today this section—that is that extensive section of the national bourgeoisie excluding the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists—is sharing power along with the big bourgeoisie and the landlord classes. Only when its contradictions with the big bourgeoisie and the imperialists have sharpened, will it be obliged to stand up against the present regime, and then will arise the possibility of its having a place in the Front.

Even when its contradictions are sharpening, its class position, *vis-a-vis* that of the big bourgeoisie, is weak and hence its vacillating stand. Whether it will take part in the revolution or not will depend upon which class is in the ascendent. Should the People's Democratic Front be marching decisively ahead, relying on a firm worker-peasant alliance, it may find this class stable. Its position depends not on where the interests of the people lie but how far its own interests are affected under the present regime. Besides, it is itself an exploiting class and certainly does have its contradictions with the people.

Such then are the limitations of this class participating in the revolutionary struggle. It is not only incapable of leading the struggle; it takes up courage only if it sees the mighty strength of the worker-peasant alliance. Our Front will not, therefore, be built up through reliance on this section and by putting it on par with the other classes.

It is through the People's Democratic Front that we mobilise and weld together all the revolutionary forces, all the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces of the democratic revolution and strike at the Government of the bourgeoisie and landlords, dislodge the compromising regime, put an end to imperialism and feudalism and complete the democratic revolution. It is out of the people's struggles that this Front is created and built up. It is nurtured and strengthened under working class leadership which leads it to success. It comes into being through a mighty mass movement round the programme of the Front, a movement shaking to the roots every section of the people.

Its success does not depend on mere formulations about which classes are going to take part in it. Victory is possible only when we make a correct assessment of the relative position of each class in the Front. Hence, the basic importance of our class-analysis of the varying classes.

Our conclusions, therefore, are: We must dislodge the present bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie, if the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution is to be led to success. Towards this end we must build up the People's Democratic Front welding together all the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces in the country.

Only the working class and its political party, the Communist Party, can lead this Front to success.

The main pillars and core of the Front will be the worker-peasant alliance. To what extent sections of the national bourgeoisie will participate in it will depend to a great degree on the strength of this alliance. The main pillars of this revolution and the chief allies of the working class are the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry in the countryside. The middle peasant is also its firm ally.

It is possible to bring in and retain the rich peasants also in the Front.

The urban and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are the allies of the working class in this revolutionary struggle.

The monopolists and the big bourgeoisie are the enemies of the revolution.

In reality, the interests of the other sections of the bourgeoisie, excluding the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists, lie in completing the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution. As and how the contradictions between these sections on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism, monopolist and the big bourgeoisie on the other, sharpen, to that extent there is the possibility of their taking anti-Government positions and joining the Front. Today, however, they are sharing power with the big bourgeoisie. To what extent they will participate in the revolutionary struggles will depend on the strength of the people's movement, on the correlation of class forces and on the extent to which their contradiction with imperialism and the bourgeoisie have sharpened.

The revisionists do not call their front the PDF. Theirs is the National Democratic Front. We have already noted the basic difference between the state of People's Democracy and the state of National Democracy. The same difference applies to matters regarding the Front also.

Like us, the revisionists also maintain that their NDF will be created out of people's struggles; that the working class will have to lead this national mass movement; that the mass movements of the peasantry will lend it a real nationwide character; that worker-peasant alliance will be its foundation. The classes that participate in the Front are the working class, the peasantry, the middle-classes and some sections of the national bourgeoisie. Its programme is the completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. Indeed, most of the portions of their Programme, demands, etc., are akin to ours.

Where then lies the difference? The classes are the same, their demands are the same and it is the same stage of the revolution. Does the difference then lie only in the name? Not in the least.

The difference is *basic*. The similarity in many matters is only apparent, deceptive. As for their demands, they do not seem to be suffering from any paucity of any kind.

The first basic difference is that their Front *refuses* to accept the leadership of the working class. The workers are permitted to do everything, to champion the struggles, to lead big struggles, to spill their blood in profusion and all that. But nowhere will one find the revisionists asking for the establishment of working class leadership. No, never! There is not even a single mention anywhere in their description of their Front where our revisionists call for the need for working class leadership or suggest that no other class is capable of leading their revolution.

And this is but natural. For they just do not want that there should be working class leadership. They hold that the state, to be formed after the revolution, will have the joint leadership of the bourgeoisie and the working class, and it is the same joint leadership that they mean to maintain, both in the Front and the struggles to be led by it. In other words, their policy is to *maintain* the bourgeois leadership inside the Front.

The objective of the People's Democratic Front is to dislodge the bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie and to replace it by the state of People's Democracy. Their NDF does *not* have this objective of dislodging the present bourgeois-landlord Government and its state. Its limited objective is to defeat the reactionary elements inside the ruling Congress party and outside it. It is a manoeuvre to co-operate with other sections in the Government under the plea of expelling some reactionary elements. The National Democratic Front has no other objective beyond a certain cleansing of the Congress Government and then participating in it. Their National Democratic Front is not out to defeat the bourgeois-landlord Government, but only to defeat the "reactionaries" inside and out of the Congress and to come to have power in that process. Such is their outlook. Earlier we had already seen how the objective of this Front of the revisionists certainly was not the dislodging of this Government but rather the defence of its national policies.

Naturally, they have conceived their Front to be in keeping with their opportunist and treacherous line. A front embodies many classes. No revolutionary front can be built up unless and until we are scientifically and precisely clear about which of these classes are firm and which are vacillating; which are basic and which are auxiliary. It does not take long to smash up any multiclass front, once you put on par the vacillating classes with revolutionary classes; under-rate the importance of the main props of the front and treat them as of equal value with the classes that are auxiliary to the front; keep the leadership of the front in the hands of the exploiting and self-seeking classes to the exclusion of the firmly revolutionary classes. This can only lead to the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle and to a deception of the working class and peasantry.

Such has been the experience of the revolutions, democratic, national and socialist. The firm teachings of the great Lenin are absolutely clear in this matter. The same is the experience of the great Chinese Revolution.

But why should our revisionists ever care to remember Lenin? As for the Chinese Revolution, the day they welcomed U.S. imperialist aid, they ceased to be aware of whether there has been anything like a revolution in China! That is why they have laid down the various class-positions inside their Front in the most opportunist manner to subserve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

To begin with, they have given up all idea about working class leadership and assured the bourgeoisie of its leadership of the Front. There is a similar assurance in the case of the other classes also. It is their effort to belittle, as much as possible, the importance inside the Front of all those classes which are really oppressed and exploited and which are the nearest to the working class. They say: "Which are the classes interested in carrying through this programme?..... Second, the broad masses of the cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers." (Para 77)

The main point is that the revisionists look upon all the strata inside the peasantry as being equally revolutionary. For them the poor peasants, the agricultural labourers and the rich peasants

are all alike, all equally revolutionary. Unlike us, they do not worry about fixing the position of each of these strata, after making a proper class analysis. For them there is no difference among any of these sections. The main pillars of the agrarian revolution, of the democratic revolution in the countryside are the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. These two classes have, however, no special importance in their scheme of things. They have the same importance as the upper sections of the rich peasantry.

What is the outcome of this outlook? What kind of peasant movement can you have out of it? Can it ever lead to an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois-landlord-Government movement on the basis of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry? For such an alliance, our main reliance in the countryside will have to be on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry. These alone are the main pillars of our democratic revolution in the countryside.

But the revisionists refuse to give them any special importance. Naturally, this will result in the peasant movement being centred in the hands of the *rich* peasantry and will not cross the limits laid down by it. Under these conditions, it will be impossible to have a movement that will wipe out feudalism.

The rich peasant has a place in this movement. But it will be very wrong to put him on par with the other sections and allow him to seize the leadership; this can only end in a betrayal of the agrarian revolution. But the revisionists follow here precisely the *same* line as they follow in the case of the working class, namely, not to allow working class leadership to be established inside the Front and not to accept the importance in the countryside of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. What kind of worker-peasant alliance can one expect out of such a movement?

True, the revisionists, out in the militant garb of revolutionaries, thunder about worker-peasant alliance being the basis of their NDF. But they first refuse to accept the need for such a movement, as well as the need to establish this revolutionary unity nor do they care to rely mainly on those specific sections which are so essential for such a unity. Such a

movement can *never* come into being, if you place the rich peasant on par with the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry. Then how can you talk about the working class-peasant unity and whom is it going to influence?

From this it will be clear that the worker-peasant alliance is just *not the basis* of the NDF of the revisionists.

Apart from this, there is enough confusion and opportunism concerning the attitude to the bourgeoisie in their scheme of the NDF. Their Front has a place in it for all sections of the bourgeoisie, except the monopolists.

We maintain that our aim is the dislodging of the bourgeois-landlord Government, headed by the big bourgeoisie and that is why basically the People's Democratic Front comes into clash with the big bourgeoisie. Their Front, however, has a place in it for the *big* bourgeoisie though one has to be grateful for their little mercies in at least accepting that this is an exploiting section, that it is inclined to compromise with the imperialists and the feudal elements and that it is a vacillating section.

In the first place, this analysis fits just the other sections of the bourgeoisie, excluding the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie. For it is not that the big bourgeoisie which wields state power is merely inclined to making compromises. They have shared power with the landlords and are forging ever closer links with imperialist capital. It is outright deception to give these sections a place in the Front and whitewash their stand as mere vacillation, when the main struggle of the Front is just against their state and when they are the confirmed enemies of the democratic revolution. It is rank treachery to call the enemy a vacillating ally. It is the royal road to creating quislings.

If one were to characterise the section other than the big bourgeoisie as being vacillating, it will be to an extent correct. But even then it is most inadequate. We have already seen how vacillating these other sections are, what are the limits placed on their participation in the struggle and how this participation is dependent on the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. But these men have circumvented all this and have assigned to the bourgeoisie an importance equal to that given to the other

classes. Nowhere have they implied or hinted that this class, being a vacillating class, can never be in the leadership. This is because they do not want to say it. Then why call this class a vacillating class?

Marxists make a distinction between the vacillating class and the firm class precisely to understand the basic forces and auxiliary forces. On that basis they decide which classes are to lead the revolution and which to support it. If, therefore, the revisionists have put on the airs of making a class analysis in calling this a vacillating class, it is only to mislead their ranks. For they have assiduously avoided drawing out of this analysis the necessary conclusions about the leadership of the revolution.

In their Front all sections of the bourgeoisie, *including* the big bourgeoisie, have a place on an *equal* basis with the working class and the peasantry. Since they do not accept the need for a struggle for the establishment of the leadership of the working class, the leadership of the Front will remain with the bourgeoisie and that precisely is their line. This Front, therefore, is not a Front for the democratic revolution, but a *Front for class collaboration*.

They have come out with one more yarn. We hold that there is a possibility of the sections of the bourgeoisie, other than the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists, participating in the struggle, but that today these sections are sharing power with the big bourgeoisie. As and when their contradictions with imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie sharpen, the possibility grows of their coming nearer to the Front.

The revisionists have come out with the yarn that already some kind of a cleavage has taken place inside the ranks of the bourgeoisie, some kind of differentiation, resulting in the formation of a group of monopolists; that this group is out to subvert "national" policies and harm the interests of the other sections of the national bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, our urgent task to co-operate in a common front with these other sections of the bourgeoisie, in opposition to the monopolists.

All that this amounts to is that it is only the monopolists who are having all those compromises with imperialism and feudalism,

while the other sections are pure and innocent. It is as if bourgeois-landlord Congress Government has no hand in these compromises, that indeed it is just not its policy. It is, as if here and now, at this very moment, the ranks of the bourgeoisie have been cleft into two sections, the pro-imperialists and anti-imperialists, and that all we are called upon to do is just to embrace this progressive section and work hand-in-glove with it.

What is the reality? True, the monopolists are straining every nerve to turn the present policies into more reactionary channels. But it is also true that the present governmental policies themselves are reactionary and compromising and that all sections of the bourgeoisie are, in the main, backing them. There is so far no cleavage inside the bourgeoisie nor has any section of it so far taken a clear anti-imperialist stand or a stand against present policies of the Government. Such a possibility will be created and the question of their co-operating with the Front will arise, to the extent that our people's struggle grows, to the extent that their contradictions with imperialism sharpen.

The revisionists, however, follow a totally different line. They pose as if the sections of the bourgeoisie—other than the monopolists—as also their Government, have already taken a firm, progressive, anti-imperialist stand. They call upon us to co-operate with them even when they have not yet given up their policies of compromise and when they are sharing power in the bourgeois-landlord Government. It is a policy of class collaboration with just those sections of the bourgeoisie—against whose compromising policies an unceasing battle needs be given—as if they have already become anti-imperialists.

These men are out to hug this section today itself, by declaring them to have already become anti-imperialists.

What will be the upshot of it all? It will not be possible to wage among the people that battle against the compromising policies of these bourgeois groups, which must be fought. Their entire National Democratic Front itself will be *tied down* to these compromising policies.

Such then is their National Democratic Front, so basically different from the People's Democratic Front.

1. Its objective is not the removal of the bourgeois-landlord Government and state led by the big bourgeoisie, but only the defeat of some right reactionary forces. It aims only at bringing about some changes in the structure of the Government to defeat the rightists inside the Congress and out of it. It is not its objective to hand over power decisively to the workers, peasants and the middle-classes. A partial cleansing and purification of the present Congress Government and seeing to it that the bourgeois leadership of the state is not abolished—that is the objective it has set itself.

2. The leadership of their front will not be with the working class.

3. Their Front attaches no special importance to the revolutionary classes. For them, all sections of the peasantry are equally important, whether they are the rich peasantry, the agricultural labourers, or the poor peasantry. They talk big about the agrarian revolution, but refuse to accept the vital importance in it of the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry.

4. They make not much of a distinction between the importance of the working class and the bourgeoisie, or of the peasantry and the bourgeoisie. For them the importance of all these is almost alike.

5. All sections of the bourgeoisie, other than the monopolists, can have a place in their Front. Indeed, they offer a place inside their Front even to those who are leading the present Government. What else is this if not a form of co-operation with the Government?

6. By placing the responsibility for compromising with imperialism and feudalism only on the shoulders of the monopolists, they create the illusion that the other sections of the bourgeoisie have already taken up anti-imperialist positions and call upon their Front to co-operate with their present compromising policies. This is bound to end up with the National Democratic Front itself tied down to these compromising policies.

7. Nowhere will you find the revisionists pinning down the limitations of the bourgeoisie's participating in the struggles led by the Front, the extent of their vacillations and how the very

possibility of its participating in these struggles depends on the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. All this is meant to create faith in the bourgeois leadership. Nowhere do the revisionists accept the incapacity of this class to be the leader of the revolution.

What kind of a revolution can one expect from a Front in which the working class is not in the leadership, in which the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry are not assigned any special revolutionary significance, indeed, in which along with them and on par with them, the rich peasantry and the bourgeoisie—and that too, the compromising bourgeoisie—are given a position of equal importance?

Can their programme of the NDF—agrarian revolution, eradication of imperialism, nationalisation of banks, nationalisation of many industries, etc.—be ever brought into being, even in part, in the absence of the leadership of the working class, in the absence of main reliance being placed on the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry? Can any revolutionary transformation take place, keeping the bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry in the leadership? Can their revolution ever lead to success, leaving the leadership of the Front in the hands of the bourgeoisie, which is always inclined to enter into compromises to serve its vacillating class interests? And what kind of a kisan movement can one expect out of a Front which places the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry on par with the rich peasantry? What kind of a worker-peasant alliance also can one expect out of it and how can it be the main base of their Front?

Their Programme is deceptive. Such is the class structure they have created for this Front that its programme can never be brought to fruition. A Front that places the main strings in the hands of the compromisers and the upper strata, can end up in nothing other than class collaboration and betrayal of the democratic revolution.

4. Programme of the Democratic Revolution and the Next Step Forward

The working class completes the democratic revolution and

turns rapidly to the socialist revolution. Exploitation of the worker and exploitation of the people can never be finally ended except under the socialist revolution. Till then he and the people cannot march on the road to prosperity. Hence the vital importance of completing the democratic revolution and, during the process, of creating the preconditions of socialism.

What is the guarantee of the completion of the democratic revolution? Which is the class that guarantees that it will not be halted midstream and that it will be completed, creating the preconditions of socialism?

By keeping itself in the vanguard of the democratic revolution and thus leading and guiding the peasantry and entire people, the working class assumes the leadership of the revolution. On the morrow of the revolution, it is this class that assumes the leadership of the new state. It is under its leadership that the new state—the state wherein the decisive power rests with the peasantry, the middle-classes and the other exploited classes under the leadership of the working class—sets about completing the programme of the democratic revolution. And such is this programme that its completion creates the precondition of socialism.

There can be no guarantee of the completion of the democratic revolution unless the working class is in the leadership of the struggle and the state. No other class can wield this responsibility. Such is the experience of all democratic revolutions in the twentieth century. Such again is the teaching of the great Chinese Revolution.

If the society is to march rapidly forward to the transition to socialism, after the completion of the democratic revolution, it is inevitable that both during the democratic revolution and the period of transition, controls and restrictions are placed on capitalist development, and capitalism is restrained. Without this it is impossible to create the preconditions of socialism. Nor is this possible without the leadership of the working class. For, no other class can systematically control capitalism and keep it under leash or go on limiting its fields with every passing day.

Working class leadership of the democratic revolution and of

the People's Democratic state is the main guarantee of the success of the democratic revolution and of its marching along the road to socialism. It is precisely for this that the working class is in the vanguard of the democratic revolution and why all its efforts are directed to helping the revolution pass on as rapidly as possible to socialism. That precisely is the main objective of its struggle.

To realize this objective, it is necessary, side by side with working class leadership, to have a correct programme. We have kept both these ends in view in our Programme. It insists on the leadership of the working class and also lays down a programme suited for the stage of democratic revolution.

We call for the establishment of a new state for the completion of the tasks of the democratic revolution and for creating the preconditions of socialism. That is the main political objective of the democratic revolution. The main task before the democratic revolution is the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie, by the People's Democratic state under the leadership of the working class—a state where power in the main is shared among the working class, the peasantry and the middle-classes. This state broadens the basis of democracy and makes a beginning towards the replacement of the present narrow, class, formal democracy by People's Democracy, the democracy of the exploited strata.

Towards this end we have put forward a number of demands, the central among which is the demand for the formation of a People's Democratic State. It is through the medium of this state that we bring into being our other demands for widening the basis of democracy. It is, therefore, necessary that we understand the main content of some of these chief demands.

Our first demand is for the clearest and the most unambiguous acceptance of the sovereignty of our people in the new state. Power must vest in the people's representatives, elected under the system of proportional representation. The constituencies will have the right to recall their elected representatives, should a majority of the electorate so demand.

The present Indian Constitution castrates democracy through

the mechanism of the special powers of the President. In the name of Emergency, the President has even cancelled the Fundamental Rights and the people have been tasting the bitter fruits of these special powers during the last more than three years. No sooner the starving people organise themselves, no sooner the workers go on strike, the Defence of India Act is freely used to put their leaders behind the bars. Tens of hundreds of Communists have been detained, the striking workers locked up for indefinite periods, while the field is left entirely clear for the capitalists, the profiteers, the blackmarketeers and the like to run riot. Such are the fruits of the Emergency.

Even Parliament is just incapable of preventing the promulgation of an Emergency by the President. The bourgeoisie has made this provision to put democracy out of the way, the minute it becomes embarrassing to its interests. What rules here is not the sovereignty of the people but the sovereignty of a class.

Hence our demand for the abolition of these special rights of the President. What we demand is power exclusively in the hands of the people's representatives and of no one else.

We demand the system of proportional representation precisely because it ensures proper representation to the different sections among the people, to the different ideological currents, making the people's democracy really representative. Under today's system, even when the Congress sometimes secures a minority of votes, it continues to have a majority inside the legislature. In a sense, this is nothing but a travesty of democracy. Representation in the Assembly must reflect truly the people's verdict given through votes, and this necessitates proportional representation. This will enable the minorities to send up their representatives and to that extent will widen democracy. No such right exists for the minorities under the present regime.

Today an elected representative continues to be a member of the Assembly or the Lok Sabha till the end of his five-year term. There is nobody to question him whatever his anti-people actions, whatever the support he may lend to anti-people legislation. Once he is elected, the people have no control over him whatsoever. He is not even aware of his responsibility to defend the interests

of the people whom he is supposed to represent. Under these conditions, people's representation becomes just a farce.

The people find it impossible to participate in the day-to-day administration of democracy, in the work of the legislatures. Such democracy just will not suit our purpose. In our democracy the toiling people must be able to have their direct intervention and that is why we demand for the people the right to recall their representative, which means the people's representatives must and will always be under the control of the people. Ours is not that democracy which holds its elections once every five years and then goes to have its long sleep over the remaining four years and three hundred and sixty-four days.

This will show how we want to widen our democracy. Our demands are aimed at enabling the toiling people to take an effective part in the working of democracy.

We have also included in this section many other demands like universal adult franchise, wider powers for the federating states, completing the process of reorganisation of the states on linguistic basis, abolition of the special rights of the President, equal rights for all citizens, equal rights for women along with men, guaranteeing individual freedom, no detention without trial, freedom of opinion, freedom of religion, press and assembly, free and compulsory education till the secondary stage, etc.

Legislative measures must be adopted against untouchability and the social oppression of one community by another. This is an extremely vital precondition for a real widening of democracy. Untouchability, caste distinctions and the inequality based on these are a challenge to the class unity of the working class. Not unless we deal repeated hammer-blows against it, can the working class liberate itself from its grip.

A majority of the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry belong to these oppressed sections of the society, and no agrarian revolution can be successful until their inequality is finally ended. We have also put up such other demands as the granting of complete religious freedom to the religious minorities and their protection from unequal treatment.

These principles of democracy and these demands are

advocated under the present regime also. But it is just impossible for a bourgeois regime to meet any one of these demands. Life has already shown us this. Untouchability, caste distinctions, unequal treatment to woman, inadequate protection to the religious minorities, etc., are all relics of the old feudal order. No democratic revolution can even be complete until these feudal remnants are finally abolished and these can be abolished only under the state of the People's Democracy led by the working class.

Similarly, we have again restated the fundamental rights granted under the present Constitution. For, even when they are formally granted, in actual practice they are never implemented. And this is but natural for who other than a people's state can implement the real rights of the people?

Such is our political programme for completing the bourgeois democratic revolution and widening the base of democracy. The People's Democratic state is our guarantee of the assured execution of this programme in full. For, only that state which has the toiling people enjoying decisive power in the new state, and which is led by the working class, can assuredly carry out this programme; for, it is in the interest of the ruling people themselves.

The second important aspect of the democratic revolution is the agrarian revolution. The widening and genuine implementation of democracy is just unthinkable unless and until the agrarian revolution is completed. The main objectives of our programme in this respect are the abolition of feudalism and helping the peasant to stand on his own legs, liberating him from the grip of the money-lender, stabilising his position through state help and thus finally liberating him from the feudal exploitation practised by the zamindars and the money-lenders. Such, in the main, is the anti-feudal programme of the revolution; such, in the main, is the basis of our revolution. When we say that our revolution is mainly anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, the anti-feudal part is like this.

A look at the background of this programme and the utterly destitute condition of our peasantry will easily help us to realise the importance of this programme. Many have been the land

reform enactments passed by the Congress Government during these nineteen post-Independence years. But these have not solved the basic agrarian problem. Land has not been distributed without compensation among the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers and that is most important, if feudalism is to be abolished, root and branch.

Under the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress, however, the monopoly ownership of land has actually grown. While five per cent of the families in the country-side own 37.29 per cent of the land, 70 per cent of these families own just 20 per cent of it. According to a Reserve Bank survey conducted in 1956, peasant indebtedness has grown from Rs. 900 to Rs. 3,000 crores. Annually our peasantry must be paying through the nose not less than Rs.100 crores by way of interest.

The largest section of our people in the countryside consists of the agricultural labourers, whose numbers have rapidly increased during the last few years, thanks to the ceaseless expulsion of peasants from the land. The all India percentage of agricultural labourers' families is between 30 and 35. In Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Mysore and Bihar, it is between 50 and 55.

Despite all the tom-toming done by the Congress Government about the minimum wage legislation passed for them, the fact remains that in reality they have not gained anything. There has been no increase at all in their actual wage during the past many years. They have no hut to call their own nor a piece of land whereon to erect it. And for six months in the year they remain unemployed.

Such is the lot of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. They are denied any land and are ground down under the burden of indebtedness which runs into hundreds of crores of rupees. In terms of rent and interest, they have to pay annually crores of rupees to the zamindars and the money-lenders. How is it ever possible for them to improve agriculture? It can never improve unless landlordism is abolished along with its monopoly ownership of land and land is redistributed among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry. Nor can it also improve unless simultaneously the wage rates of the agricultural labourers are

raised and their other demands fulfilled.

There can be no agricultural prosperity till such a reconstruction is brought about, no adequate production of foodgrains, no ending of our dependence on imports, etc. So long as agriculture does not prosper, our industrial development, too, will continue to be stunted. For, without a prosperous peasantry there can be no large market, for our peasants are the biggest clientele and market of our factories. So long as they continue to be paupers, our factories also can have only a hand-to-mouth working. How then can we go ahead to socialism? From all these angles, therefore, the prosperity of the peasantry, industrial advance, the overall prosperity of the country and our future march to socialism—the programme of agrarian revolution becomes a basic programme.

The following are our immediate demands in this connection:

1. Abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land gratis among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry.
2. Cancellation of the landlords' and money-lenders' debts on the poor peasants, agricultural labourers and the artisans.
3. Provision for cheap credit for peasants and artisans and fixing of fair prices for agricultural produce.
4. Assured supply of irrigation water.
5. Guaranteeing an adequate wage and decent conditions of life to the agricultural labourers.
6. Encouraging the peasants' voluntary co-operative societies for production and other agricultural purposes, as also the co-operative societies started by the artisans, etc.

Our first task is the abolition of landlordism without compensation and not allowing that burden to crush the peasantry. Under the present regime even when landlordism has not been fully abolished, the peasantry has already been crushed under a heavy burden of compensation amounting to Rs. 600 crores. This has denied the peasant his right to land free of charge; for no ownership rights can vest in him unless compensation is squeezed out of him.

We shall be taking away the land without compensation and redistributing it, again without compensation, among the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers. We shall also be similarly abolishing all their debts, liberating them completely from feudalism and thus showing him the road ahead.

The mere ownership of the land by the peasant does not immediately in the present society make for his prosperity. For this he requires money, capital. The market is out to crush him and so there is the need to fix a fair price for his produce.

The present Government also talks big about offering credit to the peasants through their co-operative societies. But because it is a bourgeois-landlord Government, the lion's share out of the credit it offers through the co-operative societies goes to the rich peasants and the capitalist landlord. Only a small part of it reaches the middle peasant while the poor peasant gets just nothing. Naturally, the main share of this co-operative credit goes to those strata which support the ruling classes.

Even when our demand is apparently the same, namely, the provision of cheap credit facilities for the peasants, its entire aspect changes altogether no sooner there is a state dominated by the toiling people. The governmental credit offered through the co-operative societies, in the main, then reaches the poor peasants the agricultural labourers and the artisans and they become its real beneficiaries. They no more have to approach the money-lenders and the landlords for loans and their exploitation ceases altogether.

Similarly, thanks to the new state, it is possible to fix profitable prices for the agricultural produce. Today the friends and relatives of the traders are in positions of power in the state. How can they fix fair prices for the peasants against the interests of the traders, who exploit the peasantry through the market? This demand for fair prices, therefore, is implemented no sooner a new state with a new class content comes into being.

The same is the matter regarding the demands of the agricultural labourers.

We all know that petty individual agricultural production on tiny bits of land is inadequate to ensure the peasant's prosperity.

Such individual production either permits to an extremely limited extent or does not permit at all, the use of modern implements, tools, fertilisers, etc. Agricultural production does not, therefore, register a rapid growth. Even when conditions improve materially under the People's Democratic state, limitation of individual production continues all the same. Should they continue like that, rapid development of agriculture is just unthinkable.

The People's Democratic state, therefore, encourages the peasants voluntarily and steadily to liberate themselves from the vicious circle of petty individual production. There must, of course, be no compulsion of any kind on the peasant, but should certain sections of the peasantry, having come to realise the limitation of petty individual production, come forward to organise co-operative societies for production for their own betterment, the state will offer them every encouragement, campaign for it and also help them forward in other ways.

Today also we hear sometimes about agricultural co-operative societies. Often they are owned by only the very rich and prosperous peasants who just put up the name-board of the society so as to secure credit from the Government. Some so-called co-operative sugar factories in Maharashtra state are based on this model. Sometimes, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants also go in for agricultural co-operatives and are completely ruined.

This is but inevitable under a bourgeois regime. But the experience of agricultural co-operatives under a regime dominated by the poor peasants and agricultural labourers will be just the opposite. There the Government will strain every nerve to see that these societies grow and prosper and that the poor peasants are helped to better their conditions. Towards this end these agricultural co-operatives will obtain seeds, tools, fertilizers, loans, etc., all at concessional rates. Since the field of production is now considerably widened, all this help can now be effectively utilised to help production grow by leaps and bounds.

It is only through co-operative farming that the peasant will steadily advance to socialism. When we realize this we shall appreciate the basic importance of these voluntary co-operative societies. They will come into being as an instrument helping the

poor peasants to prosperity and will later take the peasant under the leadership of the working class to socialism. It is thus that we forge new links on our onward march, simultaneously with completion of the anti-feudal agrarian revolution.

5. U. S. Imperialism—Main Enemy of Japan People

We firmly hold that our country can never prosper and our workers and peasants can never see better days except through vast and rapid industrial development. But such rapid industrial development can never be ours so long as our industrial development is dependent upon Western monopoly capital, so long as we continue to approach U.S. and British imperialisms with a begging bowl.

The present bourgeois-landlord Government, led by the big bourgeoisie, has allowed foreign capital to enter India in a very big way. The Government has borrowed very heavily from the U.S. Government, the World Bank (a bank working under the control of the U.S. Government), other U.S. financial institutions, PL 480 loans and from other Western powers. Besides, the Government goes on giving ever new concessions to private capital from these countries. Private foreign investment has increased vastly in our country.

Till the end of December 1963, the foreign loans of the Indian Government (excluding gifts) amounted to Rs. 2,500 crores. Out of this U.S. loans alone come to about Rs. 2,000 crores.

Loans from the socialist Soviet Union totalled Rs. 165 crores only.

Total loans sanctioned till the end of December 1964 had reached the figure of Rs. 4,000 crores. This includes the loans for the import of foodgrains under PL 480 amounting to Rs. 1,161 crores.

Then there is the private capital. Foreign capital invested in India, other than bank capital, amounts today to Rs. 800 crores. In 1948 it was only Rs. 256 crores. Till September, 1964, there had been, over the past few years, some 2,015 agreements for joint partnership between Indian and foreign capitalists. In

addition to this, our Government under the plea of India-China dispute has secured crores of rupees worth of military aid, leading to its being caught further in the meshes of imperialism.

Governmental policies have thus mortgaged our economy with the imperialists.

But then what about the aid from the socialist countries? The socialist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union, have given us really valuable help for our industrial development. Had there been no Soviet aid for the Bhilai steel plant, the other steel plants would have just not come into being. Besides, whatever aid the Soviet Union has given has all been for such strategic industries as would form the basis of our industrial advancement. No such help ever came forth from the imperialist countries.

Had there been in our country a People's Democratic Government in place of the present bourgeois-landlord regime, a Government under the leadership of the working class, it would have utilised this invaluable aid from the Soviet Union to end our dependence on the imperialists. It would have utilised this aid to keep the imperialists at arm's distance.

The bourgeois-landlord Government, however, has adopted just the opposite line. It utilises the Soviet aid to secure more loans from the imperialists. Its loan of over Rs. 2,040 crores from the USA has only increased our dependence on that Government.

This dependence is having its disastrous consequences. The people are being more and more ground down under the dead-weight of governmental loans and the exploitation of foreign private capital. No foreign private capital ever enters any country unless it is assured enough scope for its inordinate profiteering. And precisely because there is such a scope for it in our country, this investment has shot up to Rs. 800 crores.

Such has been the loot practised by foreign capital in private oil companies; so freely have they rocketed the oil prices, that even the Government has to intervene. During the last ten or twelve years alone, they have reaped profits far in excess of their invested capital, and all these profits have been repatriated abroad. The same is the story of private capital in other industries

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and yet the Government continues to offer ever so many more concessions and facilities to private foreign capital.

The U.S. Government from whom India has been borrowing ever more, has itself been pressurising for more and more facilities for private capital and the Indian Government has had to bow in submission. Such alone can be the fate of all those who want to follow the capitalist path.

Along with this, the people have to bear the heavy burdens of governmental loans. Today India has to pay annually Rs. 100 crores in repayment of this governmental loans. In the course of the next five years, this figure will reach the Rs. 200 crores mark. Most of these loans taken from the USA carry heavy interest rates. Besides, whatever purchases we make out of these loans are priced much higher than the prevailing rates in the world market.

India is thus robbed at both ends, and the dead-weight of the loans becomes unbearable. The Government's assurance, that we would be able to repay the loans out of the increased production from these loans, is now seen by all to be a hoax. The Government is now being inexorably driven to borrow more and more, if only to repay the old loans. So huge is this loan, so extortionate its rate of interest, that we shall never be able to repay it out of the new production. Hence our need to borrow new loans even for the repayment of the old ones, and hence our growing dependence on the imperialist countries.

An instance of this we can see even today. India is today facing an acute shortage of foreign exchange and has, therefore, imposed strict restrictions on the import of foreign goods. This has resulted in a fall in our industrial production also.

Why should this shortage be there, in spite of India's exports being ever on the increase and India securing sizable foreign exchange out of these? There are two reasons for this. One is that a considerable portion of the exchange obtained through export is utilised for repayment of loans. Secondly, most of our industries are of such a nature that they require foreign machinery and other goods. A large number of the industries erected with foreign aid fall in this category.

Hence, the foreign exchange earned through exports is not

enough to meet our regular day-to-day needs—for import of goods, etc., and for repayment of loans, and we have to lean on foreign loans. The plight of our Government is like that of the peasant caught in the money-lenders' tentacles.

Need for foreign loans to have new industries; need for foreign loans to operate the old industries—to obtain the foreign goods necessary for their working; need for foreign loans to repay the existing loans. This is how India's dependence has grown. With every passing day India is getting more and more totally dependent on U.S. capital.

Naturally, this results in growing U.S. imperialist pressure against our foreign trade, against the direction of our import-export trade, etc. The U.S. imperialists are having their intervention even in our five-year plans. The U.S. World Bank offers its suggestions—in the name of advising the Government of India—in matters concerning our five-year plans, industries, etc., and drops enough hints from inside about U.S. loans being made available only on the implementation of those suggestions.

The dilly-dallying and drift over the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the efforts being made by certain people to slash down its industrial part in the name of reducing its size, all these are the results of U.S. pressure behind it.

Similarly, if the USA went back on its earlier assurance in the matter of the Bokaro steel plant, the secret behind it was just this. The USA wanted this plant entirely under its control and because it was refused, it went back on its offer of aid.

This shows that U.S. intervention in our economy is ever on the increase. Far from our economic independence being strengthened, this is leading to its being weakened with every passing day. This is an alarming development and it will bring even our political independence in jeopardy.

While taking into account this growing influence and power of U.S. imperialism, one must not lose sight of British imperialism. Even from the pre-Independence days, British capital had been invested in the production of oil, coalmines, tea plantation, jute mills and other factories, banks, etc. The foreign private capital invested in India in those days—excluding bank capital—was Rs. 256 crores.

After Independence the Congress Government would not touch this capital. Today, foreign private capital has reached the figure of Rs. 800 crores and here also the major share belongs to British capital. Besides, the Indian big bourgeoisie has entered into many new partnerships with British capital and has floated many new joint concerns. All this has resulted in the growth of the influence of British capital. A major part of India's foreign trade also belongs to the British and is with countries connected with them.

Such are the links that as a result India continues to be tied to the British Commonwealth. This shows how strong is the economic and political influence of British imperialism over our country.

In our foreign trade we are, in a great measure, dependent on British imperialism. The same is the position with regard to import of private capital. Besides, already they have had a sizable amount of their old capital invested in the key industries in our country. We must, therefore, take note of the influence and power of British imperialism operating through these ends.

It is just these that are having their bearing on our political actions, particularly on our foreign policy. Only a consistent foreign policy, anti-imperialist and anti-war and supporting the national liberation struggles and peace, can be in India's genuine interests. Today, however, we see India's foreign policy in a great measure subservient, submissive and such as would not harm the U.S. imperialists.

Of course, we shall see this later in greater details. But the Indian Government is openly shielding all the vile deeds of U.S. imperialism, and slandering the revolutionary struggles of the people of Vietnam, all in the name of peace and for this is leaning on the support of a renegade like Tito. Events like their keeping utterly mum over the movements in the Indian Ocean of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, their begging before the imperialists for the nuclear umbrella, etc., show clearly to what extent imperialists can pressurise our foreign policy.

This economic dependence is having its effect on our foreign policy and to an extent on our internal policies also. And if these conditions continue, our political independence will also be endangered.

The Moscow Statement of 1960 has emphasised the fact that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the people and the working class of the world, that through military aid, economic aid and agreements, it tries to bring the newly independent countries under its control; that it pursues a policy of neo-colonialism and hence the ringing call of the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties for its total and complete rout. Taking into account the havoc being played by U.S. imperialism in our country, we shall see how correct and timely this call was and how vitally important it is to defeat it.

One thing must be kept in mind in this connection. It is that in a number of countries, new Governments formed after national liberation and the expulsion of imperialism have, promptly and without compensation, confiscated and nationalised imperialist capital, factories, banks etc. Of course, this is what happened after the great Chinese Revolution. But even in countries like Egypt, Burma, etc., countries much smaller than India, imperialist capital was confiscated and their factories, plantations, oilfields, etc., were nationalised.

The Congress leaders, however, betrayed our country. They would not even touch the British imperialist investment and properties. Not a single private British company's capital have they confiscated and taken over for the state. If ever they have at all taken over any concern, it is only after paying it very heavy compensation. But they have not touched British capital as a whole. Such was the treacherous compromise they entered into.

The reality was that if they had nationalised the Rs. 200 and odd crores worth of British capital, it would have saved our people from foreign exploitation. Repatriation of profits on it would have been stopped and immense economic means would have been placed in the hands of the Government for its plants. But how can this be possible in the case of those who have decided to base all their planning just on the foreign loan itself?

Far from taking over this capital, they utilised their not taking any such action to advertise their policy. Look, they announced, we have not even touched the British capital. All foreign capital is absolutely safe in our country. We, therefore, invite you to invest your capital here.

In the post-Independence period, all anti-imperialist tasks were left incomplete. Imperialist capital was not eradicated. Instead, the Government continued the same policy of compromise; foreign capital on a very wide scale was imported. As a result, India's economic independence itself has come to be in great danger.

This is what we mean when we say that ours is an anti-imperialist revolution. Only when we smash the growing grip of old British capital and new U.S. capital can we protect our economic and political independence and end the inordinate exploitation of our people at the hands of the foreigners. In that event alone will the path of our economic development and prosperity be cleared of all impediments.

That is why we have assigned the place of prime importance in our Programme to the task of smashing the policy of compromise followed since the pre-independence days and the task of complete eradication of all imperialist capital. That is why we demand that the Government take over and nationalise all foreign capital in plantation, mines, oil companies and other factories, sea transport, commerce, banking, etc., capital which is mainly British and partly U.S. capital.

We also demand the eradication of imperialist capital from all and every State sector. We demand the rooting out of all imperialist interests in our foreign trade, internal trade, governmental institutions, factories, etc.; the total removal of all the imperialist influences and pressures operating on our foreign policy and the rebuilding of our foreign policy on such firm lines as anti-war, peace, anti-imperialism, support to the national liberation struggles and friendly relations with all peace-loving countries.

We demand the total removal and expulsion of imperialism from all fields—economic, political, etc.

6. Preconditions of Socialist Revolution

The objective before our revolution is the completion of the unfulfilled anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks and preparing the country for the preconditions of socialism. How do we implement this last part of our Programme?

If we merely complete the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist tasks and neglect the other tasks, we shall not have accomplished anything beyond clearing the path for capitalism. Even if today we are not able to put forward a programme for the complete and immediate abolition of capitalism—for we have to complete the interim stage of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution—we have before us a programme of weakening capitalism through this revolution itself. It is not our job to strengthen capitalism under the plea that this is an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution.

Hence the need to have this struggle for the revolution and the People's Democratic Front under the leadership of the working class. The main strength of the People's Democratic Front has to be the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. After the revolution, power must pass to the state of People's Democracy under the leadership of the working class—a state with a decisive voice in it for the workers, the peasants and the middle-classes and possibly a place in it for some sections of the bourgeoisie. All this we have made clear.

It is obvious that because it is led by the working class and because the main forces under the state of People's Democracy will be the toiling people, the new state will take the necessary steps after the revolution to create the precondition of socialism.

But if this is to be achieved, it is necessary that along with the state power, the new state and the toiling people must have adequate economic power and rights. Should economic power remain completely in the hands of the exploiting classes even after people win a decisive position in the new state, such a state will tumble down in a few days. Therefore, during the period of the precondition of socialism, the period of transition, steps like controlling and restricting capitalism, tightening the screw on it and steadily ending its decisive position in production, etc., become inevitable.

Even if private capitalist production is not abolished altogether and immediately, even if all factories, mills, etc., are not immediately nationalised, controlling all these during the transitional period remains a vital part of our programme. It is

unthinkable for the People's Democratic state to prepare the precondition of socialism without taking such steps.

Towards this end we have put forward the following programme:

1. Nationalisation of all banks and credit institutions.
2. Nationalisation of all monopoly industries.
3. Nationalisation of foreign trade.

4. Ending national dependence by steadily and consistently widening the public sector in the industrial field and developing our industries. This will give the public sector an ascendancy and a decisive place in the industrial field.

5. All-round help and encouragement to small-scale and medium industries.

6. The country's industrial development to be planned and guided exclusively in the interests of the people; towards this end the regulation and co-ordination of various sectors.

7. The management of public-sector industries on a democratic basis; towards this end the removal of the representation of the big bourgeoisie from the governing bodies of these industries and securing the cooperation of the workers and the technicians.

8. Living wage for the workers, housing accommodation for them, adequate social insurance at the cost of the owners and Government against all kinds of sickness and unemployment; recognition of trade unions and the right to strike and a price policy in the interests of the people.

Let us first take the demands of the working class.

Under the capitalist path followed by the present Government, the working class has been facing inordinate exploitation making its life unbearable. Despite the three five-year plans, the real wages of the workers have actually fallen. Workers' efficiency has increased but their share in production has been only steadily falling. Where the workers secure dearness allowance through struggle, the prices are raised still further and the wages fall even below the original level. In some industries the present wages—taking into account the rise in the prices—are actually lower than the wages they secured before the Second World war.

True, the working class has achieved success in getting legislation passed for social security, etc., but these are most inadequate. Workload has increased unbearably and every worker has to bear a heavier workload than before. Housing accommodation for working class in large cities is scarce and more and more workers are driven to eke out an existence in the worst slums. Besides, unemployment is ever on the increase. Even according to the incomplete Government records, the number of registered unemployed in August 1964, was 26,80,000. According to Government estimates, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the total number of unemployed in cities and village will reach the figure of one crore.

The working class is heroically facing this alarming situation, where there is no security of service, where there is no hope of a fair wage and where the dread of unemployment always threatens. Basically, the worker enjoys no rights, the right of recognition of trade unions is but purely nominal, the right of assembly is left to the sweet will of the police. Strikes always meet with savage repression. The worker has to face firing, lathi-charge, jail, mass-arrests, detention under the DIR, victimization and the like. The bourgeoisie try to hold up and stagger all his problems through the court.

Hence we put forward the above-mentioned demands. Obviously, these demands cannot be realized except through the establishment of the state led by the working class. For, conceding these demands would make big inroads into the bourgeois fortress. Out of it in the end arise questions of economic and political power.

We have put forward similar demands in the case of the middle-classes also. Their salaries have gone down. Price-rises have reduced them to a state of destitution. They are not able to bear the burden of educational expenses. Their employers, the Government, the traders, the bourgeoisie, banks, etc., all treat them as they would treat the workers and confront their demands with terror and repression, attacking their organization and sending them to jail. The sword of Damocles, in the shape of growing unemployment, always hangs over their heads.

According to Government statistics, the August 1964 figure of educated unemployed—those who have passed the SSLC or have had higher education—has crossed the eight-lakh mark.

For them we demand protection from price-rise, adequate salary, security of service, freedom of organization, and the like.

The demands of the working class and the working people will certainly be met under the new People's Democratic state. For, this state will be under the leadership of the working class with the toiling people having a decisive voice in it. If that is not so, these demands would meet the same fate as they are meeting today.

The rest of the programme can be easily seen to be an effective weapon for the creation of precondition of socialism, for a forward march to socialism.

Nationalisation of foreign trade—which is to the tune of about Rs. 1700-1800 crores; nationalisation of banking—total bank deposits being of the order of Rs. 1850 crores, also nationalisation of monopoly capital, will weaken the power of the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie, of capitalism in general. For, this nationalisation is of a different type, different from the present nationalisation. Today, even the nationalised factories operate to the tune of the bourgeoisie only, are run for their profits and their growth. This is because the Government belongs to that class and, even after nationalisation, the factories remain in the hands of their class Government.

All this, however, completely changes under the People's Democratic state. The new state is led by the working class. Even if a section of the national bourgeoisie remains in the Government, it is not in the leading position. It has no decisive voice, which in the new state belongs only to the toiling people.

Under the nationalisation introduced by such a state, the economic power, in the main, comes to be in the hands of the people, of the working class. This ends the grip of the big bourgeoisie over the country's economy to be replaced by that of the people. The people develop the strength to give a new orientation to the economy.

Along with banks, foreign trade and monopoly capital are nationalised, the Rs. 800 crores worth of imperialist private capital, which is now seized by the People's Democratic state. Simultaneously, the People's Democratic state takes over all the industries started by the present Government in the public sector.

Besides, the People's Democratic state embarks on a programme of rapid development of the public sector industries and ends our dependence on foreign countries.

Concentrating all this tremendous economic power into its own hands the People's Democratic state establishes its leading position in our economy and steadily weakens the hold on it of the big bourgeoisie.

For this it introduces genuine national planning. It limits the field of private industry and extends that of the public sector. On the strength of the economic power it controls, it introduces a new type of planning, applying the screw through it on the big bourgeoisie and capitalism in general. This planning of the People's Democracy is its most effective and powerful weapon for the creation of the precondition of socialism. It will not be able to create such preconditions, nor march ahead on the road to socialism if it has not concentrated such economic power in its hands and has not introduced planning. In that case, society will not be able to break through the shackles of capitalism.

These are the steps we take, namely, nationalisation, extending the public sector and planning, to weaken and end the economic power of the big bourgeoisie. We introduce restrictions and control on it, strengthen the people's economic power and prepare the preconditions of socialism. After seizing political power from the big bourgeoisie, we steadily reduce their economic power. This is creating the preconditions of socialism.

Here our main attack is not concentrated against capitalism in general, nor against all private production. It is directed against the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie, for the steady weakening of the big bourgeoisie's grip on the economy.

During this period of transition, when private production will be carried on a considerable scale, we help and aid the small and

medium industries. The People's Democratic state helps them and encourages them.

Complete nationalisation of imperialist and monopoly capital and banks, extending the field of the public sector, strengthening through planning the economic power of the people and the steady weakening of the grip of the big bourgeoisie, assuring a decisive position for the public sector, nurturing and helping, during this transition period, the small and medium industries—such is our programme for creating the preconditions of socialism. The People's Democratic state led by the working class guarantees its implementation.

7. The Programme of the Revisionists

Once again the revisionists put on the mask of revolutionaries and try to create an impression as if their programme was similar to ours.

For instance, their demands for the extension of democracy include most of the demands put forward by us. Their charter of demands includes all such demands as: ending the present bureaucratic apparatus, the implementation in practice of the right to work, a living wage, free education, social security, complete inviolability of person, religious freedom and individual freedom to be firmly guaranteed, equal rights to all citizens, equal status for women, ending the inequalities and oppression against the untouchables, as also among the different castes, strengthening the secular character of the Government, universal adult franchise, proportional representation, the right of the electorate to recall their representative if the majority of the electorate so demands, etc.

But they have just by-passed the main question of class power. Then what is their guarantee of the implementation of the democratic programme? Our programme is the state of the People's Democracy to be formed after the democratic revolution, under the leadership of the working class. Because the shift in power is with the toiling people and because the working class is leading the state, the programme is bound to be implemented.

After the so-called revolution of the revisionists, however,

decisive power is not transferred to the toiling people. There is no leadership of the working class in the state or Government of their National Democratic Front. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie is given a share in the leadership. Their Front does not attach greater importance to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants than the rich peasants. The same is the story about their state.

Under their state, the people have the most minimum power, and have no power or strength to implement their programme through the state or its Government. They themselves admit that the new state would not move unless under the pressure of a mass movement. Compare, "Such a state, including patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie, acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way." (Para 82).

Even after the revolution their new revolutionary Government must still be subjected to constant pressure of a national mass movement! It is this pressure that helps the Government to implement the programme. A Government in which the decisive voice is of the toiling masses, in which is included the bourgeoisie but is not given any place in its leadership, needs no such constant pressure nor does anybody compel it to implement this democratic programme. Such a Government itself takes the initiative to implement the programme which is in the interest of the people.

To whom then does this description apply? It applies to that Government only which gives the decisive position not to the toiling people but to the bourgeoisie. Such is the weak position of the people inside their National Democratic Front that they have to rely only on mass pressure. This is the meaning of allowing the bourgeoisie a share in the joint leadership.

So long as such a Government exists and exists under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, what value can one attach to this programme? On what does, according to the Marxist-Leninists, the implementation of a programme depend? They determine it on the basis of what class is implementing the programme. A Government which gives no decisive position of power to the toiling people, which instead continues to allow the leadership to

the bourgeoisie, can under no circumstances, be in a position to implement this programme; so long as their mass movement does not dislodge the bourgeoisie from the leadership, they will fail to implement the programme.

No matter how high-sounding and revolutionary the demands they put forward, so long as the revisionists follow only at the tail of the bourgeoisie, their programme can only mean pure and simple deception of the people and nothing else.

Their programme of anti-feudal agrarian revolution also is on the same lines as ours. Demands like abolition of landlordism, distribution of the surplus land among the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers, protection of the interests of those tilling small plots of land, distribution of waste land, cancellation of debts owed by the peasants and agricultural labourers to the landlords and the money-lenders, fixing of prices for agricultural produce, guarantee of an adequate wage and decent living conditions for the agricultural labourers, agricultural co-operatives on voluntary basis, etc., are there in abundance.

The only weakness is that for effecting all this, the revisionists are not prepared to hand over power, in the main, to the people. They are out to hoodwink the people by suggesting that these demands could be won even without seizing power in a decisive manner and by leaving a share in the leadership with the bourgeoisie. Such a programme can be implemented only when there is a mass peasant movement relying mainly on the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers and when a state of the People's Democracy led by the working class is established.

The revisionists' programme in the industrial field, however, completely lays bare their pro-capitalist line. Our programme for creating the preconditions of socialism consists of nationalisation of the imperialist capital, banks, monopoly capital, foreign trade, etc., the rapid extension of the industries in the public sector, creating a dominating position for it in our economy and tightening the screw on capitalism through the concentration of all the resources of planning in the hands of the people, leading to a weakening of the economic position of the big bourgeoisie and the augmentation of the strength of the people.

The revisionists, too, put on airs about eliminating imperialism and creating the preconditions of socialism. They also talk big that their "National Democratic Government will take effective steps to stop further entry in our country of foreign private capital. It will further adopt all necessary measures to bring about the total elimination of the existing foreign private capital from Indian national economy," (Para 93). The basic question, however, is: Can a Government under the leadership of the bourgeoisie ever accomplish this?

But then a doubt comes up. Whenever our revisionists talk about foreign capital, they never assert unambiguously that they would nationalise it. Our Programme clearly asserts our position that the People's Democratic Government will take over all foreign capital. The revisionists talk vaguely about "eliminating foreign capital from the economy". Of course, handing over the share of foreign capital to the Indian bourgeoisie can also amount to elimination of foreign capital. Are our revisionists out for some such trick?

The most interesting part is about the monopoly capital. In the earlier part of their Programme, our revisionists have gone hammer and tongs against the monopolists. With might and main, they thunder that the monopolists are out to subvert the "national" policies, and, therefore, demand that the main fire of the national front be directed against them. And still, what do they say about the monopolists of their (monopolists') capital? Oh! No. Certainly not. That only we demand. For, aren't we the Left-sectarians? What are our revisionists going to do after the establishment of their National Democratic Government? Their Government "will institute an enquiry into the anti-national and anti-people practices of these monopolists"!

In the first half of the Programme, they have put on the airs of a Don Quixote and heaped countless abuses on the monopolists. But then, after the revolution, there will be only an enquiry! Why? Aren't you still satisfied that they are anti-people? Well! Well! Will you nationalise their concerns at least after the enquiry? By no means! They will only break up the monopoly combines! Break up the concentrations into small groups and

again hand them over to private capital! This is what they are out for. But what can a Government, all whose strings are controlled by bourgeois leadership, do other than this? This then is their anti-monopoly revolutionary programme. Nationalisation is assiduously kept out of it.

They further assure us that this Government will nationalise banks, control the prices and profits in all big industries, etc. Not a single one out of these items will this Government implement. They further talk about the Government "rapidly expanding the scope of the state sector and making it the dominant sector in our national economy, by vigorously developing the key and heavy industries in state sector and also by expanding the sphere of nationalisation of banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines and plantations." (Para 93).

Like us they also speak about giving a dominant position to the state sector. But there is a basic difference between the two. When we talk in terms of establishing the supremacy of the public sector to create the preconditions of socialism of restricting capitalism, which class will have concentrated in its hands the economic power of the public sector? Under the People's Democratic state led by the working class, it is the toiling people who have a decisive voice, even when a section of the bourgeoisie may have a place in it. In other words, the decisive economic power rests with the toiling people and then only is capitalism restricted and the preconditions of socialism created.

But where does the economic power get concentrated as a result of the extension of the public sector of the revisionists? The bourgeoisie has a share in the leadership of their Government, with the people having the least important positions and having always to keep ready the weapon of mass movement. It is but inevitable, therefore, that the main strength of nationalisation will centre with the bourgeoisie. How can capitalism be restricted and the preconditions of socialism created out of this? Because the revisionists have bypassed the main question of class power, the very class character of their nationalisation has changed.

Of course, all this only if their Government takes to nationalisation; but here we must note the character of the extension of the public sector under their state. To say that this will create the preconditions of socialism is pure and simple deception.

During the period of transition, our policy is the immediate nationalisation of monopoly capital, the weakening of the bourgeoisie by progressively greater restrictions placed on them and encouragement to small-scale and medium capital. What have our revisionists to offer in this regard? We have seen that they do not go in for nationalisation of monopoly capital. They further state, "It (i.e. the National Democratic Government) will give facilities to all non-monopolistic private sector enterprises and small-scale industries by providing them with raw materials at reasonable prices, credit and marketing facilities and allowing them reasonable profits." (Para 93-D)

Unlike us, they will not give facilities only to the small-scale and medium capital but to all non-monopoly capital, which includes the big bourgeoisie also. The Government will thus provide for the big bourgeoisie also. Is this a programme for extending capitalism or restricting it? According to them, encouraging only the small-scale and medium capitalists will be sectarianism. The big bourgeoisie also must be looked after. And this is as it should be. For, if their Government itself offers share in the leadership to the big bourgeoisie, how can this class not secure its economic encouragement out of it?

But our opponents have marched one step ahead and have established a new record in revisionism. Notwithstanding all their prattle about creating the preconditions of socialism, they have completely cut out economic planning. In all their massive sixty-five page Programme, planning finds no place whatsoever. In all their programme of the Government of the National Democratic Front, there is not even a passing reference to planning. The gentlemen are out to restrict capitalism, to create preconditions of socialism—all without planning!

The great experience passed on to the international working class by the great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union, by the subsequent People's Democratic Revolutions, by the Great Chinese Revolution, have all been sought to be eliminated by our revisionists. For it is through planning that the democratic revolution prepares the preconditions of socialism, lays the foundations of socialism and constructs later the great edifice of socialism. The revisionists have turned their back on these great teachings and have completely eliminated any reference to planning in their programme. By this our revisionists have only joined the ranks of the Swatantra Party and if the latter congratulate themselves on it, it will be only in the fitness of things!

After the democratic revolution, the toiling people wield the weapon of planning to control and restrict capitalism. We have seen how this is to be done by the use of the double-edged weapon of extending the public sector and planning to tighten the screw on capitalism. But, of course, our revisionists will have nothing to do with all this.

And, mind you, this lapse is not unexpected. Is it any wonder if these men, who have basically no regard for socialism, no regard for the toiling people, who are basically opposed to working class leadership and sing all praises for the bourgeois leadership, do not feel any need for planning? The people, of course, fighting as they are a life-and-death struggle, will naturally lay the highest premium by planning. But how are our revisionists worried about that? All that they need to do is to indulge in some prattle about socialism and that is all.

Such is their "non-capitalist" path. There is no planning in it, no nationalisation of monopoly capital. Rather, there is every encouragement to all big bourgeois schemes and plans. Neither the people nor the working class has any control over the public sector, nor do the working class and the toiling people have a decisive share in the economic and political power. What can one expect out of this except the growth of capitalism? And that alone is the meaning of their non-capitalist path.

8. Evolution of India's Foreign Policy

Marxist-Leninists attach the highest importance to the foreign policy of their country. The ruling class often tries to hoodwink the people and the working class by trying to camouflage its class interests as national interests. At such a time it becomes the duty of all Marxist-Leninists and the working class to tear off the veil by putting forward the real interests of the people and the nation.

Foreign policy is concerned with world developments and world forces. It is the foreign policy of the ruling class that decides whether the country will stand by the progressive revolutionary forces or the reactionary forces. It is foreign policy again that decides whether a country will stand four-square with the struggle of the world working class for socialism or against it, with the national liberation struggles of the anti-imperialist people or against it. Marxist-Leninists and the working class watch foreign policy, always alert to see that the ruling class does not misuse the nation's strength for its own narrow class interests, for anti-revolutionary, anti-socialist purposes and vigorously attack any such reactionary policies.

The world outlook of the working class is based on internationalism. On its banner is written the slogan: *Working Men of All Countries, Unite!* It is on the strength of this unity alone that depends whether its dream for the liquidation of imperialism and capitalism and for the establishment of socialism the world over will come true. Hence its insistence on the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations.

Marxist-Leninists and the working class know that the danger of aggression against countries will not be over, the danger of war will not be over and the path of socialism will not be clear unless and until imperialism, and in particular U.S. imperialism which leads them all, is finally destroyed. That is why they insist on India's foreign policy being consistently anti-imperialist.

The main edge of this policy must be directed against U.S. imperialism. The Moscow Declaration of 1960 had emphasised that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the workers and the peoples of the world. The main basis of our foreign policy must,

therefore, be opposition to this imperialism which is the advocate of atomic war, the champion of neo-colonialism and the aggressor against national liberation movements.

If millions of peoples and workers are to be saved from atomic annihilation, the main aim of our foreign policy must be ban on atomic weapons, defence of world peace, opposition to world war, peaceful coexistence between countries based on different social systems, disarmament, strengthening the forces of peace by supporting the peace camp, growing relations of friendship with the socialist countries, peaceful relations with all countries, firm alliance with freedom-loving countries, opposition to neo-colonialism and unconditional support to all national-liberation struggles.

There is no doubt that such a policy alone conforms to the interests of our people and our country and that this way alone will the people's march to socialism be cleared. Because the "Panchsheel" agreement between India and China as also the Bandung Conference resolutions embodied these principles, the Marxist-Leninists have welcomed them.

Only the working class and a Government led by it can pursue this policy consistently and systematically. Where the bourgeoisie is the ruling class, it will accept only this or that part of it as suits its convenience. It may accept a sizable part of it for a time, but it is beyond its powers consistently to champion this policy in full. Its narrow class interests lead it to adopt reactionary, opportunist policies and sacrifice the national interests for it.

We should look at the foreign policy of the Indian Government from this angle. We should go into the details of it to find out how far it passes these tests and what changes it introduces to subserve its class interests. The revisionists have sung hosannas in praise of the Indian Government. This is rank opportunism, lacking in class outlook.

We look at this foreign policy taking into account our characterisation of this Government as a bourgeois-landlord Government. Every Government reflects in its foreign policies the interests of the class that controls it. That is why we see the dual nature of the bourgeoisie reflected in India's foreign policy. We

see this policy in both its aspects, viz., co-operation with and opposition to imperialism.

The revisionists suddenly gush forth in profuse praise of the wonderful goodness of this policy and create the illusion as if it is motivated exclusively by such principles as peace, neutrality, anti-colonialism, etc.

We lay bare the reality, namely, that this policy is based on class interests and has its dual character. From the start we show its limitations by explaining how this Government is capable of changing its policy as suits its class interests. We refuse to create any illusions by giving it any certificate suggesting that the bourgeoisie is only carrying out the policies of the working class.

We support them when they take progressive, anti-imperialist steps, even if it be in their own class interests. But we note the limitations of their progressivism and not only do not rest content with it, but rather are cautious about it.

What did India's ruling class gain by adopting this policy of neutrality and non-alignment? Is a policy of neutrality and non-alignment a hundred per cent correct policy?

The Indian Government talks in terms of the world being divided into two military camps, and that it will not join any one of them. It tries to create the impression that through this neutrality it has achieved something wonderful and our revisionists just toe that line. What, however, is the reality?

Between which two forces stands this neutrality? It is neutrality between socialism and imperialism, meaning thereby neutrality and non-alignment in the matter of opposition to imperialism. It is a policy of vacillation against U.S. imperialism which has to be consistently fought.

Even then, we welcomed that position as a lesser evil, because even in the name of neutrality, there was the possibility of opposing imperialism, if not consistently and always, at least from issue to issue. We accepted it as a position of vacillating opposition in lieu of firm opposition, as a policy of alternate co-operation and opposition. It was necessary to utilise and strengthen the element of opposition in this dual character and lead the foreign policy on to the path of firm opposition.

Naturally, the revisionists' campaign of making this neutrality appear as the high water-mark of anti-imperialism is all deception.

Once we note this posture or character of the bourgeois policy, we are on the look-out to see if anything progressive can be realised out of it. Taking advantage of this neutrality, the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, tried to strengthen national independence. They had to oppose to an extent the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism. This was the progressive aspect of neutrality. But simultaneously with this, far from leading a firm opposition to imperialism, the bourgeoisie tried to press forward its own class interests, by taking advantage of the contradictions between socialism and imperialism. They interpreted neutrality as it suited their class interests.

In the immediate post-Independence period, the Indian Government was considerably under the influence of the imperialists. The U.S. imperialism held the monopoly of the atom bomb. It had a vast military machine. The class interest of the Indian Government therefore, lay in not alienating the imperialists.

Accordingly, the bourgeois-landlord Government allowed the British imperialists to recruit Gurkha soldiers to crush the revolution in Malaya. It gave landing facilities to the French imperialist air force which was out to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It sent a medical mission to help the U.S. aggressors in Korea and offered consistent support to the imperialists in the U.N. It even lent its support to the U.S. aggression against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and helped the imperialists to declare North Korea, the aggressor. The Indian Government during those days was hesitant to accept aid from the Soviet Union. This was the policy of leaning towards imperialism, a policy suited to its narrow class interests.

For a few years, thereafter, the Indian Government changed its policy. To begin with, the world situation itself changed. The Soviet Union ended the U.S. atomic monopoly. The Korean and the Chinese forces put the U.S. forces to rout in the Korean War. The French imperialists were thoroughly defeated in Vietnam and

the Democratic Republic of Vietnam came out victorious. A mighty wave of national liberation struggles engulfed Afro-Asia leading to the defeat of imperialism.

There was a shift in the correlation of world forces against the imperialists and in favour of the forces of peace and socialism. About this time the U.S. imperialists offered military aid to Pakistan and supported it on the Kashmir issue and thus tried to pressurise India. Simultaneously with this, the imperialist countries adopted obstructionist tactics with regard to economic aid and refused to give India any aid for building heavy and basic industries.

All this made it inevitable for the Indian Government to adopt anti-imperialist postures and the changing correlation of forces made this possible. They started taking economic aid from the Soviet Union for their heavy industries and on many issues took an anti-imperialist stand. Noteworthy in this connection are India's work in the matter of establishing peace at the end of the Korean war, its work during the Geneva Conference on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, its Panchsheel agreement with the People's Republic of China and its work during the Bandung Conference. This anti-imperialist policy raised India's prestige among the Afro-Asian countries and strengthened the forces of peaceful coexistence and world peace.

The bourgeois-landlord Government adopted this policy as a result of the growth in the contradictions and clashes among the Indian bourgeoisie and the imperialists. And it was in the interests of the people and the country. But soon its class interests changed, in other directions and since 1958, India's foreign policy has been passing through a new stage.

India's policy in the Congo only strengthened the imperialists. India refused to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Algeria even when Pakistan had earlier recognised it. It adopted a vacillating stand in its role as the Chairman of the International Commission in Vietnam and Laos. Its policy during the conference of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade in 1961 was at variance with that adopted by most of the Afro-Asian countries; it adopted a policy of leaning towards imperialism. At

the Cairo Conference, it lent its support to the imperialist machinations in the matter of Malaysia, etc. All these are the salient developments of this new period.

If, in reality, our Government were to genuinely accept anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, this was a period in which India had a unique opportunity to champion its cause. The newly liberated Afro-Asian countries had been taking firm anti-imperialist positions, the socialist world was gaining tremendous strength and prestige, a wave of anti-imperialist revolts was sweeping over Latin America and Afro-Asian countries stood ready in firm anti-imperialism. It was precisely at this hour that the India Government beat a retreat. For, in the eyes of the bourgeois-landlord class it was not an issue of principle, it was one of only class interest. The Indian Government performed all its black deeds during this period in the name of neutrality and non-alignment.

Why did this come about? Thanks to the capitalist path of the Congress Government, the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie of India grew immensely in strength. They forged close links with foreign imperialist capital; joint companies were established and so were joint interests. The Congress Government encouraged and helped this process. More and more the five-year plans of the Government came to depend on more and more U.S. aid. Nothing would move without U.S. imperialist aid.

Matters continued to be so despite the invaluable Soviet aid. The bourgeois-landlord Government proved itself incapable of solving any basic problem before the country. On the contrary, popular opinion was remarkably influenced by the unprecedented growth registered by the socialist countries. The Government's economic policies led to a further sharpening of the class contradictions in the Indian society. The present foreign policy is the result of all these developments.

The climax came during the border clashes with the People's Republic of China. In the name of national defence, the Congress Government went further down the slippery path. The acceptance of Anglo-U.S. military aid and begging for more such military aid, developments concerning the VOA (Voice of America)

agreement, joint air-exercises with Anglo-U.S. air forces, the more or less implied consent for the movements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, keeping silent over the U.S. threat to escalate its aggressive war in North Vietnam, supporting the U.S. aggression in the Vietnamese war in the name of peace, the Tito-Shastri Communique, complete silence about the U.S. use of poison-gas, supporting U.S. imperialism through the International Control Commission on Vietnam and holding North Vietnam guilty of infiltration, keeping completely silent about the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and the refusal to condemn U.S. aggression, the tacit support to the establishment of Anglo-U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean, etc., are all steps taken by the Indian Government after the India-China dispute.

In the end India even begged with the imperialists for a nuclear umbrella. Thus even the policy of neutrality is being given up. The imperialists and the reactionaries are exploiting this to mount further offensives and to work for India completely joining the imperialist camp.

This is how U.S. imperialist pressure against our foreign policy grew. But while we take note of this growing U.S. influence we should not miss British imperialism. They also continue to interfere in our foreign policy. This should be clear from the fact that India continues to be a member of the British Commonwealth. Why should India have remained in the British Commonwealth if it were not for the close links of the Government, the bourgeoisie with the British imperialists? A small country like Burma, because its leaders are more consistently anti-imperialist, has left the British Commonwealth, but our country with its vast population, is still loitering there.

The British kept up the farce of this Commonwealth only to preserve their interests and it is for its class interests that the Indian Government continues there. The British have their sizable capital in India. The major portion of the private capital is British. A large number of new partnership agreements have been entered into with the British capitalists. New joint companies also have been started in partnership with them. Sizable British capital

continues to be invested since the pre-Independence days in oil, coalmines, tea-plantations, jute mills, banks, etc.

Because it is the policy of the Congress Government to continue its cooperation with British imperialism, it has not even touched the British capital, and not nationalised it. On the contrary, it has given the British new concessions. Besides, the British have the largest share in our foreign trade. During the Suez crisis, we had taken a firm anti-British position, but otherwise the British do exert their economic and political pressure against us.

The British have interfered in the Kashmir issue on a number of occasions. At the time of the India-China clash, they insisted on our having negotiations with Pakistan in return for their aid and India was compelled to accept it. Malaysia is their new creation. They got India's support for it and for that India even preferred the hostility of a free country like Indonesia. India accepted British military aid in 1962. Wilson had his intervention in the Kutch dispute and India had to accept it. The British Government put forward its pro-U. S. scheme in the name of establishing peace in Vietnam and India fully supported it and followed the apron-strings of Anglo-American imperialism. Lal Bahadur Shastri's first request for a nuclear umbrella was made to Wilson. Such is the effect of our membership of this Commonwealth, of the old economic and trade relations and the new concessions. Even when U.S. imperialist influences are growing, the British can still intervene in our affairs.

Even under these conditions, however, we do not hold that all the contradictions between imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie are over. These contradictions are still there and can be seen on issues like Kashmir. We say that the shift is more and more towards the imperialists. It is a vital responsibility of our anti-imperialist struggle to fight against these tendencies. As for the reactionaries and the imperialists who are out to make this policy more reactionary we must completely rout them.

The main question, however, is the Government's policy. Even if it is within the framework of neutrality, in practice, its reliance on foreign monopoly capital, its growing collaboration with

foreign capital, its membership of the British Commonwealth, all lead to helping U.S. imperialism, helping neo-colonialism. India stands isolated from the forces of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism; all this, therefore, is harmful to our interests.

This only means that there can be no guarantee of an honest implementation of the policy of non-alignment nor can its further continuance be guaranteed, so long as the state is controlled by the bourgeoisie and is following anti-people policies.

Our Programme concerning our foreign policy is as under:

1. Strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity. Closer relations with the socialist countries and friendly relations and co-operation with all peace-loving countries for the defence of peace and freedom. Support to all anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples.

2. Work for peaceful coexistence among countries following different social systems.

3. With the co-operation of all peace-loving forces work to save the world from an atomic war. Demand for the immediate banning of the testing, production and use of all atomic weapons and the banning of all weapons of mass destruction. Work for the destruction of all atomic stockpiles and for agreements for the creation of atom-free zones.

4. Work for the defence of peace and preventing war, for general disarmament, cancellation of all military pacts, removal of all military bases on foreign lands and withdrawal of armies from foreign soil, keeping a watchful eye on the imperialist warmongers and helping the people to be always on the alert against them.

5. Quitting the British Commonwealth, cancelling all pacts and agreements with the U.K. or the U.S.A. which are not in national interests or which lower the national prestige.

6. Special efforts to peacefully settle the present disputes and establish friendly relations with our neighbours—the People's Republic of China, Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon and Burma.

If India's foreign policy is to be on anti-imperialist lines, it is necessary to dislodge the present Government under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie. There is a likelihood of this policy becoming steadily more reactionary, thanks to their

working for their narrow class interests. Implementation of the full programme of foreign policy can be possible only under a state of People's Democracy.

Our two great neighbours are the People's Republic of China and Pakistan.

For various reasons we have been having clashes with Pakistan. It is undoubtedly the effect of the partition introduced by imperialism. Till very recently, the Pakistan Government was following a foreign policy which was inspired by the imperialists, particularly, the U.S. imperialists. It had joined the SEATO and CENTO military pacts. Against India, it obtained military aid from the U.S. It had accepted the U.S. slogan of anti-Communism. Its relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China were only formal and it was not supporting even the anti-imperialist struggles.

The imperialists always sought to utilise its policy against India. They would support Pakistan in the U.N. and not allow the Kashmir question ever to be decided. On many issues concerning the border they tried to bring pressure on India and, through every means possible, to worsen the Indo-Pakistan rift. During this period, instead of exposing the imperialist conspiracy at each stage, India only adopted a line of submission before them.

Because India was dependent on them economically, she tried all manner of acrobatics under the pressure. But far from solving any problems, it only worsened them. During the Kutch episode also, India had to submit before the British imperialist intervention. Even when the Anglo-American imperialists have been consistently betraying India, the Congress Government of India refuses to free itself from their apron-strings.

Only when India gives up its dependence on imperialism and tries to solve these problems independent of them, will she be able to solve them. Today the Pakistan Government also seems to be taking positions against U.S. imperialism. Both the countries could take advantage of this and solve the problem independently. The advice of all socialist countries, of all peace-loving, anti-imperialist countries is just this.

It is necessary for the democratic advance and economic

progress of India and Pakistan that the disputes between them are solved peacefully and in a friendly manner. It will be a matter of shame if fuel is added to the existing fire by falling a prey to national chauvinism. No one calling himself a Marxist-Leninist will attempt such a thing. Co-operation between these two countries, the growth of democracy and their economic progress will help to clear the path of both towards democratic revolution and socialism.

India-China relations have indeed a vital importance. The question is—are the people of India going to stand up against a country which has made the greatest socialist revolution in Asia? The question in other words is—will India be in the aggressive U.S. bloc and be a part of its anti-Communist world front? The present policy of the bourgeois-landlord Government is taking India along this path.

No doubt, differences regarding the border have come up between India and the People's Republic of China. In reality, it is our task to bring about an honourable settlement between the two countries, solve these problems peacefully and thus give a new turn to Asian politics on the basis of firm friendship between the peoples of the two great countries. This is a matter of the highest importance to our national interest, the interest of the successful conclusion of the democratic revolution in India and its onward march to socialism.

It is utterly unthinkable that the Marxist-Leninists who hold aloft the banner of socialism, the banner of working class all over the world, can take up a position in favour of war, of military clash between these two countries.

We must, therefore, always note the limitations of our dispute with any socialist country, whether concerning the borders or otherwise. There is a fundamental difference between our clashes and struggles with western imperialist countries and those with the socialist or peace-loving countries.

The first is against the enemies of world freedom. It is a clash with a system, the imperialist system, which we are out to liquidate in the world. Such a struggle will have to be waged in one form or another till the end. For, we have to end the very

system itself and till it is thus ended there can be no security for our freedom or the freedom of other countries nor is the road to socialism cleared. There is no scope here for any compromise.

But our clash with the socialist countries is not of that character. It is a clash between two countries desiring to travel along the same road. The goal of the Indian people is the establishment of genuine socialism—not the bogus Congress-brand socialism, but genuine Marxian socialism—and this goal will never be reached by developing enmity with a great socialist country, by trying to weaken its strength with the help of the imperialists. It can only help to weaken the forces of world socialism and India will then continue to rot in the mire of exploitation. The clash between two fellow-travellers of socialism must, therefore, be resolved in a fraternal manner, in a spirit of give-and-take.

Today more people are coming to realize the need to solve this dispute peacefully and through compromise. Such views have been expressed, whether openly and clearly or in an indirect manner, by President Radhakrishnan, some MPs (including Congress MPs), some newspaper editors, leaders of some political parties, Sarvodaya leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan, etc. And no matter how virulent the attack against it, no matter how much the Congress Government may neglect it in the name of cheap popularity, that remains the only solution in our national interest.

The ruling class has no love lost whatsoever for socialism and it has, therefore, given a new orientation to the entire foreign policy itself by taking an extreme position. What did the people of India gain out of it? To begin with, in the name of Emergency, they have now begun the rule of the Defence of India Act. Personal liberties of none are safe today. It is the leaders of workers' strikes, those who fight against starving the people, who try to solve the people's problems of food, etc., that are locked behind bars in the name of an Act which is aimed at the defence of India.

As for the Communists, they have been facing mass arrests, while the field is left completely clear for the black-marketeers,

for the looters of the people's food, for the exploiting bourgeoisie, in fact, for all those who want to starve the people to death.

Military expenses have been increased to Rs.1,000 crores in the name of defence against China and it is the people who are to bear the full brunt of it. Fantastic rise in taxes and price-rises that only result in starvation are squeezing the people dry. The shadows of famine and starvation stalk the land.

This policy is bringing our very national independence into danger. From whom did we beg for help against the People's Republic of China? From U.S. imperialism which wiped out with one bomb eighty thousand people of Hiroshima. An imperialism which has been named as the world people's main enemy in the Moscow Statement of 1960, became our friend and ally. We trusted as our friend U.S. imperialism which is trying every measure to destroy the freedom forces in the world, which is struggling its hardest to establish its overlordship over the world, which is out to put the world into the holocaust of an atomic war, which is conspiring to wage war against the socialist countries. An imperialism which does not stop at killing millions of heroes of the national liberation struggles in its bid to crush the freedom struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which pushed the people of the Congo back into slavery by murdering Lumumba, became our friend and ally.

Bitter are the curses that the millions of freedom-loving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been heaping upon the U.S. imperialists; and our Government looks upon just these imperialists as its friend and ally. We asked them and the British for military aid and hundreds of American military officers were allowed to camp in India in the name of seeing to it that the help was being properly utilized. They began to exert pressure on India and could get all the detailed information about our military needs, etc. We invited U.S. aircraft-carriers in the Bay of Bengal. India's very independent existence itself came to be in danger and all this, in the name of national defence.

Our subsequent servility beggars description. We asked for a nuclear umbrella. We were tongue-tied on the issue of the movements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. We

gave tacit consent to the establishment of new Anglo-U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean. In the end, we went in defence of U.S. imperialism on the issue of Vietnam, shielding all its aggression. (All this only to spite the People's Republic of China.)

The ruling class completely forgot the freedom struggle waged by our people only a few years ago and started slandering the indomitable bravery and the heroism of the people of Vietnam fighting for their national liberation. Never before in history could there have been such a glorious struggle! But how does it matter to our rulers? They would not call the U.S. imperialists aggressors. They would not support unconditionally the Vietnamese freedom struggle. They would not even call for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Vietnam. On the other hand, they are calling for a treacherous cease-fire without calling for the withdrawal of these forces.

We, thus, not only bring our own independence in peril, we also betray other people's struggles for independence. What else can we achieve with our friendship with the U.S. imperialists? And that is precisely why India is losing face, has lost face, with the freedom-loving Afro-Asian countries.

Our policy has come to this state of degeneration because we did not realise the limitations of our border dispute. Our neutrality has also suffered a big set-back. Instead of having friendly relations with the socialist countries and opposition to imperialism, our policy is for friendship with the imperialist countries and enmity towards the socialist countries. The very freedom of India may come to an end as a result of this. That is why it has become a matter of extreme urgency that this policy is completely changed, that the India-China dispute is peacefully settled and our foreign policy is based on firm anti-imperialism.

9. The Revisionists and Foreign Policy

The revisionist policy of issuing laudatory certificates to the bourgeois-landlord Government becomes clearer still in the matter of foreign policy. In the course of their analysis of the foreign policy, they just forget the class character of the present

In the end, they have come to the conclusion that but for the Government's compromising policy, India's progress could have been rapid. What is the essence of this analysis? The essence is that India is building up an independent economy with socialist aid, and that only its speed is retarded because of the compromising policy of the Government.

All that this analysis amounts to is issuing a certificate, under cover of socialist aid, to the big bourgeoisie that it is out for an independent economy and has been developing it. But what they have tried to hide is precisely the fact that they are utilising the socialist aid to secure very much more 'aid' from the imperialists, thereby increasing India's economic dependence.

The Indian big bourgeoisie, too, are similarly fooling the Indian people. They announce that they are strengthening India's economic independence by building compared new industries. But they hide the fact of the limitations being placed in our economic independence thanks to the foreign (U.S.) loans, which are only increasing our dependence. The only difference is that the bourgeoisie do not put on the mask of internationalism, do not defend U.S. imperialism by reference to the Soviet aid. That is a job left to our revisionists.

What do we say about this? The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have given us valuable aid. This has enabled us to construct many basic industries in our country. The imperialists had first refused altogether to give us any such aid. Later on, no sooner the Soviet Union gave us aid for the construction of the Bhilai steel plant than the British and the German bourgeoisie also came forward to offer us two more steel plants. But for these two plants, almost all our basic industries have been built up with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Had there been no bourgeois-landlord Government, the people could have utilised this aid completely to drive away the imperialists and build up a self-reliant economy based on democracy. But the Government led by the big bourgeoisie adopted just the opposite policy. It secured from the U.S. seven-eight times more 'aid' than what the Soviet Union gave and far

just *do not feel* that our entire *economic* and political freedom itself has thereby come into danger. For, were it so, how could they have justified the U.S. military aid?

Why do these people shut their eyes to the great danger resulting from the penetration of U.S. capital? Under-rating the danger of imperialism, indulging in empty prattle as if imperialism is already a totally spent force and characterizing this as the content of the new age, are all characteristics of the modern revisionists. This is nothing but an attempt, under one excuse or another, to avoid anti-imperialist struggle, an attempt simulatenously to whitewash the policies of imperialism's friends, the Indian big bourgeoisie.

Because their understanding is that this bourgeois-landlord Government, led by the big bourgeoisie, is basically anti-imperialist, they do not see much of a danger in the foreign policy of the Government. On the contrary, they are convinced that the Government will not allow that danger to grow and will instead keep it under check. If they were to accept that the danger from imperialism is growing, they would, naturally have to take a firm stand against this Government. But how can they accept this? In order to continue the policy of class collaboration, the revisionists are closing their eyes to the reality.

If their analysis is so completely unreal, it is only because they want to fool their ranks. They are out to prove that the danger of imperialism is practically non-existent, if only because the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have given aid to India. Look at their economic development : "Socialist aid is distributed over vital sectors of our national economy and helps to fulfil many basic needs in the same. New branches of industry and projects, which emerged as a result of socialist aid, go a long way to eliminate the legacy of the colonial past and reduce India's dependence on capitalist world market for trained manpower, materials and machinery. The joint industrial complexes now taking shape or expanding, as at Bhilai, Barauni, Ranchi, Hardwar, Hyderabad, Neyveli and other places stand as milestones on our road to economic self-sufficiency and independence." (Para 16)

phenomenon not only concerning foreign policy, but internal policy as well. The secret behind the growing concessions being offered to foreign private capital is just this.

When, therefore, instead of exposing before the people the serious nature of the dangers threatening the country today, the revisionists describe them in vague and equivocal terms, they are only out to whitewash things.

In para 29 of our Programme we have shown how “this heavy dependence of our economy on Western aid both for the development of the state sector and for industrial raw materials and components, as well as for food, and the concessions that are being increasingly given to foreign capital as well as the increasing penetration of foreign capital into our economy by means of their collaboration with our private capitalists—all this constitutes a serious danger to our country’s future, and to our capacity to pursue independent policies both internally and externally.”

Our growing dependence on U.S. “aid” and the increasing penetration of U.S. capital in our economy have created a dangerous situation in our country. Through these the U.S. capitalists are out to extort more and more concessions to exploit our country. They are entering into new partnership agreements with our big bourgeoisie and bringing political pressures against us. They are penetrating every field of our national life—social, cultural, educational, etc. They are building direct contacts and relations with the various reactionary forces in the country. They are ruining our social and cultural life. We have taken note of this growing danger and clearly warned our people against it. We have already made a detailed analysis of our foreign policy and shown how vital it is to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. imperialist struggle.

But, of course, you will never find this clear warning nor any awareness of this danger in the revisionists’ analysis. Worse still, there is absolutely no realisation that this is a grim struggle and that it must be waged from today onwards. For them, imperialism poses no more danger than that we suffer economic loss, the retardation of our growth and some occasional pressures. They

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prepared to admit this also, for they insist on maintaining that the Government's policies continue to be what they were.

In this connection, we have made our analysis, our Marxist-Leninist analysis, taking into account the class situation. The foreign policy of the Government led by the big bourgeoisie becomes more and more submissive, opportunist and yielding to pressures, thanks to our economy being growingly dependent on the U.S. imperialist loans, thanks also to the new economic ties and links forged by the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie, who have strengthened their positions as a result of the capitalist path of the Government. That is our analysis and it conforms to the reality.

These lapses and this compromise, therefore, arise out of these class relations, out of the economic policies of the Government. But our revisionists do not want to attack the bourgeois-landlord Government and, therefore, they do not just utter a word about this policy of economic collaboration, about these class interests and the like.

By saying that this compromise only takes place sometimes, occasionally, they are only fooling their ranks. We have already shown how ever since 1958, i.e., even before the India-China dispute arose, the policy of the Government had been steadily deteriorating. India's Congo policy, her refusal for long to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Algeria, her support to the feudal representative Dalai Lama, her vacillating role as the Chairman of the International Commission in Laos and Vietnam, the policies she adopted at the Non-Aligned Nations' Conference in Belgrade in 1961, her submissive policy with regard to anti-imperialism, are all these developments to be taken as symptomatic of its anti-imperialism or its non-alignment?

These were distinct signs of danger. By describing them as "lapses sometimes", the revisionists are only trying to belittle their gravity. These developments were blowing up the concept of non-alignment, but how can the Dange group, those blind devotees of the Congress regime, ever accept this reality?

The alarming events following the India-China border dispute

just climaxed it all. To say, under these conditions, that the main character of the policy has been generally preserved and it is only sometimes that it is vitiated, is only to whitewash the treacherous policies of the bourgeois-landlord Government. Far from warning the people against these alarming developments, the revisionists are only lulling them into a false sense of security.

Subsequently, in their defence of this Government, led by the big bourgeoisie, the revisionists have created a high water-mark of their sycophancy. Events following the India-China dispute have, to a very great extent, brought the policy of non-alignment itself into great danger. The imperialist grip over India's ruling classes has tightened and a situation created bringing our freedom itself in danger. Every Marxist-Leninist admits this fact. How can a Marxist-Leninist fail to take note of the fact that the U.S. imperialist octopus—characterized by the 1960 Moscow Statement as main enemy of the world working class—has been spreading its tentacles in India under cover of its military aid?

But the revisionists have just nothing to worry about it. On the contrary, they have put out the yarn that the policy of non-alignment has remained intact even after the India-China border dispute, that the reactionaries have been defeated and that Nehru has won.

The reactionaries might have shouted themselves hoarse demanding this or that step, demanding that India joined the U.S. military bloc. We must see what Nehru did in practice. True, Nehru did not go so far as the reactionaries demanded. But then why make false propaganda that he stuck fast by a progressive policy?

Do events like taking military aid from the USA and from Britain (even when help was taken from the Soviet Union, the main help was from these two), the joint exercises, calling the U.S. aircraft carriers into the Bay of Bengal, keeping U.S. military officers in India to see if the aid was being properly utilised or not, etc., suggest victory for non-alignment? What greater danger for India can there be beyond this?

Why did not these men who shout in season and out of season that they follow the Soviet Party, see this great danger from the

U.S. imperialism? Why did these men who call themselves the adherents of the 81 Parties' Statement forget the teaching of that Statement that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of world peace and that it destroys the national independence of undeveloped countries in the name of its military and economic aid to them? And again, why did these men indulge in this utterly false and deceptive propaganda about this being a victory for non-alignment, precisely at a time when the danger of imperialism was growing? There is no doubt that Nehru's steps in those days were in a direction that suited the reactionaries. And is it not the high-water-mark of sycophancy that these men should still continue to hold that it was a victory for Nehru?

Why did this happen? Because these men were in favour of the military intervention of U.S. imperialism in India. The revisionist majority in the National Council of the Party which passed the November 2, 1962, resolution, has clearly stated that it would be correct and proper to accept military aid from any source. It was then a question of such help coming from the U.S. imperialists only.

To deceive their own ranks, the revisionists then suggested that such help should be on commercial terms. But it was on the main political question that they voted a policy of betrayal. It was obvious that the Indian Government was going to have this help only by way of a loan. It was also clear that through this it would be subjected to pressures. But the revisionists only fooled their ranks into believing that no such thing would happen if they just used the phrase "on commercial terms". It was thus that they supported Nehru's policy of collaborating with U. S. imperialism.

Never before in the history of the international Communist movement has anyone gone in for such shamelessly naked advocacy of imperialism. Here was a concrete demonstration of how men, who have finally given up proletarian internationalism and fallen prey to national chauvinism, can degenerate into becoming the agents of the bourgeoisie, of the reactionaries and in the final analysis of the imperialists.

Because they have themselves advocated acceptance of U.S. help, they are now out to hail this policy and call it a victory for

non-alignment.

They do not attach any particular importance to the more alarming events that followed, beyond calling them a few bad developments. Events like the Government's keeping tongue-tied over the movements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, the tacit consent given for the construction of Anglo-American military bases in the Indian Ocean, the shielding of U.S. in Vietnam and not giving unconditional support to the national liberation struggle there, not demanding the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Vietnam, are such more alarming developments.

Even while noting that India's relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Europe have been getting more firm and friendly, we see clearly the direction in which these events were heading. Today also we do not hold that there are no contradictions between the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie or that their interests do not come into clash. Such contradictions are there. Clashes may grow out of them and we shall have to support them. But today the direction of our foreign policy is one of drifting away from non-alignment and it is most harmful and full of dangerous potentialities for our independence, the independence of other countries, and for the socialist movement.

The revisionists are compelled to take note of these developments. They recite them like so many *mantras* and in the end come to the conclusion that despite all these oscillations, the policy in the main is what it was before. Through their opportunist interpretations of the foreign policy of the Government, by overlooking the reactionary shifts and changes in it, the revisionists are only shielding the reactionary steps and actions of the Congress Government. They take all precautions to see that the people are not in the least made aware of how this Government, led by the big bourgeoisie, has been bringing our national independence itself into great danger. These reactionary events in quick succession are only made to look like a few exceptions to the national policy.

Their policy of class collaboration with the national bourgeoisie is laid bare here also. They are not only not prepared

to fight the national bourgeoisie in this connection even in the interests of the people and the nation but rather look upon its whole-hearted defence as their only task. Indeed, this is a part of their National Democratic Front. How can these men, who are out to keep the bourgeoisie in leadership, characterise its foreign policy as vacillating? At best, they are prepared to concede that it has certain weaknesses, by way of exceptions.

Their policies lead to the weakening of the anti-imperialist struggle and fail to arouse the people against these dangers. The only meaning of anti-imperialist revolution is the complete elimination of imperialism from the economy and politics of our country. This necessitates ceaseless struggles against imperialism and all those who are out to compromise with it. The field of foreign policy is a vital part of this struggle. For, it is here that imperialism exerts its initial pressures. It is the starting point for the fissures and cracks to develop in our national independence.

We have seen how alarming have been the recent developments in India's foreign policy. It is the highest responsibility of all Marxist-Leninists, of all anti-imperialists to rouse the people by exposing in full glare all the conspiracies of the U.S. imperialists and all the opportunist evil deeds of the Government. It is their responsibility to hold up and halt this drift and checkmate U.S. imperialism.

The revisionists are, however, avoiding this struggle by their characterization that these events are only a few exceptions to the policy of non-alignment. They are hiding the reality that it is these opportunist actions of the Congress Government in its foreign policy that help U.S. imperialism and create a danger for our national liberation. In this manner they are only lulling the people into a false sense of security against the U.S. danger. It is a policy of weakening and scattering the anti-imperialist forces. But is it any wonder that this is the inevitable result of the policy of defending U.S. military aid?

Their class collaboration in the end has only resulted in their avoiding the anti-imperialist struggle, in their advocating an anti-national policy.

It still these men want to shout hoarse about their anti-imperialist revolution, who can ever trust them?

10. Revisionists and the U.S. Menace

While studying the programme of the People's Democratic Revolution, we have seen what our anti-imperialist programme is. We have also made it clear how U.S. imperialism and Western imperialism in general have been rapidly entering our economy, resulting in our growing economic dependence on them which is leading to political dangers, to a danger to our national independence itself. This dependence of ours has resulted in alarming developments in our foreign policy and in our being dragged, militarily and politically, towards U.S. imperialism. We have also seen how the non-alignment in our foreign policy is being watered down, resulting in a growing shift towards imperialism on the important issues in international politics. Our Programme notes the seriousness of this new danger to our national independence and we have laid proper emphasis on it in our analysis of the present situation.

According to us, the bourgeois-landlord Government has not only not ended the exploitation practised by the already well-entrenched British and other foreign capital, rather it is further liberally giving them ever-new concessions and facilities and inviting them to invest more and more capital in our economy. The foreign private capital (excluding bank capital) invested in India in the pre-Independence days totalled Rs. 256 crores. By 1963, it had risen to over Rs. 800 crores. In the name of creating an independent economy, the Congress Government has been inviting Britain, USA, West Germany and other countries to invest in India if only to extort inordinate profits. Certain strategic fields have been witnessing a rapid investment of U.S. capital and the danger arising from foreign capital is sharply coming to the fore.

The big bourgeoisie who are out for the development of capitalism through the public sector and the five-year plans, are expanding their own industries and simultaneously have been

giving ever-new opportunities to the foreign imperialists to continue their exploitation of the Indian people as before.

At the same time, our old exploiters, the British capitalists, are already well-entrenched here. In the pre-Independence days the foreign capital was mainly British. Today also British capital dominates the private foreign capital. This British capital, since the pre-Independence days, has been invested in tea plantations, coal-mines and oil-fields, apart from other industries and banks. The post-Independence period has seen a growth in this capital and a major portion of this Rs. 800 crores of private foreign capital is private British capital. The Indian big bourgeoisie have entered into partnership with the British bourgeoisie to start many joint companies. Not only does this lead to inordinate exploitation, these economic ties have also become a carrier for political pressures.

We have seen how the Congress leaders in the post-Independence period have not even touched in the least this British capital. Not only this, the Congress Government has also not taken India out of the British Commonwealth. Even a small country like Burma could quit this British Commonwealth, but not so India. It is only one more proof of how deep are the bonds between the bourgeois Government and the British. This is the reason why every time British imperialism is able to exert its political pressure on our country and also openly to intervene in our foreign policy.

Time and again the British have brought pressure bear against us on the Kashmir issue. Wilson intervened in the Rann of Kutch dispute and India had to accept it. During the last Commonwealth Conference, India supported the British imperialist conspiracy over Vietnam. In the name of establishing peace there, the British backed the U.S. imperialists and Shastri supported it. It was to the same British imperialists that India requested for a nuclear umbrella. Our old rulers can still exert pressure against us and it is absolutely necessary to drive them out completely.

At the same time, in the name of economic aid, the Congress Government has been taking crores of rupees of loans from the U.S. and other imperialist countries. Our Government's loans

from the U.S. alone exceed the Rs. 2,000 crore mark. In comparison, loans from the socialist states, mainly from the Soviet Union, are considerably less.

These loans from private foreign monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism have only led to our very great economic dependence on them. The U.S. imperialism has been practising all over the world its policy of giving loans in the name of "aid" to the under-developed countries, giving them military aid, all with the object of catching them in its dragnet, subjecting them to economic pressures and holding them in a pincer, taking advantage of their economic and political difficulties. That was why the 1960 Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties denounced U.S. imperialism as the enemy number one of the peoples and workers of the world.

We must take serious note of the fact that this main enemy of the peoples of the world has started spreading its tentacles in our country, too. If we fail in this, there would be no sense in our anti-imperialist struggle or our revolution, nor will our internationalism have any meaning. For, what kind of internationalist are we if we do not take serious note of the movements in our country of this main enemy of the world working class?

This bourgeois-landlord Government secured economic aid from the U.S. and recently its military aid, too. Besides, it gave ever-new concessions to foreign private capital also. We have seen the dreadful consequences of all these, seriously endangering our economic and political freedom. Military dependence on U.S. imperialism, economic dependence on U.S. imperialism, U.S. pressures against our internal policies, too! The U.S. dominated World Bank compels us to prune our plans, calls upon us to give more freedom to private capital and we have to submit.

Foreign private capital has started entering even industries that had been specially reserved for the public sector. The Indian Government has started entering into partnership with foreign oil companies, e.g., Burmah-Shell and now with companies from other countries, too. Besides, we are completely dependent on the U.S. for food. Till date, our debts on account of food, etc., under

PL 480 have crossed the figure of Rs. 1,100 crores. Today we are faced with the need to borrow again for the repayment of the old debts.

We want to end this danger created by imperialism and, in particular, by U.S. imperialism. For this we also demand the dislodging of this Government which has brought about all these dangers. The events following the India-China clash show clearly how our policy has been entirely correct. We have been getting entangled into the meshes of the U.S. military aid, and our right and freedom to decide our own policy is being subjected to very heavy pressures. Our present foreign and internal policies clearly reveal this reality. Those, who want to fight the anti-imperialist battle, who want to defend their national independence unimpaired, must take note of these serious developments. Similarly, they must expose before the people the big bourgeoisie and its Government who have initiated this policy, expose their self-seeking anti-national policies and demand that they be dislodged.

The revisionists have developed cold feet in the matter of anti-imperialism also. These men who have elsewhere talked high and might about their anti-imperialism and about building their extensive "national" front for that end, have, at the outset, itself taken a wishy-washy position with regard to U.S. imperialism.

There is not much of an awareness in their analysis of U.S. imperialism, of any great danger to India, thanks to the entry of U.S. capital. They reveal here the same approach and outlook as they reveal towards foreign policy. In the matter of the policy of the National Government with regard to foreign capital also, they hold that in the main it is on correct lines and that if there are any shifts and turns they are only incidental. There is, therefore, no question of any danger to national independence, no question, therefore, of attaching any special importance to its policy towards U.S. imperialism. What else can these men say when they have already defended U.S. military aid to India? What according to them was the result of the policy of the bourgeois-landlord Government with regard to foreign capital? They say, "The Indian Government, however, sought the so-called 'aid'

from the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, and many agreements, contrary to our national interests, were entered into with imperialist circles. Moreover, foreign private capital was invited and encouraged to make new investments in our economy. *This enabled imperialists to exercise a retarding and otherwise harmful influence on the development of the national economy.*” (Para 16, emphasis added)

What according to them, was the effect of the Government’s policy towards foreign capital? That the development of the economy was slightly retarded and some other harmful influences were created! That our economic dependence has grown enormously; that U.S. food loan alone has risen to more than Rs. 1,100 crores, with the other loans exceeding Rs. 2,000 crores; that this results in tremendous economic pressure being exerted against us forcing us to submit many a time to U.S. imperialism; that military ‘aid’ has only added to it, leading to a tremendous shift and slide-down in our foreign policy; that our Government will find it difficult to hold on to its seat should the U.S. Government stop its food loan, etc., are all matters as clear as daylight.

Then why this cheating about its being only a retardation of the development of the economy? Does the danger to India from U.S. imperialism amount only to this much? Does the anti-imperialist revolution of these people amount only to this? Is it its only objective to speed up this retarded development and nothing more?

Elsewhere also these gentlemen have made this analysis of imperialism and that also is on these lines. “The conditions on which the so-called economic aid from the imperialist powers is secured hit our national interests and serve the interests of imperialism. The economic aid from the West goes largely to meet the balance of payment deficit, resulting largely from India’s unequal trade with the West. Owing to one-sided foreign trade, wherein about 90 per cent of exports still go to the imperialist countries, our share of exports is continuously decreasing and we suffer a colossal loss owing to unequal exchange. Well over 50 per cent of the U.S. aid has been used for importing foodgrains

at high prices, compared to the internal cost of production and the 'aid' instead of helping us, hits our peasantry and development of our agriculture.

"The huge rupee account accruing from the sales of the imported foodgrains from the U.S. aid under PL 480 is operated in a manner which is a menace to our independent development, as huge sums are left to be used by the U.S. embassy as it pleases, while still larger sums are channelled by 'agreement' into private sectors as foreign investments and collaboration deeds." (Para 22)

And what conclusions do these gentlemen arrive at? "So long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given more concessions, India cannot develop fully a self-reliant national economy. Nor can the country's political life be made safe from the pressures, interference and blackmail by the imperialists who function closely linked with the reactionary circles within the country." (Para 23)

According to us, the dependence of our economy is growing very fast and this has created a danger to our political and economic independence itself. According to the revisionists, all that this will result in is, "India cannot develop fully a self-reliant national economy". There is no dependence, no danger, to our independence. Only the economy cannot develop fully! There are some difficulties, that is all. Why all this talk of national danger and all that? Can our *national* Congress Government ever create such a danger?

They say further that it is not possible to make the country's political life safe from the pressures, etc., by the imperialists. The reality lies much beyond this. The pressures, interference and blackmail are no more occasional but are being regularly applied and aberrations and shifts in foreign policy have begun.

Besides, it is no more a question merely of imperialist pressures either. Thanks to the new and growing economic ties of the big bourgeoisie, their drift towards the imperialists has increased. On many an occasion, to serve their narrow class interests, they have to bow down before the imperialists. This is

phenomenon not only concerning foreign policy, but internal policy as well. The secret behind the growing concessions being offered to foreign private capital is just this.

When, therefore, instead of exposing before the people the serious nature of the dangers threatening the country today, the revisionists describe them in vague and equivocal terms, they are only out to whitewash things.

In para 29 of our Programme we have shown how “this heavy dependence of our economy on Western aid both for the development of the state sector and for industrial raw materials and components, as well as for food, and the concessions that are being increasingly given to foreign capital as well as the increasing penetration of foreign capital into our economy by means of their collaboration with our private capitalists—all this constitutes a serious danger to our country’s future, and to our capacity to pursue independent policies both internally and externally.”

Our growing dependence on U.S. “aid” and the increasing penetration of U.S. capital in our economy have created a dangerous situation in our country. Through these the U.S. capitalists are out to extort more and more concessions to exploit our country. They are entering into new partnership agreements with our big bourgeoisie and bringing political pressures against us. They are penetrating every field of our national life—social, cultural, educational, etc. They are building direct contacts and relations with the various reactionary forces in the country. They are ruining our social and cultural life. We have taken note of this growing danger and clearly warned our people against it. We have already made a detailed analysis of our foreign policy and shown how vital it is to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. imperialist struggle.

But, of course, you will never find this clear warning nor any awareness of this danger in the revisionists’ analysis. Worse still, there is absolutely no realisation that this is a grim struggle and that it must be waged from today onwards. For them, imperialism poses no more danger than that we suffer economic loss, the retardation of our growth and some occasional pressures. They

has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain the resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction.Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it." (Para 69)

Once again the revisionists have returned to the old position. The foreign policy of the Congress Government is correct. There are only some vacillations in it but no sliding away, no changes due to class interests, etc. Therefore, their policy is one of general support to the Government and defending it against reactionary pressures. Once again, defence of the Congress Government in the name of opposing the monopolists!

A cursory analysis of the two extracts given above shows how hollow and false their advocacy is. What do they say in para 67? That the policy "meets the needs of India's economic development". There can be no bigger fairy-tale anywhere. In the name of non-alignment, this Government took loans from the U.S. imperialists amounting to Rs. 2,000 crores and increased India's dependence on it. The revisionists want to hide and shield this fact which is as clear as daylight.

No doubt, the policy of non-alignment secured aid from the socialist countries, but only imperialist agents can campaign that our economic development has been helped because this Government borrowed more and more from the imperialists. Is it any wonder that our revisionists who have tied themselves to the apron-strings of the bourgeois-landlord Government forget this?

While issuing certificates to the Government policies, our revisionists hold that, "It is *sometimes* vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved". Gentlemen, which is the class that compromises? And for whose interests? But our revisionists shy away from an answer. They just do not want all that headache about classes. For, once you do away with it, it becomes easy to push the self-seeking policies of the bourgeoisie down the throat of the people as national policies. But have not this compromise and these lapses increased very much of late? They are not

Government and its class interests. They talk as if the Government has completely dedicated itself to national interests and that the question of its class interests, etc., just does not arise. At the worst, their Government sometimes just falters and fumbles a little. But that is all. That, however, is not because of its class interests, etc. Thus they go in for the false propaganda that the Government's foreign policy is almost consistently anti-imperialist.

We have already seen how its class interests led the Congress Government to change its approach to non-alignment. The revisionists, however, do not accept this class analysis. We have come to the conclusion that even when the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists continue to exist, our foreign policy is fast sliding down and shifting away from neutrality, even if it has not so far over-stepped these bounds. This is only helping U.S. imperialism indirectly.

No one, therefore, according to us, can guarantee, so long as the big bourgeoisie leads the Government, that this policy of non-alignment will either be honestly implemented or maintained any further.

What do the revisionists say? Even after the developments like air-umbrella, joint air exercises, American military aid, our anti-freedom policy in the matter of Vietnam, etc., these revisionist agents of the Government continue to praise its policy in the following words:

“Foreign policy pursued by the Government of India [this was written in November 1964] is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. It conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, meets the needs of India's economic development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of the people of India. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved.” (Para 67)

The foreign policy of the Congress Government is in the main on correct lines even if there may be some lapses sometimes in it! Hence their call for supporting it in the main. They say further, “The policy of non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism

from building a self-reliant economy, only increased our national dependence. If the Government secured a loan of Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 crores from the Soviet Union, it exploited the Soviet-U.S. contradictions to obtain from the U.S. imperialists loans amounting to Rs. 2,000 crores.

We look upon the Soviet aid as highly valuable. There is no doubt that but for this aid, our plight would have been far more miserable than what it is today. But even after securing this aid, our bourgeoisie would not give up its policy of seeking its narrow class interests and with this end in view they secured far bigger 'aid' from the U.S. and thus increased our dependence on the U.S. One just cannot overlook this reality.

But under the plea of praising the Soviet Union what the revisionists are really after is to defend the bourgeois-landlord Government and cover up the penetration of the U.S. imperialists. The rightists in the Party had taken up this same position of defence of the imperialists even before the Vijayawada Party Congress. These men had then also not only pooh-pooed the danger from U.S. imperialism, but had, on the other hand, maintained that the country was, with every passing day, marching along the road to independent economic development.

Dange bragged bravely about nationalising foreign capital any day we chose and thus tried to dull the vigilance of the ranks against foreign capital. Precisely when the Party was having a serious discussion on U.S. capital in India, Dange would raise, like a clown, the question, "But why make all these hullabaloo if the Johnsons have put up a factory or two for baby powder!" A man who can only see baby-powder factories when tens of crores of rupees of U.S. capital has been penetrating into both the state and private sectors, cannot have had even the remotest contact with Marxism-Leninism or, for that matter, even with elementary honesty.

Such is the treacherous line adopted by the revisionists over so vital a question facing the country. By following at the tail-end of the bourgeoisie, they lull the people's vigilance against U.S. imperialism. By their analysis that there is not much of a danger from U.S. imperialism either to our economy or our

national independence they are only weakening our anti-imperialist struggle. These men who would not keep the people fully informed about the evil deeds of the imperialists, who would not rouse them to fight against the imperialists by laying bare before them the disastrous consequences of all their evil deeds, what kind of an anti-imperialist revolution will they make? How can they ever drive out the imperialists?

Our revisionists call themselves internationalist. They say they accept and follow the Moscow Statement of 1960. Very well! But then why don't they use their Programme to issue to their own country the warning that Statement uttered against U.S. imperialism? In our Programme we have made clear what are all the evil deeds U.S. imperialism has been committing all over the world and what they have been doing in our country. The Moscow Statement has clearly warned that the U.S. imperialists try to enmesh the newly independent but undeveloped countries in their neo-colonial dragnet, through the device of their economic and military 'aid', and that in the end they destroy their independence. The U.S. imperialism seeks to bring these countries under their control chiefly by entering into economic and military "agreements" with them.

The U.S. imperialism is the world's most powerful imperialism. It is trying to push the world into the holocaust of an atomic war. It is hatching war conspiracies against the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and the socialist world. The U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples and the workers of the world. Should its shadow fall over our country, every patriot, every Marxist must look upon it as a most dangerous development and resist it with all his might. That has been the teaching of the Moscow Statement of 1960.

Why have the revisionists forgotten this teaching in their Programme? Why should they not even mention the Moscow Statement of 1960 in this regard? Why should they forget the Statement by the 81 Parties precisely when this world enemy has been penetrating into this country? For, had they not forgotten it they would have full-well realised the serious danger threatening our country through this U.S. penetration and would have warned and roused their ranks about it.

What an irony! Five years ago, the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, with one voice, had condemned U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of all peoples and warned the underdeveloped countries in particular against its machinations. It was precisely during these last five years that U.S. imperialism began vigorously to spread its tentacles over our country. We took military aid from them, made them a request for a nuclear umbrella, were reduced to utter servility to get from them food. Our economic dependence on them grew and yet our revisionists do not see any danger in this except the retardation of our development. How is one to characterize this international outlook?

Such is the internationalism of the revisionists. It does not go one step beyond bourgeois nationalism. The day the revisionists find any internationalist principle or internationalism itself being inconvenient for their bourgeoisie, that very day they would unhesitatingly throw it overboard. Once you decide basically to support the policies of the Congress Government, you have got to support, in one form or another, its policies regarding foreign capital also. If by doing that the danger of American imperialism grows, well, they are ready to acquiesce in it.

Here is a living demonstration of how the men who have sold themselves to the class interests of the national bourgeoisie, can never defend their country against foreign enemies. Those who give up the international outlook can never defend their national interests, no matter how loud they talk about their nationalism. Here is an instance to show how, on the contrary, they indirectly help the nation's enemies.

All their talk about anti-imperialism is hollow and false. In their analysis they do not see the danger of U.S. imperialism. They do not feel that the policies of the present government with regard to foreign capital bring untold harm to our national independence, how they create dangers for the country. What kind of an anti-imperialist revolution are they going to make?

11. The Capitalist Path

We have made our class analysis based on the objective situation concerning the planning of the Congress Government, the capitalist path it has imposed on the people and have drawn the necessary conclusions out of it for the democratic revolution.

Under the capitalist path of the Congress Government, our national income has been growing only at an extremely slow pace. Between the period 1948-49 and 1963-64, on the basis of the 1948-49 prices, our national income grew only 60 per cent in 16 years. In other words, the annual growth did not exceed four per cent. During this period, our per capita income grew only by 20 per cent., i.e., the per capita annual increase in income was only 1.25 per cent.

What a tremendous achievement, indeed! Many backward Afro-Asian countries are having a much better growth in their national income. What can our people get as their share out of this extremely meagre growth? An overwhelming part of this growth goes to the higher classes, making the life of the lower classes more and more miserable. Far from rising, the income and standard of living of the lower classes have been only steadily falling.

What did the people gain by way of fruits of the three five-year plans? Nothing other than poverty, unemployment, rise in taxes and rise in prices. On the other hand, wealth and capital have been rapidly concentrated in the hands of a few.

The figure of registered unemployed in August 1964 had exceeded 2,680,000. At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, it was estimated that the figure of the unemployed in the cities and the villages together would exceed the nine million mark.

Even the Planning Commission has had to accept the fact that the workers' real wages have actually fallen during the last few years. In the case of some, the wages are even lower than the pre-war wage levels. Such wagecuts have come about despite the ever-rising efficiency of the working class. Some sections of the working class, on the strength of their struggles, have won such demands as reduction in working hours, social security schemes, leave with full pay, etc. All these, however, have not materially improved their standard of life. The work-load has become unbearable, the menace of unemployment has grown.

As prices continue to rise rapidly, there is no relation between prices and dearness allowance with the latter always less in proportion to the cost of living index number. As for the teachers, government employees, clerks and other workers, whose dearness allowance does not slide with the cost of living index number, their plight is the most lamentable and unbearable.

The working class cannot enjoy their basic right of trade union recognition. Far from granting recognition to really representative organisations, the general policy of the Government is one of repression against them. In the state sector particularly, this policy is being implemented in the most ruthless manner. Strike struggles are met with savage repression, while the workers' right of assembly is threatened any day. It is an event of common occurrence to have mass arrests of the workers and their leaders during strike struggles.

State legislation, commissions, enquiries, etc., are all weapons merely for dragging on a decision in a working class dispute. Workers' vital demands accumulate dust in the law departments for months on end. If ever there is any decision in favour of the workers, the Government either does not implement it at all or delays it as much as possible.

The plight of the urban middle class is very much similar. The ever-rising prices, inadequate salaries and the ever-failing standard of life are its lot. Even after the completion of three five-year plans, the number of educated unemployed has soared to beyond eight lakhs. This section which employed in government service, private firms, banks, commercial institutions, schools and colleges has been literally crushed under the dead weight of rising prices, rising taxes, etc. With every passing day it is being burdened more and more with debts. Life for it has become unbearable.

We have already seen the effects of the agrarian policy of the Government. Millions upon millions of our peasantry are literally reduced to starvation. The daily income of over ten crores of our people is less than 37 paise, the people in the villages naturally forming the greater bulk of these. According to the enquiry conducted by the Mahalanobis Committee, 53 per cent of the

families in the countryside have a monthly income of less than Rs. 60. Out of these 23 per cent of the families have a daily income of less than 75 paise.

Three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land to call their own. Tens of millions of them are eking out the existence of a pauper. Inordinate rents and rates of interest, tax rises and the wide fluctuations in prices are squeezing the peasant dry. The agricultural labourer and the poor peasant cannot earn a wage even barely to suffice for the maintenance of their families.

Lakhs of peasants have been driven away from the lands, thanks to the land legislation of the Government. This has immensely added to the numbers of agricultural labourers, who now form 30-35 per cent of the total peasant families. In Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Mysore, Orissa and Bihar, they number 50-55 per cent. The Government has done just nothing for these vast sections. Even the minimum wage legislation for them has just remained on paper. For six months in a year they are unemployed. Their wages have fallen, while their indebtedness is ever on the increase.

Peasant indebtedness has been steadily growing. According to a Reserve Bank enquiry, the volume of peasant indebtedness, which was Rs. 900 crores in 1956 has now risen to Rs. 3,000 crores. The peasant has to pay through the nose tens of crores of rupees by way of interest to the money-lenders, etc.

Under this regime of truth and non-violence, land-ownership has come to be concentrated. Whereas five per cent of the higher strata of families in the countryside own 37 per cent of the land, 70 per cent of the lower strata of families own a bare 20 per cent of it.

Such is the picture after completing three five-year plans. Such is the fruit of the capitalist path.

We have also seen how, along with this, our economic dependence has grown under these plans. We have seen how the loans of crores of rupees that we took from the imperialist countries and particularly from U.S. imperialism, have made our economy heavily dependent on them and how we have been reduced to the position of having to borrow more loans if only to

repay the old loans. There is no doubt that after completing the three five-year plans, our economy, far from being self-reliant, has only become more dependent.

These plans have given nothing to the people, nor has the national economy become self-reliant and self-sufficient. In other words, whatever minimum gains that should have accrued to the nation have not so accrued.

It is true that a number of heavy industries, which were not there before, have now come into being. The plans saw the creation of a number of new factories and new industries such as iron and steel, machinery-manufacturing, electrical goods, oil refineries, industries for defence production, workshops for railway engines and aeroplanes, etc. It was with socialist aid and mainly in the state sector that these industries were constructed. The state sector also registered considerable progress in electricity production, in transport and communication.

But all this progress, this planning has been on capitalist lines and for capitalist development. It has no relation whatsoever with socialism and not until imperialism and feudalism have been completely eliminated from our economy is it ever possible to start planning for the people. We have also seen how planning can never be successful where private profiteering has been given every encouragement in the name of capital formation, while the people are subjected to inordinate exploitation through tax-rise, etc. But all this does not square up with Congress planning.

This Congress planning does not lay stress on rousing the people's enthusiasm for achieving our industrial development at a tremendous rate. On the contrary, it lays stress on the profiteering of private capitalists. In an under-developed country like India, all that this planning of the ruling bourgeoisie achieves is to impart a certain momentum to capitalist development. Naturally, all its benefits go to the bourgeoisie. While people's poverty is ever on the increase and our economy comes to be growingly dependent on foreign imperialism, the bourgeoisie alone is able to reap colossal profits out of this planning.

The economic and budgetary policies of the Government and particularly its policies with regard to taxation and prices are all

drawn up keeping in view the interests of the exploiting classes. Fantastic rise in indirect taxation and inflation, both of which squeeze the common man dry, have become, in fact, the main weapons for supplying the capital for our plans. Because the Government is mainly relying on the profit motive of the bourgeoisie for effecting increase in production, it does not bring into being any effective plan for price control. Through rising prices and inflation, the bourgeoisie concentrates in its hands all the wealth produced by the people's labour. In this manner the capital formation necessary for planning is brought into being.

The Government has started a number of institutions to speed up industrial development and capital formation. All these are aimed only at helping private capital. The Life Insurance Corporation, Industrial Finance Corporation, National Development Corporation, etc., are all there ready to serve private capital. Similarly, all banks, which are in affluence today, thanks to inflation, are also ready with their vast resources to serve private capital. Representatives of the big bourgeoisie are on the boards of directors of the Reserve Bank, the Life Insurance Corporation, etc. All this has led in the course of these three plans to a tremendous concentration of capital in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, resulting in their amassing huge fortunes.

It is not that the big bourgeoisie is having all this prosperity in and through the private sector alone. Since it is they who lead the state, they dominate the state industrial sector also. The state sector is being made to serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie only, and it is they who reap the main benefit of governmental credit supply. It is they again who secure all the contracts for the big schemes under the plans. The distribution of the production in the state factories is also done under their control.

Besides, the Government has allowed scope for private capital in the strategic industries also, suitably adjusting their Industrial Policy Resolution for that end. Industries like aluminium, fertilizers, oil refineries, etc., which had been previously reserved only for the state sector, are all being thrown open today for private capital.

The bourgeoisie is thus full well serving its class interests under this planning bypassing and neglecting in the process both national interests and the interests of the people.

It is against this background that we look at the state sector. In reality, in under-developed countries, under genuine democratic regimes, the state sector has an extremely vital role to play. It is a weapon to help the economy play its anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist democratic role. It could have been an unfailing weapon to break the grip of foreign capital and Indian monopolists on our economy.

But the state sector in India is the state sector of the big bourgeoisie. Looking at the anti-people policies of this Government, policies which are simultaneously working for compromise with imperialism, it is not possible for this state sector to achieve such a progressive objective. These policies are only leading to concentration of wealth and growth in the power of the monopolist bourgeoisie. Foreign monopoly capital is ever more penetrating into both the state and the private sectors, leading to further exploitation of the common man. Whatever the tom-tomming by the Congress leaders that they are building socialism through the state sector, the fact remains that this state sector is nothing but a weapon for building capitalism. The present state sector is pure and simple state capitalism.

How do the ruling bourgeoisie look at the aid from the socialist countries? As we know, in the beginning, our bourgeoisie had placed all its hopes for aid in the imperialist countries. When they refused aid for our heavy industries, the bourgeoisie was compelled to seek alternate paths. This was the period when the socialist world was gaining in strength. The socialist market had come into being and so our bourgeoisie started seeking socialist aid. They got this valuable aid to build up some strategic and heavy industries. But they would not utilise this aid to break its old ties and relations with the imperialists. On the contrary, they utilised it as a weapon to strike new bargains with the imperialists.

This is a new feature of the dual role of the bourgeoisie. During the days of our struggle for independence, they roused the people to take anti-imperialist positions while simultaneously they adopted positions of compromise. Today also, if need be, they accept socialist aid, to bring pressure on the imperialists and utilise this pressure to have new agreements with them.

The Congress Government does not utilise the aid from the socialist countries to build an economy independent of imperialists and serving the interests of the people. On the contrary, it is out to use this pressure to secure ever more help from the imperialists for the development of capitalism in our country. We have seen how this has inevitably led to a growth in our dependence.

The Dangeites, on their part, lament loudly over this "bankrupt capitalist path". By making free and liberal use of this phrase, they try to put on a mask of militancy, of anti-Congressism. But we have seen how their non-capitalist path is only a path for capitalist development. Their analysis of planning, of the economic policy of the Government, and of the real face of the capitalist path, is such as would ideally suit their revisionism, their pro-Congress policies.

They do not accept the reality about the growing grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy. We have also seen how they do not see the danger of imperialism. And that precisely is the fundamental question.

In other matters also, the revisionists try to put on airs about making criticism similar to ours. But when it comes to drawing the necessary political conclusions out of this criticism, they come out with their usual opportunism. Their technique here also is to take note of the reactionary economic development; but when it comes to drawing political conclusions, they make such formulations as would be completely at variance with the essence and meaning of these developments. Like the national bourgeoisie with its dual role, the revisionists also have their dual analysis.

Like us, the Dangeites also talk about the concentration of wealth, because of the Government's capitalist path. They accept that the banks are growing in strength with the Big Five among them having their overlordship on the entire credit arrangements in the country; that the economic power has been concentrated in the hands of a handful of the big monopolists; and that this concentration has taken place notwithstanding the growth in the public sector; that they are holding, as in a steel vice, not only

the industries but have also established their control over the banking business and the wholesale trade. The reality is that all these monopolies have been fostered under the benign protection of planning. The revisionists further concede that the monopolists have been given enormous concessions in many industries, which had been previously exclusively reserved for the public sector.

They also accept that under the Government's capitalist path, it is the people who have to bear the burden of the one-sided taxes. They also accept that the Government has not passed any legislation for making any basic changes in agrarian relations. They say further, "Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress party and the Government is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the state sector." (Para 18)

What then are we to do under these circumstances? We have clearly shown how during the period of ever-deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism, it is unreal to expect to have our all-round advance along the capitalist path; that the path of People's Democracy alone can solve all the basic problems before the country; and that it is absolutely necessary for this to dislodge this bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie.

But how can our revisionists ever accept this? The Congress Government is their all in all. How then can they fight against it? It is the Congress Government that would not give the peasantry land; that increased the domination of imperialist capital; that increased the burden of taxation on the poor people; allowed ever-growing concentration of economic power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists; raised the national income at worse than a snail's pace. It is because of all this that we demand that such a Government be changed, to be replaced by a Government with a new class content. What was wrong in this? But wrong or not, the unalterable principle of the revisionists is that the main struggle can never be against this Government. All that they are prepared to concede is that you can fight only against the monopolist bourgeoisie.

Let us look at the conclusions out of their analysis. "Hence differentiation is growing within the ranks of the national

bourgeoisie which is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. This is most sharply expressed in the emergence of these monopoly groups. Their growing grip over the economic and political life of the country is coming in conflict with the vital interests of the masses, harming the interests of the broad sections of the national bourgeoisie and endangering India's march towards economic independence itself. In the economic sphere, they seek to annul the dominant role of the public sector, so essential for the development of national economy; they facilitate the penetration of foreign monopoly capital through anti-national collaboration agreements." (Para 24)

The thing has described a complete circle. So far, like us, they had held that it is the Government's policies which resulted in the growing grip of the monopolists, the anti-national agreements, etc. But now they have suddenly made a complete somersault and suggest as if the Congress Government is all innocence and purity; that all the anti-national chaos that is there is the doing of the monopolists. Hence the main battle must be fought only against them.

We also say that the monopolists enter into anti-national agreements, that their grip over planning is growing. But simultaneously we also stress the reality that this is all the result of the policies of the Congress Government itself. Because this Government is headed by the big bourgeoisie and because its policy is to secure and serve the self-seeking interests of the big bourgeoisie, it is but natural that the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists will stand to gain under it. This process cannot be stopped unless this class policy is replaced by a Government with a new class content. If the monopolists are to be put in leash, then the present Government must be replaced. But it is precisely here that the revisionists shield the present Government and point their accusing finger at the monopolists as if it is the monopolists alone who have imposed this capitalist path and that the other sections of the bourgeoisie and their Government are no party to it at all.

Besides, one would like to ask the revisionists one more question. It is you who say that this government is not of the big

bourgeoisie, which means it is not of the monopolists either. According to you again, the big bourgeoisie only sometimes influences it, which means that the main policies are drawn up by this Government. According to you again, there are no monopolists in the Government. If that be all so, when it is a question of fighting against the policies of this Government, why do you point your finger elsewhere?

The reason is clear. Whatever their analysis, the revisionists are absolutely firm in their policy not to fight against this bourgeois-landlord Government. By making a half-hearted and halting analysis of the capitalist path, they have only bypassed the main battle. It is by keeping the bourgeoisie in positions of power and by offering them a share in the leadership in the new state, that the revisionists are out to liberate the people from the bankrupt capitalist path! And to achieve this end, they ask us to clamour only against the monopolists!

Besides, they are not quite sure whether this capitalist path is really bankrupt or not. For, occasionally, they call this very path "the path of building independent national economy", and demand its defence against the monopolists. They pay warm tributes to the Second and Third Plans and in doing so, forget that it is a bankrupt capitalist path. Look, for instance, at para 75 of their Programme : "But the present Government, which represents the national bourgeoisie and is pursuing the path of building independent national economy along the path of capitalist development, is incapable of implementing this programme."

Hence the bankrupt capitalist path has just vanished into thin air, and its place is taken by "the path of building independent national economy". The same mess all over again! What do you, in the end, want to call it, gentlemen? A bankrupt path or an independent path? A bankrupt path or an anti-imperialist path?

The same applies to the state sector. Like us, they also call the state sector state capitalism. They also say that notwithstanding the growth of the public sector, economic power is getting growingly concentrated in the hands of a handful of monopolists and that the public sector easily bends under the pressure of these monopolist groups.

At the same time, they also make the following statement :
“Thus the state sector becomes an instrument of building independent national economy and weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and to a certain extent the Indian monopolies.”
(Para 15)

If the state sector is an instrument of building independent national economy, whence comes the bankrupt capitalist path? Or is it that the bankrupt capitalist path is also an instrument of building independent national economy? In reality, these men use the phrase “bankrupt capitalist path” only to fool and cheat the people. What they really want to say is that the present path itself is the path of building independent national economy. This is how, gentlemen, sometimes the innermost secrets of your mind unwittingly pop out.

The state or the public sector, if one excludes the aid from the socialist countries, is mainly dependent on aid from the imperialist countries. And yet this, they say, is going to loosen the grip of foreign capital on our economy! The reality, as we have seen it, is that these enormous debts are only increasing our dependence on the imperialists. But the revisionists by hook or by crook, want to issue a certificate to the Congress Government.

There is thus a world of difference between the two analyses of the state sector, ours and theirs. We look upon this state sector as an instrument for the development of capitalism, for serving the class interests of the big bourgeoisie. We also note how this state sector is growingly dependent on imperialism. As against this, the revisionists look upon it as an instrument of building an independent national economy.

Once again you see here the same old politics of hood-winking and cheating the people. By prattling a lot against the bankrupt capitalist path and ostensibly taking note of some economic realities, the revisionists have come out with the airs that they are against this path. But when it comes to the question of putting their analysis into effect and fighting against the bourgeois-landlord classes, they at once develop cold feet. They hurriedly wind up their analysis, point their accusing finger at the monopolists and shield the Government. They then forget that

the Government's path is the capitalist path and that it only leads to the danger of imperialism growing. That is why they also forget that this path only strengthens the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie.

All their thunder against capitalism thus proves to be hollow and bankrupt. How can these men, who are not prepared to fight against the Government that has imposed these policies, ever get ready to fight against the capitalist path?

12. The Bourgeoisie and the Democratic Revolution

We have already partly discussed this issue earlier. That will help us to see the differences in our outlook and the outlook of the revisionists over this issue.

The national bourgeoisie adopted a dual role during the freedom struggle. To be able to solve its contradictions with imperialism, it adopted a militant stand, whipped up the people's feelings against imperialism, assumed their leadership and brought pressure against imperialism. No sooner was imperialism ready to offer some concessions than it would strike a compromise. It never took a steady, consistent position of unrelenting anti-imperialism. It wielded both the weapons of opposition and compromise and would not allow the revolutionary struggles to assume decisive proportion.

We see the same policy if only in a new form in the post-independence period. Today also the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and imperialism are not over, they are still there and sometime become extremely sharp. But now that the big bourgeoisie control the state, they no more feel the need for an anti-imperialist struggle by the people. On the contrary, they try to patch up these contradictions through bargaining on the strength of their state power. The reality is that the contradictions between the people on the one hand and imperialism and feudalism on the other, have grown extremely sharp. Besides, there are also contradictions between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and feudalism and imperialism on the other. In addition to this, they are also getting socialist aid.

Here then was a unique opportunity to finally eliminate

imperialism and feudalism from the Indian economy. The big bourgeoisie, however, are not prepared to launch a decisive assault against imperialism and feudalism. They are only out for pressure tactics, out for a compromise. For this they utilise the state power to strengthen their bargaining position. They control the Indian market, our entire economic life and the state. By alternately adopting such policies as giving concession in this market and holding them up by seeking help in the international field and yet remaining neutral, etc., they try to solve their contradictions with the imperialists. This ends not in driving out the imperialists, but in making their position more secure. Sometimes these contradictions and clashes are aggravated and sharpened. But unlike as in the old days, they do not now rush to the people to be able to fight imperialism. They do not require people's struggle any more for that.

On the contrary, they utilise the state power to crush the people, to exploit them, to beat them down through their anti-people, anti-national agreements.

What this means is that even when they have their clashes and contradictions with the imperialists, their attitude in the main is anti-people. They try to solve their contradictions through economic bargaining. Another reason why they cannot participate in the people's struggle against imperialism is that their very existence depends upon the exploitation of people. After seizing the state power, they are out to build capitalism through the most inordinate exploitation of the people. Their policies are anti-people and they seek the aid of even feudalism against the people. The class contradictions and clashes between the people and the big bourgeoisie are daily on the increase. The big bourgeoisie and the monopolists are thus anti-people and anti-communist and are the confirmed enemies of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

In the course of the People's Democratic Revolution, the working class has to wage its battles against the state led by the big bourgeoisie. This is but inevitable. But even then, should any contradictions arise between foreign imperialism and the big bourgeoisie, the working class takes note of it and tries to beat

imperialism on the strength of the people's struggles. Such contradictions and clashes occur on many issues. For instance, war and peace, the economic and political relations with the socialist countries, the conditions laid down for the aid to be secured from foreign monopolists, the market for our exports, the problems of defence and foreign policy, etc., are all issues on which, in one form or another, such clashes and contradictions arise. Taking into account the deepening general crisis of capitalism, there is a possibility of these clashes growing and becoming sharp. The Communist Party of India takes note of every such clash, contradiction, dispute, etc., between the big bourgeoisie and the imperialists to isolate imperialism and strengthen the people's struggle. Should the clash on such issues between the Government and imperialism become sharp and should the Government take an anti-imperialist stand, we support the Government. But certainly, under the pretext of such a clash, we do not go in for embracing the big bourgeoisie. We do not invite them in the People's Democratic Front, much less give them a share in its leadership. For we hold that these clashes are of a limited nature. And they certainly do not make overnight revolutionaries or anti-imperialists out of the big bourgeoisie. Nor do we utilise this pretext to plunge headlong for unity with the Congress Party. We only utilise these temporary clashes to sharpen the edge of our anti-imperialist struggle.

We have seen how some sections of the bourgeoisie, other than the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie, can join the Democratic Front and have a place in it. But today they are also sharing power and they are also responsible for the present policies of the Government. But as and when they are hit economically by the policies of the big bourgeoisie, as and when the pressures of foreign monopolists against them grow, they will feel the necessity of standing up against the big bourgeoisie. All the same, on the whole, this class is a most vacillating class. Whether it will participate in the revolution or not will, to a great extent, depend on the strength of the democratic movement, on the strength of the worker-peasant alliance. It also depends on the sharpness of the contradictions between the people and feudalism

and imperialism, as also on the sharpness of the contradictions between these sections and the big bourgeoisie.

The working class must make all efforts to bring these sections inside the Front. Of course, this class can never assume the leadership of the Front. It can never have the position of leadership in the revolution nor a position of equality with the working class and the peasantry.

The opportunism displayed by our revisionists in this connection, begs description. According to them, all sections of the bourgeoisie, excluding only the monopolists, which, therefore, means including the Indian big bourgeoisie, have a place in their National Democratic Front. The revisionists also draw a distinction between the monopolists and the big bourgeoisie. For when they write about the Government, they talk in terms of the big bourgeoisie's influence on it. As for the monopolists, the revisionists hold that they subvert the policies of the Government from outside.

Thus, the big bourgeoisie, against whose policies we demand a firm stand, whom we characterise as the enemies of the democratic revolution, find a place in the National Democratic Front of the revisionists. Not satisfied with this, they also offer them a share in its leadership. Why don't you, gentlemen, instead put forward your programme for the revolution through the Congress Government itself?

Because they fail to differentiate between the big bourgeoisie and the other sections of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists are led to neglect just those sections whom it is possible to bring inside the front. Their policies will lead to nothing beyond entreating and begging before the big bourgeoisie.

Is there any wonder that the men who, in their analysis of the state and the Government, refuse to accept this Government as belonging to the bourgeoisie and the landlords, who do not see its leadership with the big bourgeoisie, are now out to collaborate with this big bourgeoisie?

In one matter, however, they have taken a firm position. They are not prepared to fight against anyone except the monopolists, neither against the Government, nor against the big bourgeoisie.

On the contrary, they wish to stand up against the monopolists in defence of the 'national' policies of this Government. Their entire approach is one of class collaboration. The fact that they assure the big bourgeoisie with their anti-people policies, with their policies of basically compromising with imperialism, a place in their front, shows how hollow their anti-imperialist struggle is.

Under the plea of opposing the reactionaries, the revisionists only shield the present bourgeois-landlord Government. They do not look upon the dislodging of this Government as their main objective. On the contrary, they consider their main responsibility to be the defence of the 'national' policies of this Government. We have already had a clear idea of their anti-reactionary front during the last Kerala elections. In the name of opposing the reactionaries, they only broke up the anti-Congress Left United Front and sabotaged the assured majority for the anti-Congress parties. The real meaning of their anti-reactionary front is precisely this. We must, therefore, take proper stock of the hypocrisy of the revisionists on this issue.

The objective of our democratic revolution is the liquidation of imperialism and feudalism, the dislodging, for that purpose of the bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie, and the establishment in its place of the state of People's Democracy led by the working class. According to us, for a successful conclusion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, it is necessary to end the leadership of the big bourgeoisie over the state and to replace it by the leadership of the working class. In other words, this means that the big bourgeoisie and the monopolists are the enemies of the democratic revolution and the main struggle for power, therefore, must be fought against them. It is not imperialism that wields the state power. Feudalism shares this power, but it is the big bourgeoisie that leads the state. The battle for power waged by the democratic revolution is, therefore, against the big bourgeoisie.

Now, how do we determine which are the progressive forces in this revolution and which are the reactionary ones? Those classes and forces which, in general, oppose the revolution are reactionaries, while those classes and forces and parties that

support the revolution and whose interests are served by the democratic revolution are progressive. In this the support of some will be firm while that of some others may be vacillating. But all those who are opposed to imperialism and feudalism and who, therefore, are opposed to this Government led by the big bourgeoisie, are progressive. We have already seen which these classes are. The classes and forces which hobnob with imperialism, which are friendly to feudalism, which champion the monopolists, which support the big bourgeoisie and this Government, are all reactionary forces in so far as the democratic revolution is concerned. In this, one of them may come into clash occasionally with the other and this may also have a progressive content; for instance, a clash between imperialism and the big bourgeoisie. In such a situation, we back those who are against imperialism. But since all these classes and strata are, in the main, against the democratic revolution, they are reactionary.

Alongside these, those parties that back them, as also those parties and institutions that have their ideological base in a feudal outlook, are also reactionary. Among these are included communal parties as also institutions that believe in and accept untouchability and caste distinctions, the Swatantra Party, etc.

The communalist parties disrupt the democratic struggle in the name of religion, create in the end impediments and obstructions in the democratic revolution and thus help the reactionary classes. They try to disrupt the working class unity and weaken its class strength, thus helping the enemies of the working class. Far from concentrating all the forces and energy of the exploited toiling masses against their main enemy, they disrupt it, create internal dissensions and clashes, conspiring thereby to push forward their opportunist electioneering politics. The communal parties like the Jan Sangh, the RSS or the Hindu Mahasabha, who try to incite the people against the Muslim masses in the name of Indian culture, Muslim leaders who in the name of religion, try to keep the Muslim masses alienated and away from the class and democratic struggles, are all reactionaries.

The grip of religious outlook and giving priority to religious

distinction in preference to class distinctions, are all based on a feudal outlook. It was precisely this outlook which the British rulers exploited during the days of our freedom struggle to push through their "divide-and-rule" policy. Today also, the reactionary forces are trying the same weapon against the democratic revolution.

The strata and parties which believe in untouchability and caste distinctions are also out for a similar disruption. One reason why the kisan movement in India has not been powerful and effective is this division between the caste and the untouchable sections. In other words, these distinctions have adversely affected one of the main props and supports of the democratic revolution. The present inequality based on caste distinction is also a legacy of this same old feudal system.

If the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution is to be led to success, a struggle against this old outlook and the parties that champion it becomes inevitable. Our Programme has given a clear call to wage a battle against all these forces.

Linguistic chauvinism and linguistic separatism also contribute to disrupting the forces of the toiling people. The reactionary forces similarly exploit bourgeois nationalism and national chauvinism to disrupt the people's forces. We must wage a struggle against all these.

Simultaneously with this, we have also to wage a struggle against and liquidate among the people the influence of political parties like the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh which openly support the monopolists and the landlords, openly campaign for India's joining the imperialist camp, look upon all democratic movements and especially the Communist Party as their enemy, who harbour inimical feelings against all socialist, progressive and anti-imperialist countries.

So reactionary are these parties that they find even the present policies of the Congress Government highly progressive. In internal policies, they want complete freedom for private capital. They are opposed to state planning or to the state industrial sector. They are also opposed to land reform legislation and to control over profits. They do not find the present shifts and

aberrations in our foreign policy adequate. All their efforts are directed to make India finally and completely give up non-alignment and openly join the imperialist camp.

Should their efforts succeed, the tasks of the democratic revolution will be more difficult. The people's struggle, instead of progressing ahead, will be pulled back. The task of completely routing these reactionary parties, therefore, becomes a task of urgent importance for the working class, the democratic movement and the People's Democratic Front.

But is the main struggle against the Congress Government, against this bourgeois-landlord Government, to be neglected or bypassed, for the achievement of this goal? Is it to be evaded? The revisionists adopt just this opportunist line. While shouting *ad nauseam* about the monopolists and the reactionaries, they only put forward a line of alliance with the Congress and its Government.

They speak of, ".....The rising power of monopoly groups, which in alliance with the feudal elements and foreign monopolists are seeking to subvert national policies and set back the clock of progress. This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working class and peasant movement, in fact, to all patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups, to achieve their anti-national aims.....?" (Para 80). This formulation completely drops out of the picture and exonerates the Congress Government, the bourgeois-landlord Government, as if it has nothing whatsoever to do with this policy, as if the policies against which we have to fight are just not its policies. Preserve the Government like the holy of holies and only fight against the monopolists, they shamelessly advocate. That is also the meaning of their anti-reactionarism. It is only one more excuse for them to evade any struggle against the Congress Government.

What is our policy in this regard? The vital objective of the democratic revolution, according to us, is the dislodging of the bourgeois-landlord Government led by the big bourgeoisie. It is the big bourgeoisie which wields the power; it is they who lay

down the present policies and it is against their policies that our main struggle is directed. It is just their policies that offer all the scope to the monopolists and the other reactionary forces, effect compromises with imperialism and allow the reactionary forces to consolidate and strengthen themselves. If, therefore, these reactionary groups and parties are to be uprooted, root and branch, it is the anti-people policies of the present Government that need to be put to rout. In no case, therefore, should the anti-Government struggle be allowed to be weakened.

Simultaneously with waging this struggle, we have also to conduct our battle against these reactionary forces, against their ideological, economic and political activities. The battle for power is against the Government; while we are waging it, we have to conduct our struggle specifically against these other reactionary forces also. The revisionists call these people reactionaries, but not the Congress Government. On the sly they suggest that it is these forces that are reactionary, while the Congress Government is progressive, and then adopt the policy of supporting the Government as against these forces.

We have, however, already seen how both the big bourgeoisie and the Government led by them are anti-revolutionary forces. How then can they be called progressive?

In terms of the democratic revolution, both the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, etc., as also the present Government are anti-revolutionary forces and it is our task to defeat both of them by wresting power from the one and stopping the other from coming to power.

Then, do we not differentiate at all between the Congress Government and the Swatantra Party and others? We take note of the fact that the Congress Government still has not gone to that level to which the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, etc., like to go, with regard to our foreign policy and domestic policy and so make the necessary differentiation between them accordingly. For instance, these parties demand that India should immediately enter into military pacts with imperialism. The Congress Government today is not ready to go so far. We do make a differentiation between them on this issue, but at the same time

we also do not overlook the deviations and shifts of the Congress Government in this regard nor do we forget that it is these very submissive policies that encourage and strengthen the Swatantra Party, etc.

It is, therefore, not our policy to support the present policies of the Congress Government in the name of defeating the reactionaries nor is it our policy to call them progressive and thus weaken our struggle for power; that is the policy of the revisionists.

It is in the course of their analysis of the Congress party that the revisionists have thrown off their mask of militancy and come out as a pro-Congress force. Our Programme characterises the Congress as the ruling party. We have, therefore, no illusions about our ever having unity or united front with it. Nevertheless, should the Congress Government on any issue concerning war or peace, or on any anti-imperialist issue, adopt a correct stand, we shall support it.

It is impossible for us to have unity or united front with the Congress party. For, it is against the power wielded by that party that we have to wage our battle. Not until we have routed the policies of the Congress Government among the people, can we lead the democratic revolution to success. That is the truth, plain and simple enough.

But how can this go well with our revisionists? Even the talk of fighting against the Congress is anathema to them. They would rather lay all their emphasis on just noting the progressive activities inside the Congress party and emphasise how vital it is, therefore, to cooperate with those groups in that party.

There is not a word of criticism from them against the policies of the Congress Government which only end in wringing the people's necks, against the party which always and wholeheartedly supports the anti-people policies of Government. Our revisionists will not utter one word about the need to defeat these policies, about the need to give a big battle against them among the people. They slyly suggest that these anti-people policies are not of the Congress party's making but of the Congress Government. In the end, this is what they write to boost up the

Congress and flirt with it : “The division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the democratic opposition is the most important in our democratic forces today.” (Para 83)

What does this formulation, made without any criticism of the anti-people policies of the Congress party, without laying any emphasis on defeating these policies among the people, amount to? It simply means that something has to be done to heal this breach, and that by some means or the other, there must be cooperation with the Congress to end this division. In reality, the proper and important way of healing this breach is to disillusion the people, through our struggles and agitations about the Congress, to isolate its bourgeois leadership among the people as much as possible. But then, how can they be revisionists if they accept this path?

The revisionists say further that there are differences inside the Congress on vital issues and that, “centring round these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation..... It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, directly and through common mass movement, to bring about a leftward shift in the policies of the Government, to fight for the realisation of the demand of the National Democratic Front.” (Para 85)

There is discontent among the Congress ranks, among the Congress masses. There is no doubt about this. When this discontent reaches the boiling point, these lower ranks and the masses enter the arena of struggle also. Today, however, considering the situation this is happening to a very limited extent. Why is this so? It is because the opposition parties, the party of the working class, have not been consistently and persistently working to disillusion the people’s minds about the Congress. It is because the people do not get an alternative lead from an independent mass movement. Not until we have carried on our agitation and struggle against the Congress policies among the people, will this discontent be transformed into action and movement. It is precisely about this that the revisionists keep silent.

When in these circumstances the revisionists talk about “making ceaseless efforts directly to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress”, it is not difficult to see what this formulation means in practice. All that these efforts will amount to is that instead of rousing the people against the policies of the Congress and thereby drawing the Congress masses into the struggle, the revisionists will only be seeking cooperation with this or that so-called progressive group inside the Congress. All that they need to do is to label someone progressive in comparison with someone else.

The masses behind the Congress do form a big section of our people. It is of extreme importance to draw these masses in the democratic movement. But surely, their cooperation is not to be obtained by singing hosannas of the Congress. For that it is necessary to rout the reactionary policies of the Congress. When will the masses behind the Congress stand up against its policies? This will take place only when they see the other sections of the people entering the struggle and when the agitation led by the working class and their own experience disillusion them about the Congress. But the revisionists just don't talk about a struggle against the Congress. All that they talk about is to seek cooperation with the “progressive” group. It is a cooperation offered without opposing the Congress policies. It is based on the progressive trends that are “in the process of formation” inside the Congress. Shastri is preferable to Patil, Nanda to Morarji,—that is all that will result in. It is obvious that the revisionist Dange group made all provisions for cooperation with the ruling party. Is it any wonder that the same servile Dange group which sang all those praises of the Congress for a whole week for its unanimous election of Shastri following Nehru's death, should be the one to have formulated this line?

13. The Revisionist Programme

Our revisionists have taken the sacred vow to rouse the people against reactionary ideologies. They say, “The struggle on the ideological front assumes great importance in view of the fact that the outmoded feudal and imperialist ideologies continue to

exert their reactionary influence among vast sections of our people. Casteism, communalism, religious obscurantism and all sorts of reactionary ideas, including those coming from western imperialist sources are being utilised and propagated to disrupt class unity, unity of the democratic forces and national integration and to undermine our people's faith in a secular, democratic and socialist future" (Para 79). The revisionists insist on waging a struggle against these and there need be no two opinions about it.

In para 104 also they talk in a similar vein : "The capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat vigorously exposing its anti-communism", and also call for tearing off this veil. There need be no two opinions about this either.

But the first question that arises is, if the capitalist class attacks the proletariat under the mask of anti-communism, why do you not apply this to the Congress, the political party of the capitalist class? Why don't you utter one word about the need to wage a struggle against this policy? Why do you talk only about cooperating with a section inside it?

And a far more important question is, are the working class and the democratic front to fight only against the ideologies of imperialism and feudalism? Are they not to fight also against the bourgeois ideologies?

The bourgeoisie do not rest content merely with spreading anti-communism. They assume all the airs of their being socialists and equate bourgeois planning and the capitalist state sector with socialism. They raise slogans about establishing a classless society free from all exploitation. In their bid to preserve class peace, they press into service men like Vinoba to put out such propaganda. They pass one resolution at Avadi; another one at Bhubaneswar; a third one still at Nagpur; declaring their objective to be sometimes cooperative farming; sometimes the nationalisation of the foodgrain trade and sometimes socialism itself. This ideological campaign of theirs is ceaselessly being conducted through the state, through the press, through their Congress machinery. Why doesn't Dange utter just one syllable about hitting back at this campaign if he really wants to fight the ideological confusion among the people? But how can he utter it?

Some of the revisionist leaders even went to the extent of saying, after the Avadi resolution of the Congress, that the Congress has come closer to the Communist Party! (The revisionists, in any case have, no doubt, gone closer to the Congress.)

The point to be noted is that once again this opportunist leadership has forgotten the 1960 Statement. This Statement has clearly laid down how to the extent that the working class and people of the world, thanks to the ever-growing victories of the socialist world, are drawn closer and closer to socialist ideas, the bourgeoisie themselves, these class enemies of the proletariat, put on the mask of socialism and put out the lies that they are themselves building up socialism. The Statement has, therefore, called up all Communist Parties to wage ceaseless ideological battles against this deception and to lay bare its real face before the working class and the people.

But is it any wonder, that this opportunist leadership, these men who have been so engrossed and lost in the service of the Congress, these dedicated sycophants of the bourgeoisie, have conveniently forgotten this great teaching? For, is it not their basic principle to defy any international teaching that comes in the way of the class interest of their bourgeoisie?

The ideological campaign has no place in it for a struggle against the anti-working class, anti-socialist, bourgeois ideology.

Our Programme, on the other hand, takes up a clear and emphatic position on this issue. We have shown how the leaders of the ruling parties and other bourgeois leaders misuse socialist terminology to fool and deceive the people, to be able to advocate their own brand of bogus socialism. These leaders try to keep the people away from genuine socialist path. They take recourse to socialist slogans only to be able to attack the Communist Party and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. For it is the Communist Party alone that carries on a ceaseless campaign among the people, laying bare the fact how the Congress programme has nothing to do whatsoever with socialism, and how there is not even an iota of scientific socialism in the ideology of the bourgeois leaders. Class collaboration with the big bourgeoisie, as in the ideological and economic fields, so in the ideological

political field also—that is the stand of the revisionists.

Such then are the basic differences between the Programme of the Communist Party and that of the revisionists. The Programme of the Communist Party of India is based on Marxism-Leninism while that of the revisionists is based on revisionism, which corrodes Marxism-Leninism from inside.

In the Programme of the Dangeites, we see clearly the main characteristics of international revisionism. Giving up proletarian internationalism, divorce from the Leninist teachings, relying on class collaboration in place of class struggle, falling a prey to national chauvinism and joining hands with U.S. imperialism against a socialist country, opposing the leadership of the working class in the democratic revolution and openly advocating the leadership of the bourgeoisie—all these characteristics stand out prominently in their programme.

Simultaneously with these, we also see clearly here the main characteristic of the modern revisionists, *viz.* under-rating the danger of U.S. imperialism.

An opportunist analysis concerning the state; shameless propaganda to the effect that there is no sharing of power by feudalism in the state as also that it is not led by the big bourgeoisie; attempting in the name of the National Democratic Front to keep the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, and in practice, advocating a programme for the encouragement of capitalism; opposition to the state of the People's Democracy; efforts to see that decisive power is not transferred to the hands of the workers, peasants and the middle classes; assigning the leading role for the bourgeoisie among the revolutionary forces, placing on per the vacillating as also the revolutionary strata in the countryside; occasionally labelling the capitalist path, which worsens our economic dependence, as the path of building an independent economy; refusal to see the growing danger of imperialism, in particular of U. S. imperialism, and India's growing economic dependence on it; refusal to rouse the people against the policies of the Government in this regard; exonerating the Government by holding the monopolists responsible for the anti-people, anti-

national policies of the Government, talking about opening their “national front” not against the Government’s policies but against the monopolists who are out to subvert the “national” policies of the government; attempting to enter into an alliance with the bourgeois-landlord Government and the Congress party, all in the name of opposing the reactionaries; supporting the drifting foreign policy and evading a struggle against U.S. imperialist pressure—such are the broad features of their Programme. They are opposed to dislodging the Government led by the big bourgeoisie and replacing it by the People’s Democratic Government led by the working class. They are opposed to the working class and the peasantry fighting the battle for power.

Simultaneously with this, they are incapable of taking firm anti-imperialist positions. Because their policy is to tie themselves to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie, they refuse to expose before the people the dangers created by their compromising policies. When the bourgeoisie accepted military aid from U.S. imperialism, the revisionists supported them. Their opposition to the loans from U.S. imperialism, to the dangers that emanate from it, as also to the foreign capital, and the government’s anti-national policies in this connection, is just formal and nominal. In this manner, far from consolidating the strength of the anti-imperialist revolution, they only help the bourgeoisie to disperse and weaken it.

There is no doubt that the Programme of the revisionists is a programme for dispersing and weakening the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution.

Appendix (iv)

The Programme Explained*

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

Introduction

The adoption of the Programme of the Communist Party of India by its Seventh Congress, held in Calcutta from October 31 to November 7, 1964, while being the culmination of a process of intense ideological struggle in the CPI against revisionism and for unity of the genuinely revolutionary forces on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the Indian situation and Indian developments, was also to be the beginning of another intense inner-Party campaign to consolidate the unity that had already been achieved during the discussions on, and adoption of, the Programme and to prepare the Party to shoulder the difficult tasks that had been placed on it by the new Programme.

But before the Party leadership could plan out this work, the Government struck at the Party and in a country-wide round-up arrested and detained over a thousand leaders and cadre of the Party. In this situation, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad, who was out, took up the task of explaining the Programme and wrote a series of articles in the Party's weekly, People's Democracy dealing with various aspects of the Programme, relating it to practice and current developments and at the same time contrasting it with the Programme adopted by the Revisionists and exposing the bankruptcy of the revisionist

*Published in December 1966 in the form of a Book with an Introduction by P. Sundarayya

positions on major issues.

These articles were of great help in the inner-Party discussions on the Programme for consolidating the unity of the Party and preparing it to face its new tasks as also to explain and popularise the Programme among the Party's friends and supporters. It also helped to demarcate the Party's revolutionary standpoint on various current developments from that of the revisionists. We are now bringing out these articles, with necessary changes here and there in pamphlet form since we believe that they will continue to serve the same purpose in the coming period also.

Also getting ready is another pamphlet by B. T. Ranadive explaining the Programme more from the theoretical-ideological standpoint and contrasting it with the ideological-political positions of the revisionist Programme.

P. Sundarayya.

I

Ideological Bankruptcy— Whose?

How is it possible, we were asked by several friends, to work out the Programme of the Communist Party without discussing, and coming to conclusions on the issues that are being debated in the international Communist movement?

Most of the friends who put this question were surprised that our Party was doing this. The decision of the Tenali Convention of our Party, held in July 1964, to exclude the discussion on the questions of international debate when we meet in the all-India Party Congress came in for a good deal of criticism—well-intentioned and otherwise.

Those belonging to the revisionist Party went to the extent of ridiculing our attempt to discuss the questions of our Party Programme without discussing the international questions. They attributed to us “ideological and political bankruptcy”, “escapism”, and so on. They were quite confident that

our inability to discuss the questions would lead us to greater and greater difficulties and contradictions which might even break us up.

More than two years have passed since our Tenali Convention. More than two years have passed since the Calcutta Congress of our Party had thorough discussions leading to definite conclusions on the Party Programme, but adopted a special resolution postponing the discussion on the questions concerning the international Communist movement.

The gloomy predictions made by our opponents that this would lead to inner-Party contradictions and break up the Party have all been belied. Our Party which has not come to conclusions on the international questions has not been faced by any internal crisis. On the other hand, the revisionist party, which adopted a resolution on these questions, is facing serious inner-party problems: that party is known to have been on the brink of a serious internal crisis following the well-known "Bhupesh Gupta Memorandum" a crisis which was averted with very great difficulty—at the very time when their Executive Committee was having "sweet dreams" of a so-called "political differentiation in the ranks" of our Party.

The question will naturally be asked: what is the reason for such a development? Why are the Dangeites who came to conclusions on international questions, faced with serious differences which led up to a near-crisis in the affairs of their party? Why is it that our Party, which honestly admitted its inability to discuss the international questions simultaneously with internal questions, has strengthened itself on the basis of the Programme adopted by its all-India Congress?

The reason is that, even though refraining from the discussion of international questions—which undoubtedly implies the existence of differences on these questions—our Party based itself on a correct and realistic assessment of the internal situation and problems.

The broad strategy worked out by us, the general direction for the working out of concrete tactics applicable to different circumstances in ever-changing situation, the guiding lines along

which specific and concrete problems are to be solved—these are in tune with the moods and sentiments of the people.

On the other hand, the strategy, tactics and the general approach to the problems of the Indian revolution, contained in the Programme of the Dangeites, are out of tune with what the broad mass of the people aspire after.

The internal political approach contained in the two Programmes came to be tested in a couple of months after the adoption of the revisionist Programme. The election in Kerala was the soil on which the two strategic-tactical approaches were tested. The result of this test has conclusively proved that the strategic-tactical line followed by the Dangeite leaders is out of tune with what the mass of members and sympathisers of the once-united Communist Party want.

As the National Council of the revisionist party itself admits: "Of the basic Communist mass which has been the common mass of the Party when it was united, only a minority has voted for our candidates this time, while the decisive majority of that mass voted instead for the candidates of the rival Party. Even where the rival Party did not put up its own candidates but offered its support to the SSP, the same thing happened, contrary to our earlier expectations. Thus, as far as the basic Communist mass is concerned, the election results in Kerala have shown that our assessment of the relative strength of our party vis-a-vis the rival Party among the masses was totally wrong."

The support received from the members and sympathisers of the Communist Party, however, is only one index of the extent to which the bankruptcy of the revisionist leaders has been proved. Even on the most important ideological political question on which they have been campaigning against our Party—the question of the approach to China both in relation to the problems facing the international Communist movement and in relation to the India-China border dispute, the basic approach taken by these leaders has been proved bankrupt.

Let us, for instance, examine the resolution of the Bombay Party Congress of the revisionists on the ideological controversies with the present approach of the international Communist

movement. The revisionists base themselves on particular understanding of the problems of the international Communist movement which is that "the responsibility for the present state of disunity in the socialist camp rests on the leadership of the CPC".

The conclusion naturally follows that the main objective of the struggle within the international Communist movement is to force the Chinese Communist Party to accept the stand taken by the majority of fraternal Parties on theoretical and practical questions. This objective is to be realised by the continuation of the open polemics through which the Chinese Communist Party may be isolated and defeated.

"When a Communist Party", says their resolution, "or a group of Parties openly repudiate the common line, violate international discipline and seek to impose their views on others, such open polemics may become inevitable for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the world Communist movement."

This open denunciation of the Chinese Communist Party as "the source of all evil within the international Communist movement" and this open call for a bitter conflict with its leaders are based on a particular understanding of the situation in the international Communist movement which, it can be seen, is an open repudiation of the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties issued in 1960.

Let us, therefore compare the two.

The 81 Parties declared in their Statement: "...the further development of the Communist and working class movement calls for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against *revisionism*, which remains *the main danger*, and against dogmatism and sectarianism." (Emphasis added)

The Bombay resolution of the revisionists, on the other hand, states : "*The main obstacle* hindering the further advance of the world Communist movement is *dogmatism and left sectarianism*, while the danger from revisionism also remains." (Emphasis added)

Let us leave it to the leaders of the revisionist party to explain how such an unconcealed repudiation of the basic formulation of the 81 Parties' Statement can be reconciled with their claim of

loyalty to that Statement. Let us confine ourselves to pointing out the differences between this approach of the revisionists and the approach taken by our Party.

Contrary to the impression created by the propaganda carried on by our political opponents (including the Dangeite leaders), we have not taken our stand either in support of, or in opposition to, the ideological-theoretical stand of the Chinese Communist Party. The Organising Committee formed at the Tenali convention adopted a resolution in August 1964 which deliberately refrained from expressing any opinion on the content of the debate in the international movement.

Far more important than the content of the debate according to the Committee, was the fact that “the differences have unfortunately taken an acute form and resulted in open polemics between different Parties”.

Naturally, therefore, the Committee was concerned over the methods being adopted by different sections in the international movement to resolve the differences; the Committee was convinced—and this is the crucial difference between our Party and the revisionists—that “great and patient efforts must be made to go back to the methods laid down in the 1960 Moscow Declaration for solving differences between brother Parties.

“For this purpose, it is necessary that mutual discussions take place between the CPSU and CPC and other Parties on the differences, and agreement must be reached in regard to the various aspects of the preparatory meeting, such as its composition, agenda, method of discussion, etc. Only then will a possibility arise for overcoming the differences and for achieving unity in the world Communist movement”.

Basing itself on such an assessment of the position in the international Communist movement, the Committee expressed itself firmly against the convening of a preparatory meeting in Moscow on the lines then proposed by the CPSU; it also expressed itself against the holding of another conference for which the Communist Party of New Zealand had then taken the initiative.

The essence of the Committee’s approach thus was that the open polemics within the international Communist movement,

which tends to divide the movement into a majority and a minority, should be stopped.

This stand was repeated by our Party when it met at the Party Congress in Calcutta in November. The resolution adopted by the Congress "On the Changes in CPSU Leadership" noted the fact that the term of the leadership of Khrushchov in the CPSU coincided with a period in the history of the international Communist movement when "relations between brother Parties and particularly those between the CPSU and CPC, the biggest contingents of the international Communist movement, were seriously strained. The international Communist movement was on the brink of a split and unity of the socialist camp was getting disrupted."

The Congress, therefore, expressed the hope that the removal of Khrushchov from the leadership of the CPSU would be followed by the necessary steps for improving the relations between the various fraternal Parties.

The crux of the difference between our Party and the Dangeites on the problem of Communist unity, therefore, amounts to a difference between partisanship on the one hand and earnest attempts at resolving the differences on the other.

No amount of argumentation by the leaders of the revisionist party can transform the earnest desire of our Party to so approach the problems of the international movement as to unify it, rather than widen the gulf, into partisanship with the Chinese Communists.

One cannot but recall in this connection that the Dangeite leaders have been trying to make it appear as if our refusal to take a partisan stand was a sign of our "ideological bankruptcy". How bankrupt such an approach to the struggle within the international Communist movement is, can be seen from the fact that no less an authority than the theoretical organ of CPSU the *Kommunist*, wrote as follows in the course of its comments on the March meeting of 19 Communist Parties:

"That one position or another is either correct or wrong will eventually be revealed by socio-political developments in the world and in the separate countries, as well as by the entire

process of joint struggle. This idea was repeatedly emphasised by Lenin who indicated that to overcome differences it would be necessary to take into account the practical experience, the course of events and the lessons of the struggle."

In marked contrast to this sober approach to the differences within the Communist movement is the shrieking calls for struggle against the "dogmatists", the "splitters", the "disruptors", the "neo-Trotskyites" and so on, in which the Dangeite leaders have been indulging throughout.

Let us now turn our attention to the revisionists' approach to the problem of India-China relations. Ever since that problem arose, they have been calling for "national unity against the Chinese aggressor" i.e., unity not only with the Congress but even with such parties as the Jan Sangha and the Swatantra Party, in order to solve the problem of India-China dispute through military means. Furthermore, they have been advocating the policy of "getting foreign military aid in order to beat the aggressor back". It was because we refused to the line on this issue that we were denounced as "pro-China".

The utter bankruptcy of this line has now been proved beyond doubt. The futility and harm of the political line of securing military aid from the imperialist Powers in order to organise the military defence of the country has now been recognised by several outstanding leaders of public opinion who have expressed it in no uncertain terms. This view is shared by no less a person than the President of the Indian Union, Dr. Radhakrishnan, who expressed his concern that our country has to spend the colossal sum of Rs. 900 crores per year of its defence budget because its relations with China and Pakistan are those of cold war. Even the central organ of the Dangeites, *New Age*, had to write an editorial giving at least formal support to Dr. Radhakrishnan for the speech he made on this.

Any impartial student of the documents and materials emanating from our Party Congress held in Calcutta in early November, and the documents and materials of the revisionists' Congress held in Bombay in December can thus see that our approach—the crux of which is refusal to toe the anti-China line

either in relation to international relations or on the India-China dispute—is far more correct than the Dangeite approach of denouncing anybody as “pro-China” who refuses to toe their own anti-China line.

This is, of course, not to deny that our inability to discuss the questions of international debate is a reflection of our ideological weakness. If we were sufficiently armed and equipped in the ideological sense, we would certainly have arrived at conclusions on every question which is of significance to the international movement. It is certainly regrettable that our Party Congress had to postpone the discussion on these questions. We may, however claim:

That in spite of the limitations arising out of our failure to discuss the content of the international debate, we have taken the correct position on the question of international Communist unity. Our anxiety not to become a partisan either of the CPSU or of the CPC, our desire for unity through the stoppage of polemics, stands in marked contrast with the violently denunciatory anti-China line of the Dangeites.

That, with regard to internal questions, including the question of India-China border clashes, our position has been proved to be far more correct than that of the Dangeites. How otherwise would it have happened that the “pro-China” Communists were able to secure greater support from what the National Council of the revisionist party calls “the basic Communist mass”, while the “patriotic” Dangeites should lose so heavily? Again, how is it possible that the concern expressed by our Party at the continuation of strained relations with China should now be shared even by the President of the Indian Union?

It is good that the leaders of the revisionist Party have thought it necessary, under these circumstances, to make a small change in their approach to our Party. Their four-point policy towards us includes as the first point “attitude of patience, reason and fraternity and maximum efforts for joint action on issues”.

Efforts have been made to translate this into practice by organising joint action on several issues and at several places. Efforts are being made also to transform these joint actions on

separate issues and at separate places into a common all-India action in which the two parties and all other socialist and left democratic elements will come together.

This, however, does not make the need for debates on ideological-political questions any the less. As a matter of fact, this has made it all the more necessary to continue the dialogue.

That is why we propose in the following articles to discuss the two Programmes adopted by the parties—our Programme adopted at Calcutta in November 1964 and the revisionist Programme adopted at Bombay in December 1964.

II

Political Freedom and its Class Essence

Was the new independent Government, installed in Delhi on August 15, 1947, “a strategic weapon in the hands of the people and an instrument of further advance”, or “a Government of national surrender, a Government of collaborators’, a Government of national compromise?” .

This question was posed within the Indian Communist movement in the months that followed the announcement of the well-known Mountbatten Plan for transferring power to the Congress Government in India and the League Government in Pakistan. Bitter and prolonged controversies raged within the then united Communist Party of India between 1947 and 1951.

One of the aims with which the Programme of 1951 was formulated was to put an end to this controversy. Experience, however, showed that Programme did not put an end to the controversy. Differences cropped up again in the years after 1954-55. They assumed such proportions that the 1951 Programme itself had to be abandoned and work on a new Programme started.

This, however, did not liquidate the differences which actually became more and more serious as the work on the new Programme proceeded. They in the end led to the emergence of two parties calling themselves Communist Parties, each with its own Programme.

A comparison of the relevant passages in the two Programmes would help us to correctly assess the crux of the differences between the two parties. Before doing this, however, let us make a general observation.

Experience of the last eighteen years has clearly shown that neither of the two approaches which dominated within the Communist movement in the 1947-51 period was correct.

It was, for instance, totally wrong on the part of the then leadership of the Communist Party to call the Congress Government in India and the League Government in Pakistan "strategic weapons in the hands of the people, instruments of further advance". This characterisation neglected the class character of the new regimes established in the two newly formed states. It blurred the distinction between the landlord-bourgeois classes and the people.

It was to the former and not to the latter that the new Government became "a strategic weapon", its establishment a new opportunity for "further advance". To call this an "advance" for the people, a weapon in their hands, etc. is nothing but ideological surrender to the bourgeois propaganda that the landlord-bourgeois classes are the people.

It was equally wrong on the part of the new leadership which replaced the old at the Second Congress of the Party (March 1948) to call the new "Governments of surrender". Behind this characterisation lies a total underestimation of the extent to which differentiation was taking place, and was bound to take place, between the monopolists of the imperialist countries and the young bourgeoisie of the newly free countries.

Completely misreading the new stage in the history of world capitalism, this assessment failed to take note of the growing contradictions between the various groups of the bourgeoisie, particularly those between the strong and dominant monopolists of the imperialist countries and the weak but growing bourgeoisie of the former colonies.

It failed to take note of the capacity of the new ruling classes of such countries as India and Pakistan to use the political power,

which was formally transferred on August 15, 1947, not only against the people of their countries but also against their stronger rivals in the imperialist countries. It failed to take account of the further advances which might be made by the new ruling classes if they try to utilise the new strategic weapon which came into their hands.

The shortcomings noted above were, however, not peculiar to the Indian Communist movement.

They were shared by the entire world Communist movement. It took several years after the end of the Second World War (which resulted in the emergence of a socialist camp) for the world Communist movement to make a correct assessment of the character of the new epoch whose beginning was made possible by the destruction of Hitlerism at the hands of the Soviet Red Army. A correct assessment was ultimately made by the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties who assembled in Moscow in 1960 and issued a joint Statement.

Analysing the various aspects of a complicated situation, the Statement underlined two important factors:

One, that the national bourgeoisie, i.e., those who are "unconnected with imperialist circles", are objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. The contradiction between them on the one hand and imperialism and feudalism on the other is, therefore, real.

Two, while thus objectively interested in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, the national bourgeoisie is inclined to compromise with, rather than fight and defeat, imperialism and feudalism. This natural inclination to compromise is bound to get further intensified in the process of national development, since the contradictions between the new ruling classes and the people are bound to grow.

The two factors noted above, it is obvious, are contradictory to each other. While the first makes it possible for the mass of working people (who are interested in the full liquidation of all remnants of imperialist and feudal domination) to have limited agreements with the landlord-bourgeois ruling classes, the latter

brings them into bitter mutual conflict. How the two factors work on each other modifying or weakening the other trend—this depends on a variety of concrete forces and circumstances.

This is the essential basis on which the programme of the Communist Party of India outlined the tasks of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution and laying the basis for its subsequent development into the socialist revolution.

This is, however, broadly true not only of India but of Pakistan as well. Both of them leaned, in the initial years, on the Anglo-American imperialist Powers for support in the economic as well as political sphere; they, however, did not completely identify themselves with the imperialists. This is the essence of India's non-alignment policy which in the early years had heavy anti-Communist overtones. This was shared by Pakistan as well.

In the second phase, the two States fell apart—Pakistan more or less identified itself with the imperialist camp, joining such military alliances as SEATO and CENTO while India started taking a relatively clear and forthright stand of anti-imperialism.

The next phase witnessed the modification of India's anti-imperialism, the growth of a new trend of compromise with it, while Pakistan maintained its old position. Recently, however, Pakistan has been improving its relations with the socialist powers; while India, in its turn, is losing her position as a leading anti-imperialist Power, even while new stresses and strains are developing between India and the imperialist Powers.

This should enable us to see in perspective the criticism usually made against the Communist Party that it did not see what everyone else did—that India attained Independence on August 16, 1947.

This argument obviously means that every country becomes really free when it becomes free formally. The concept of a fundamental difference between formal freedom and real freedom is supposed to be false; any attempt to make this distinction is dismissed as blindness to reality.

Is this correct? If it were, it would mean that there was no difference between Pakistan which till recently was a participant in the SEATO and CENTO military alliances, and India which

took a relatively forthright stand on anti-imperialist issues. It would mean that there is no difference at all between two phases in the development of Pakistan itself—the phase in which she was an active member of the anti-Communist alliance and that in which she has already become close and intimate with China and is trying to develop the same relations with the Soviet Union.

Is it possible for a realistic political party to take such an approach, making no distinction between the various ways in which formal freedom is sought to be utilised by the landlord-bourgeois ruling circles? It is not possible.

The Communist Party, therefore, was correct in refusing to be taken in by the outward form of Independence won in 1947, in trying to go into the class content of the freedom won and the class character of the new State. For, the class character of the new State was the most decisive factor in shaping the destiny of the country.

The Party, however, did go wrong—go wrong in a very serious way. It was unable to see what is new in the objective conditions in which India and certain other countries attained freedom in the post-Second World War period.

Previously, imperialism was in undisputed sway over the world; there was only one socialist country which was genuinely fighting for the national freedom of all countries. Imperialism was then able to hatch plans of making it appear that freedom was conferred, while in reality imperialist domination was being maintained.

In the altered conditions of the world, however, it is not so easy to make a success of such neo-colonialist plans. It has become possible for the ruling classes of the countries which have become formally free to assert their independence.

Failure to take note of these possibilities was the basic shortcoming out of which an incorrect understanding of the reality of freedom arose.

The new epoch and its possibilities, however, do not necessarily make every instance of formal freedom an instance of asserting that freedom. It depends not only on the objective interests, but on the subjective factors working behind the ruling

classes as well, whether a particular country attaining formal freedom will be able to assert that freedom.

It is this complicated nature of the freedom which was won on August 15, 1947 that is concretely examined in the Programme of the Communist Party of India adopted by its Seventh Congress in Calcutta in October-November 1964. That Programme states:

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

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

“Our people hoped that the new national state would wipe out all the ugly legacies of the colonial past, would shatter all the forces and unleash the creative energies of the people. They fondly hoped that India would rapidly overcome her dependence and backwardness, abolish want and poverty, and emerge as a prosperous industrial Power, increasingly satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people. Their hopes were belied.”

What were the “hopes of the people” which were “belied?” The Programme answers:

“Although the working class, peasantry, middle classes and the progressive intelligentsia constituted the main fighting force against imperialist rule and bore the brunt of its fury, it was, however, the bourgeoisie that remained in the leadership of the liberation movement. After Independence, the national state headed by the big bourgeoisie has failed to fulfil these urgent tasks of the Indian Revolution. Afraid of the possible outcome that might follow such a thorough-going completion of the basic tasks of the democratic revolution, the big bourgeoisie compromised with imperialism and agreed that British finance capital would be allowed to continue its plunder, besides its acceptance to become a member of the British Commonwealth. In the background of mass upheaval in the native states which threatened to completely overthrow princely autocracy and feudalism, huge concessions were offered to feudal princes and their alliance sought to buttress bourgeois class regime. Landlords, the erstwhile supporters of British rulers, were welcomed into the Congress Party. The Congress rulers kept intact the British trained bureaucracy to suppress the masses. Thus the democratic revolution was neither allowed to gather momentum nor were its basic tasks fulfilled.”

The essence of the situation, in short, was that, while the external situation in the world was such as to make it possible for India to assert her freedom, the internal situation (the class character of the new state) created difficulties in the process of such assertion. The difference between India and Pakistan on the one hand and several countries—not only those like Vietnam which has correctly been included in the socialist camp but also some other countries like Indonesia, Burma, UAR, etc.—on the other was that the new ruling classes of the former were the landlords and bourgeoisie led by the big bourgeoisie, while, in the latter, these classes were made powerless.

It is this class character of the new state, the inclination of the ruling classes to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, which is virtually missed in the Programme of the Dangeites. Take, for instance, the following assessment of the new Government contained in their Programme:

“The Indian National Congress, which was leading the national movement, formed the first Government of independent India. The platform of the National Congress was to achieve an independent Indian state. As for the country’s future, the platform was one of developing an independent national economy—a platform that promised land reforms for the peasantry, certain fundamental rights and well-being for the working people, and a parliamentary democracy.

“The British imperialists knew that a consistent working out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India’s independence to a formality. They could not but see that if India’s independence were consolidated and this second biggest country in the world took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have a profound impact on Asia and Africa.”

Is there anything to show in this or other passages in the revisionist Programme that the ‘radical platform’ of the National Congress was a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie directed as much against the people as against imperialism? No.

The whole story of how the imperialists manoeuvred against new India consolidating her freedom is typical of the revisionists whose hallmark is ideological surrender to the bourgeoisie. For, nowhere is it stated that some of these imperialist manoeuvres succeeded precisely because the Congress rulers were willing to submit themselves to these manoeuvres.

Take, for instance, the way in which, according to the revisionists, “invasion of Kashmir was foiled by the prompt intervention of the Indian army and the patriotic resistance of the people of Kashmir” Afterwards, however, “the Kashmir issue (was) taken to the UN and remained a weapon in the hands of the imperialists”.

Who took the Kashmir issue to the UN and under what circumstances—this is not explained. If it had been explained, it is obvious it could not have been stated that “the new Indian Government fought back and defeated the manoeuvres of the imperialists.”

For the authors of the revisionist Programme, the progress of the country since 1947 is an uninterrupted march from success to success. The historic event of India attaining freedom on August 15, 1947; imperialist conspiracies and manoeuvres against the consolidation of India's freedom; their defeat at the hands of the new Government and people—such is the picture drawn by them.

How unreal this picture is can be seen from the way in which the new state evolved itself, developed its economic, social and foreign policies. Each of these fields of the state's activity is witness to the fact that the Congress rulers are not "fighting and defeating" the manoeuvres of imperialism and feudalism but so using the state power in their hands as to strengthen the class domination of the bourgeoisie and, to this end, compromising with imperialism and feudalism. Once again to quote our Programme:

"The dual character of the bourgeoisie which manifested itself during the years of the freedom struggle in the policy it pursued of mobilising the people against imperialism on the one hand and compromising with imperialism on the other, manifests itself in a new way after achievement of independence. Despite the growth of contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the people, including the bourgeoisie, on the other, despite the new opportunities presented with the emergence of the world socialist system, the big bourgeoisie heading the state does not decisively attack imperialism and feudalism and eliminate them. On the other hand, it seeks to utilise its hold over the state and the new opportunities to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand and, on the other, to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and feudalism by pressure, bargain and compromise. In this process, it is forging strong links with foreign monopolists and is sharing power with the landlords. Thus, while not hesitating to utilise socialist aid to build certain heavy industrial projects, and to bargain with the imperialists and build itself up, it is anti-people and anti-Communist in character and is firmly opposed to the completion of the democratic, anti-imperialist tasks of the Indian Revolution."

III

A Revisionist Illusion

Nobody who knows anything about the theory and practice of socialism will be taken in by the claims made by the leaders of the ruling Congress Party that they are building a socialist society in India. The Congress rulers are, on the other hand, seeking to build a typical capitalist society—a society in which not only are the mass of poor people getting more and more impoverished, but a handful of the rich are getting richer and richer. If one were to use the scientific terminology used by Lenin in his historic work, *Imperialism*, our ruling classes are building a capitalist society out of which is emerging the class of monopoly capitalists.

Every socialist in the world characterises a society as socialist only if all the main instruments and means of production, distribution and exchange are taken from the hands of private owners and brought under public ownership and management. The leaders of our ruling party, however, consider that this is a “doctrinaire” understanding of socialism. They maintain that India’s socialist society will, and should, indefinitely continue what they call a “mixed economy” i.e., the simultaneous existence and development of the private as well as the public sector.

The essence of the capitalist system, as is well-known to all students of socialist theory, is what is called “wage-slavery”, i.e., the system under which the mass of producers have no other property except their capacity to work (labour power, to use the scientific terminology); they, therefore, have to sell this capacity to work to a minority of people who have at their disposal the instruments and means of production without which the working people cannot labour and produce.

The pauperisation of those who own small properties, thus transforming them into wage-labourers who are forced to sell their labour power to those who own the instruments and means of production; the competition among those who are thus forced to sell their labour power which creates a favourable situation for those who buy labour power; the consequent bargaining between

the sellers and buyers of labour power which, in the end, obliges the workers to take such low rates of wages as can keep them and their families at the barest minimum living standards —such are the characteristic features of capitalist society in which the worker is, in the eyes of the law, “free and equal” to the employer but, in reality, is a slave to the wage system.

Any truthful student of the socio-economic scene in India can see that it is this system of wage-slavery which is fast developing in our country.

Peasants, artisans and other owners of small properties are losing their properties and are being thrown into the ranks of workers, forced to sell their labour power. Even those of them who are able to maintain their small properties are forced to seek jobs giving wage (or salary), which become their main source of income, (what they get from their small properties being only a minor part of their income). The ranks of wage- (or salary-) slaves are thus being joined every year by tens of thousands of new entrants.

This is at one end of the pole. At the other end is a small group of owners of property—those who were such owners previously becoming still bigger owners, while new elements enter their ranks from among those who were till very recently labouring people.

There is, therefore, not even the slightest justification for holding the view that India under Congress rule is building a socialist society. If the emergence and further development of the public sector were to be the sole criterion of which to base oneself in assessing the so-called socialist character of India’s society, one would have to admit that some of the most advanced capitalist countries (including the USA) are still more socialist. For, it has been calculated that the sphere of activity of public sector enterprises in some of these countries is even wider than in India.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the revisionist Programme is at one with our Party’s Programme in calling the socio-economic system developing in India under the Congress rule as capitalist.

“Despite the loud talk of socialism”, it says, “what is developing under the leadership of the Congress party and the Government is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state sector”. The Programme then adds:

“It means that this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises and serious limitations of the capitalist system and its basic laws.”

There is, however, a basic difference between the assessment made in the two Programmes.

The revisionist Programme considers that, though the ruling Congress party is developing a typical capitalist society with all the laws of capitalism operating here, it is nevertheless a progressive development. For it is a particular type of capitalist development independent of imperialism.

Let me quote the relevant passage from that Programme:

“There can be no doubt that the policy of imperialists to keep Indian economy within the semi-colonial bounds has received a rebuff. India, no longer linked to and dependent solely on the world capitalist market, has been able to advance along the road of independent industrial growth. If India had remained dependent on and linked, as before, only to the world capitalist market she would have never been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy.”

This over-enthusiastic praise of the “independent” character of India’s capitalist development is, according to our Programme, totally wrong. Not that the existence and growing power of the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union as its most powerful partner, has not enabled the bourgeoisie to beat back the most shameless offensive of imperialist Powers and foreign monopolists. This, of course, they have been able to do; to that extent, one may say, the development of capitalism in India is independent relative to the situation prevailing before the formation of the socialist camp.

This, however, has very serious limitations—limitations arising out of the very character of economic planning undertaken by the ruling party and the Government. Here, for instance, are the broad facts relating to the way in which dependence on imperialism is growing:

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

“Despite assistance of key importance from the socialist countries, despite the increase in trade with 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 dependent on Western assistance and particularly U.S. assistance. 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 looks to the U.S. and other Western countries for aid even for maintenance imports. Simultaneously with our increasing needs of foreign aid, concessions after concessions are being given to foreign capital. Hundreds of collaboration agreements between India and foreign capitalists are being sanctioned.

“This heavy dependence of our economy on Western aid both for development of the state sector and for industrial raw materials and components, as well as for our food, and the concessions that are being increasingly given to foreign capital, as well as the increasing penetration of foreign capital into our economy by means of their collaboration with our private capitalists—all this constitutes a serious danger to our country’s future, and to our capacity to pursue independent policies both internal and external. 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.

The difference between the approaches contained in the revisionist and our Programmes may, in a way, be said to be reflected in the title given to the second chapter of each Programme.

The revisionist Programme has the title: "Towards Independent Development". The content of the chapter is the narration of a story which will give satisfaction to any Congressman. For, it is a story of the gradual march of the Indian economy under Congress leadership from dependence on imperialism to genuine independence. It says, for instance, that:

Though the Indian bourgeoisie was "dictated by its own class interests of building an independent economy", the building of such an independent economy was, in the early post-independence year, thwarted "by the vacillation and compromising policies of the national bourgeoisie, which on certain vital issues signified a retreat from the accepted programme of the national liberation movement."

This early phase, however, was quickly over and a new phase started—a phase in which the national bourgeoisie "established firmer contacts with the socialist countries and formulated the Second Plan with its emphasis on heavy industries, development of the public sector and need for land reforms."

With this new phase was opened, the revisionist Programme continues, a conflict between two forces operating in India's socio-economic scene.

The national bourgeoisie which is at the head of the Government and which introduced such anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures as the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1949, nationalisation of the airlines and the Imperial Bank in 1953, nationalisation of life insurance companies and gold-fields in 1957, and so on.*

Against them were ranged the imperialists and top groups of Indian monopolists.

* Life Insurance Companies were nationalised in 1956

And it is the former, and not the latter, that, according to that Programme, are coming out victorious in the conflict. The result is that, "despite her link and unequal relations with the world capitalist economy India has been helped so much and enabled to go forward even by her partial and limited economic relations with the world socialist economy."

There may be Congress leaders, of course, who would feel unhappy at the references made in the revisionist programme to the role played by the socialist camp in enabling our ruling classes to develop an independent economy, in the country. But the bulk of them would be happy that the programme calls the Indian economy independent though capitalist.

Our Programme, on the other hand, draws attention to the "danger of neo-colonialism". The second chapter of that Programme is entitled "Bankrupt Path of Capitalism Leads to Growth of Monopolies and Danger of Neo-colonialism".

Let us note in this connection that our Programme takes full account of the positive role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in enabling our ruling classes to resist imperialist attacks. "The most outstanding feature of these Plans", it says, "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."

Our Programme, however, refuses to ignore or under-estimate the negative role of the class policies pursued by our ruling classes—the fact that their negative consequences far outweigh the positive. For, the root of these negative consequences is that:

"Despite the growth of contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and the people, including the bourgeoisie, on the other, and despite the new opportunities presented with the emergence of the world socialist system, the big bourgeoisie heading the state does not decisively attack imperialism and feudalism and eliminate them. On the other hand, it seeks to utilise its hold over the state and the new opportunities to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand

and, on the other, to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and feudalism by pressure, bargain and compromise. In this process, it is forging strong links with foreign monopolies and is sharing power with the landlords.

The extent to which our ruling classes are able and willing to assert the independence of India and to build an economy which is independent of imperialism is, therefore, very limited. Being an economy developing on the basis of cooperation with and assistance from, private monopolies in the developed capitalist countries, it is sinking more and more into the morass of dependence on imperialism.

This is a fact which can be seen from official documents themselves. Here, for instance, is the assessment of the external economic relations of the country made in the Report of the Reserve Bank of India for the year-ending, June 30, 1965:

“The current difficulties in the external payments are mainly a reflection of the adverse developments in the internal economy. It is a disappointing feature of Indian economic development that while aggregate output has increased over successive Plan periods, the exportable surpluses have not increased to a corresponding extent; nor has there been sufficient recognition that for an economy so vitally dependent on imports and having a heavy external debt to service, exports must be allocated a fairly large share of additional output...

“Shortfalls in export performance have a two-fold impact on the country’s development efforts. First, they upset current programmes of investment and production. Second, they increase the need for current foreign assistance and in the process mortgage the country’s future exports for debt service. Already the burden of external debt servicing is growing at a rapid rate. As most of the loans contracted in the Second Plan Period and the early Third Plan Period will fall due for servicing in the Fourth Plan, a substantial part (as much as 25 to 30 per cent) of the foreign exchange earned through exports is likely to be absorbed by debt servicing” (*Economic Times*, September 23, 1965).

It is obvious that such a critical situation in the field of external payments is the result of what our Programme calls “the

bankrupt path of capitalism''. It is equally obvious that, if the trend noted above in the official report of the Reserve Bank of India is not reversed, the increasing dependence on foreign aid will lead the nation to growing danger of political dependence on imperialism. This will be the beginning of a process which, if not reversed, will transform independent India into a neo-colonial India.

Let it be made perfectly clear that this is not an inevitable development. The objective forces operating in the world—the existence of the powerful socialist camp with the Soviet Union as its vanguard; the ever-growing strength of the anti-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; and above all, the ever-sharpening contradictions among the imperialist Powers themselves—are favourable to us.

So are the subjective forces operating within our country—the growing discontent of the people against “the bankrupt path of capitalism” taken by our ruling classes; the emergence of new forces of radical democracy and socialism; the trend towards the unity of these forces of radical democracy and socialism, etc—sufficiently powerful.

But the favourable—objective and subjective—forces can be fully utilised only if the Communists are conscious of their responsibility in telling the people that it is they, and not the ruling classes, who will preserve and strengthen India’s freedom and sovereignty. Not only does the revisionist Programme fails to do this, but it positively hails the ruling classes as the champions of independent development.

Our programme, on the other hand, warns the people that the nation is in danger of slowly but surely losing its independence and sovereignty if it continues to march along the capitalist path taken by the ruling classes.

IV

Foreign Policy—Its Class Content

Intimately connected with the transformation of formal freedom into real freedom is the foreign policy adopted by the ruling classes of any state which won freedom in the days of successful

struggle against colonialism. For, the anti-Communist, anti-peace and pro-war demagogy of the imperialist camp headed by the United States was the means with which the newly-free states were sought to be drawn into the imperialist net.

The main difference between India and Pakistan in the 1950's was that, because of the new orientation in foreign policy inaugurated by the Indian ruling classes, India began to weaken her links with the imperialist camp. She began to get closer both to the socialist Powers, as well as to the colonial peoples' freedom movements in Asia and Africa. This enabled her to inaugurate the process of economic planning based on industrialisation without that large-scale dependence on "foreign aid" which had till then been considered unavoidable.

Pakistan, on the other hand, went along with the imperialist Powers in forming anti-Communist military alliances such as SEATO and CENTO and, in the process, weakened her national freedom, rather than strengthening it as India did.

The above-mentioned changes in India's foreign policy raised a furious controversy inside the Indian Communist movement in the middle of the 1950's. The Third and Fourth Congresses of the then united Communist Party of India became the scene of an ideological-political battle around the question of the significance of these changes.

According to one point of view, India had started marching along the path of peace and anti-colonialism, had irreversibly joined the camp of peace.

This, however, was not accepted by the Party. It did certainly welcome the new orientation given by the Government to its foreign policy—an orientation which strengthened the forces of peace in the world and freedom and democracy in India. It, however, warned against any complacent attitude, the attitude of taking it for granted that there cannot be any reversal of policy in a reactionary direction. In other words, the Party did not equate the new orientation brought about in the 1950's as sure and unmistakable indication that India had already taken the path of peace and anti-colonialism.

Much water has flown since those days of inner-Party controversy. Developments in the international world in general, and India's own foreign relations in particular, have clarified many points which had remained unclear in those days. It was in the light of these developments, and the experience drawn from them, that a new Programme was adopted by our Party. The revisionists, too, have adopted their Programme. Let us, therefore, compare the two Programmes in respect to India's foreign policy and try to find out where they differ from each other.

Our Programme proceeds from the class angle from which alone a Marxist can look at any phenomenon. It points out that the foreign policy of any state and its Government is, in the final analysis, "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". It then goes on to state, "the foreign policy of the Government of India naturally reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition to, as well as compromise and collaboration with, imperialism".

The revisionist Programme, too, appears to base itself on the class character of the Indian state and its Government. The policy of "peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism" which, according to the revisionists, is "in the main" the foreign policy of Government of India, "conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie" and it "meets the needs of India's development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of people of India".

The difference between the two Programmes are obvious. The revisionists do not take account of "the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition to, as well as compromise and collaboration with, imperialism" which, according to us, is the crux of the class character of India's foreign policy.

The revisionists see nothing basically wrong in the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India; the only criticism which it has to make is that this policy "is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises". Despite these lapses and compromises, however, "as a whole, the main character of the policy has been generally preserved".

Our Programme takes pains to explain the objective material basis of our ruling classes' "opposition to imperialism as well as compromise and collaboration with it". "Unlike the monopolist bourgeoisie", it points out, "the Indian bourgeoisie for its very development needs world peace and is hence opposed to world war". But this opposition to world war is itself subordinated to the needs of advancing the class interests of the bourgeoisie. It, therefore, "seeks to utilise the contradictions between the camps of imperialism and socialism as well as contradictions and conflicts between U.S. and British imperialisms".

Making a concrete analysis of the way in which the foreign policy of the Government of India shifted from one position to another, our Programme says:

"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.

"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 hope 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 radicalism in 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 pressing India, began a new phase in the Government of India's policy of non-alignment. This was the phase when the Government came out against military blocs, against imperialist aggression, in support of colonial peoples' struggle, for prohibition of nuclear

weapons and disarmament and for Afro-Asian solidarity...This new anti-imperialist content given to the policy of non-alignment played a positive role in international development.

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

Compare this with the story of the development of India's foreign policy as narrated in the revisionist programme. “In the earlier years”, it says, “India's foreign policy suffered from the impression of British pressures, an inheritance from previous dependence”. This, however, was temporary. For, “soon it underwent significant change. Disillusionment with Anglo-American foreign policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the contradictions between the consolidation of independence and independent development of the national economics of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of the Indian state structure, the rising tempo of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and retreat of imperialism and the mounting strength of the socialist world and the strong peace-loving and anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people brought about a new turn in India's foreign policy”.

There was, according to the revisionists, no going back from this “new turn in foreign policy”. Only once did a danger of reversal make its appearance and that was in October 1962 when “the Chinese invasion gave a rude shock to the Indian people. The anger of the people was sought to be used by extreme right reaction to attack India’s policy on non-alignment and *Panchsheel*, the leadership of Nehru himself was assailed and his resignation demanded since he was the main architect of this policy. Immense pressure was put on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy on non-alignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists”.

The danger, however, was averted “thanks to the firm stand taken in defence of the policy of non-alignment by Nehru backed by the Indian people, the correct position taken by the Communist Party of India (revisionists—*E.M.S.N.*) in regard to national defence, the settlement of the Cuban crisis which averted a world war, the friendly attitude of the USSR and other socialist countries towards India and cease-fire by the Chinese after a short-lived advance, India’s foreign policy survived the severest crisis it ever faced”.

The revisionist Programme does not forget to mention those who oppose the foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and neo-colonialism. They are “monopoly-capitalist circles having strong links with Anglo-American capital and remnants of the feudal princely order who go with them”. These opponents of the foreign policy are able to attack the policy both from within the Congress (through its right wing), as well as from outside (through some opposition parties). Despite these pressures from inside and outside, however, the policy is preserved.

The revisionist Programme also mentions “the serious vacillations on the part of the Congress Government which are not in conformity with India’s general foreign policy”. It gives several examples, such as, failure to give formal diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic; lack of consistency and firmness in the Government’s stand against neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists; etc. All this, it is admitted, “tarnishes India’s anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist image in the eyes of African and Asian nations”.

Despite these vacillations “the policy of non-alignment has been preserved in the main”, as will be clear from the fact “that in the midst of the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right-reaction, the Government of India supported the sovereignty of Cuba during the Caribbean crisis, continued to back the admission of the Chinese Peoples’ Republic to the U. N., endorsed the nuclear weapons test ban treaty, yielded to the popular demand to cancel the Voice of America deal, and rejected the imperialist offer of air-umbrella against China.”

It will be clear from the above that, according to the revisionist assessment, the only source of danger to an otherwise correct foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism is the attitude adopted by China. Had it not been for the “Chinese invasion” of October 1962, there would have been no danger at all to that policy. Even this “Chinese-created danger” was averted because of the correct policy pursued by the Government of India.

This is unacceptable to us. Our Programme traces the weakening of the anti-imperialist content of the policy of non-alignment (which began about the year 1958) to “the growth of monopolies and Big Business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies which are actively encouraged by the Government, the increasing reliance of its five-year plans and 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 etc”.

These were further accentuated by “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”. After listing the various examples which go to show that the policy of non-alignment has been “jeopardised and is getting emasculated”, the Programme adds:

“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.”

The difference between the two Programmes in relation to foreign policy, therefore, may be summed up in these words: While our Programme looks upon the policy as the instrument which the ruling classes are trying to use in their own narrow class interests, the revisionist Programme considers it as the joint instrument which is used in the genuine interests of the nation as a whole.

Which of these two approaches is correct—this question can be answered only if we examine how that policy has forced our Government to think of and plan a militarised economy and state. For, no peace-loving Indian can remain indifferent to a situation where India's five-year plans for development are being sought to be so "modified" as to serve the needs of "national defence".

This, too, at a time when no state or Government in the world (with the possible exception of Malaysia and Singapore) has thought it fit to support India in her war with Pakistan. Any truthful observer of international political relations would ponder over the question why, if India's foreign policy has been so correct as is made out in the revisionist programme the Government has had to make such a large-scale preparation for war with so little of international support?

This, however, requires a more detailed treatment.

V

Foreign Policy, China and Pakistan

Much water has flown under the Indian bridges since 1962 when the Chinese army was fast advancing into the NEFA region.

The leaders of the ruling Congress party had, at that time, placed before the people a programme of meeting the Chinese offensive with arms secured from the Anglo-American Powers. Technical and political missions were being exchanged between Delhi, London and Washington. Requests for military "aid" on India's part were countered by appeals to settle the Indo-Pakistan dispute, "so that a united stand might be against the Chinese invader".

Echoing the voice of the Congress leaders was the revisionist leadership of Indian's Communist movement who imposed on the Party the so-called "patriotic line" of relying on imperialist

military "aid" for resisting the Chinese invader. In the notorious resolution which they pushed through the National Council by 2 : 1 majority—a resolution which was applauded by the leaders of the ruling Congress party, they declared: "The Communist Party of India is not opposed to buying arms from any country on a commercial basis."

The specious argument in support of this line of welcoming the Government of India's effort at getting arms from the imperialist Powers—the argument that what is welcome is not imperialist "aid" but purchase of arms on "commercial terms"—cannot hide the truth, declared unequivocally by the international Communist movement—the truth that imperialist Powers are using even the "commercial terms" as the beginning of the end of the freedom of independent and sovereign countries.

Within less than three years of the Government's effort at securing imperialist military "aid" and the revisionists' welcome to it, however, both the ruling party as well as the revisionists have had to sing another tune. It has now become clear even to the blind that the British and American imperialists were trying to use the India-China conflict to force the Government of India to take the first step towards transforming this country into an imperialist satellite.

Our people's anger rose to the highest pitch when they saw that, while on the one hand the imperialists were offering "aid" to India against China, they were at the same time arming Pakistan to the teeth. Their anger burst into open hostility when they saw Pakistan using United States arms against India, first in the Rann of Kutch and subsequently along the entire border between India and West Pakistan.

Both the ruling party as well as the revisionist leadership have, therefore, been obliged to make militant public declarations against the Western Powers. Although directed more against Britain than against the United States, fire is in general concentrated against the Western Powers. Threats are held out that India would quit the Commonwealth, she would review the entire foreign policy in an anti-Western direction, etc. The Dangeite leadership loyally follows suit.

What is surprising in the whole process is that the Dangeite leadership is not even as honest as the Congress leadership is. Central Ministers and other leaders of the ruling party have been talking of a "reappraisal of policy". They express "disappointment" that India's Western "friends" have "failed" her; hence the need for "reappraisal of policy". The national Press is full of suggestions on how this "reappraisal" is to be made.

It was, however, left to the Dangeite leadership alone to defend the Congress Government's foreign policy as to make it appear that there was nothing wrong with it. It would appear from their assessment of that foreign policy that India has been winning victory after victory on the diplomatic and political fields. All this at a time when such spokesmen of the Government as Chaglia, who had argued India's case before the Security Council in September, have made the candid admission that nobody supported India's case with regard to her war with Pakistan except Malaysia and Singapore.

Whether the revisionists admit it or not, the undeniable truth is that the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India has now reached a stage of crisis. Nobody can deny the fact that India has lost the large amount of goodwill from the non-aligned countries in the Afro-Asian world—a goodwill which was the biggest asset to our Government and people during the middle of the 1950's. No longer do they look upon India as their friend and guide, as they did in the years of Bandung and after. Most of them adopted the same attitude of neutrality towards our relations with Pakistan and China which, when adopted by the Soviet Union, was denounced by a section of the national Press as "helping the aggressor".

Many of the Asian-African countries are critical of several measures taken by China. None of them, however, is prepared to support the Indian case with regard to the India-China border.

Still worse is the position with regard to Pakistan and her claim to Kashmir. Most of them are swayed by Pakistan's slogan of "self-determination" and remain unconvinced about our claims.

Both on the India-China and Indo-Pakistan disputes, therefore, they would like India to settle her disputes through peaceful negotiations with the country concerned.

Why has such a situation arisen? Why should our friends in Asia and Africa take such an attitude which is of help to China and Pakistan? Is it because our foreign propaganda is "weak and ineffective", as is stated by some leaders of the Congress party and repeated even by the revisionists? Or, is there something wrong with the very foreign policy which it will be the job of the propaganda machinery to explain to our friends abroad?

The key to answering this question is provided by class essence of the foreign policy which, it may be recalled, "reflects the dual character of our bourgeoisie, of opposition to as well as compromise and collaboration with imperialism". (Our Party's *Programme*). The practical form which that policy took was, again to quote the Party Programme, "to utilise the contradictions between the camps of imperialism and socialism as well as contradictions and conflicts between the U.S. and British imperialisms", in order to "defend and safeguard the newly-won political independence of this country and to advance its (bourgeoisie's) own class interests."

Such a policy unavoidably comes into conflict with the requirements of the militant anti-colonial movements of Asia and Africa. Being countries with very little of bourgeois development, these countries have no such ruling "elite" at their top social circles as is interested in collaboration with imperialism. They, on the other hand, are interested in a militant programme of struggle against the remnants of colonialism, both internationally and in separate countries. The militancy of the Asian and African peoples and Governments stand in marked contrast to the more "mature", "sober", "balanced" approach taken by India towards the problems of anti-colonial struggles. This naturally ranged India in opposition to most of the Afro-Asian countries.

A half-hearted admission of this is made even in the revisionist Programme. It speaks of "marked failures in taking a consistent

and firm stand against neocolonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists” which “tarnishes India’s anti-imperialist anti-colonialist image in the eyes of the African and Asian nations”. It, however, dismisses them as a few “lapses” from, and “vacillations” on, an otherwise correct anti-imperialist anti-colonialist policy. It does not consider these “lapses” and “vacillations” as the other side of the same picture—the collaborationist and compromising side of the dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie’s foreign policy, of which the other side is opposition to imperialism.

Inherent in the dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie’s foreign policy is the crisis that has been fast developing in that policy. The fine balance which was sought to be maintained between the oppositionist and collaborationist sides of the policy cannot be indefinitely maintained, particularly since the Afro-Asian countries and the imperialist Powers have been moving in two opposite directions—the former in the direction of a more consistent anti-imperialist stand and the latter of a more shameless drive for world domination.

India has either to march in step with the anti-colonialist movements of Asia and Africa, or forge stronger bonds of collaboration with the imperialist Powers. If she does the former, she will have to be less “sober”, “balanced”, “mature”, etc., on anti-colonial issues; if she takes up the latter position, she will lose the sympathy and support of the anti-colonial movements of Asia and Africa.

It was against this background that India-China relations came to a breaking point. As is well known, the dispute between the two countries took some time to reach the breaking point which it did in October-November 1962. There are, however, a few critical points at each of which the crucial question arose: will India try to settle her disputes with China through direct negotiations or, will she try to put pressure on her and, for that purpose, try to secure Western imperialist “aid”? These three critical points are:

- (a) the first half of 1959 when the Dalai Lama and his followers took refuge in India and started using Indian soil for anti-China operations;

- (b) 1960 April, when the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai came to India and met the leaders of our Government. There are uncontradicted reports to the effect that a proposal was under the serious consideration of the Government to exchange the Aksai China region for the McMahon line. This proposal, however, was ultimately rejected under pressure from an influential section of the Central Cabinet, though the then Prime Minister and Defence Minister were inclined to agree to it;
- (c) the critical days of the latter half of 1962 when the Chinese army was entering into the NEFA region and the Government of India promptly asked the Western imperialist Powers for their help in resisting the Chinese.

Leaders of the ruling party as well as the revisionist leadership would have us believe that India was right and China wrong at every one of these critical points. Giving asylum to the Dalai Lama was, according to the leaders of the ruling party, an unavoidable political necessity, since it was a question of "human rights". It is difficult to see how the revisionist leadership can endorse this stand. For, they are at least formally committed to a resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, adopted in May 1959, which stated as follows:

"What happened in the Tibetan region of the Chinese People's Republic was a rebellion organised by a handful of serf-owners and bigoted lamas in order to block all reforms and thus perpetuate brutal oppression and tyranny. They wanted to deny to the Tibetan people the light of modern civilisation, so that they would remain sunk in the bottomless pit of backwardness, servitude and indescribable misery. In their rebellion, these reactionary circles were encouraged and even materially helped by the imperialists."

Making a specific reference to the attitude adopted by the Government of India, and particularly by Prime Minister Nehru, that resolution stated, "it is a matter of deep regret that, on several occasions in recent weeks, he should have permitted himself to take positions and make utterances which cannot be reconciled with his own foreign policy and its guiding principles,

the *Panch Sheel*, on whose basis alone India's relations with the People's Republic of China can be upheld and carried forward".

Yet, the revisionist Programme does not have a word to say on the Dalai Lama's entry into India and the Government's attitude towards him. Does it mean that they have now gone round to the view that the help rendered to "the handful of serf-owners and bigoted lamas" from Tibet was in conformity with the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism?

As for the second critical point in the development of India-China relations—Chou En-lai's visit to India and the reported proposal for India-China settlement on the basis of exchanging Aksai Chin for the NEFA, do the revisionists believe that the proposal would have "betrayal of national interests" if it had been agreed to by the Government? Even supposing that the proposal had not been made in those days, would they now consider it proper on the part of the Government to try to settle the India China dispute on that basis ?

We are not raising an abstract question. For, it is well-known that this proposal has been publicly made by some leading figures in the country, such as Jayaprakash Narayan. We may also refer to the conclusion arrived at by research student of the problem of India's border dispute with China on the entire border:

"In the present controversy", says J. S. Bains in his *India's International Disputes*, "in the Northeast, the area south of the McMahon line as shown in Indian maps prepared at Simla has been under the effective jurisdiction of India. This is quite evident because Indian defence forces successfully withstood the Chinese attempts to infiltrate into this area. Taking into consideration the topography, this was the kind of effective administration that could be possible. But the same is not true in the case of the Ladakh region of India where there seems to be a dispute between the border based on treaties, usage and custom and the extent of actual effective jurisdiction. In the final analysis, international law recognises the validity of those boundaries which whether based on principle, or usage, or some other criterion, are also effectively maintained by the parties concerned. In this case, therefore, while India is rightfully holding its own in the area

south of the traditional boundary in the eastern and central sectors, the *status quo* in the western sector is more favourable to China”.

Is it seriously suggested that a country and Government which gave asylum to and helped a group of rebels against a neighbouring country and failed to negotiate on the basis of ‘recognising actual political realities through mere “propaganda” that its case is just? All the more so if that country happens to believe in and practise the theory of securing western military “aid”?

Let us make it clear in this context that we do not for a moment suggest that everything China did in dealing with the India-China dispute was indisputable. However, it is necessary to note that the Government of India cannot evade its responsibility for the deterioration in the relations between India and China. It is impossible to hide the fact that the Government of India added to the difficulties by giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers, by rejecting the proposal that the border disputes should be settled on the basis of existing political realities and by trying to secure imperialist military “aid”.

The question of Indo-Pakistan relations too reached a breaking point. It led to an open war followed by an uneasy cease-fire.

The heart of this question, as is well-known, is Kashmir. Now the question of Kashmir is not a foreign policy question, pure and simple. It is part of the question of internal democracy as well.

Kashmir being admitted to be a part of India does not solve the problem of its status. For, ever since the accession to India in 1949, it has continued to enjoy a status not enjoyed by any other state of India. The commitment made by the Government at the time of accession that the will of the people will be ascertained on the question of accession; the convocation of a separate Constituent Assembly and the framing of a separate Constitution for Kashmir; the Government of India’s acquiescence in the resolution of the Security Council with regard to a plebiscite in Kashmir—all these are unique features of the relation between the Centre and the state of Kashmir.

All this has its impact on internal democracy within India in general, within Kashmir in particular. The internal aspect we will consider separately. Let us in the meantime note that if our Government ignores the above facts of history and goes on repeating that Kashmir is in no way different from the other states of India, people outside our country are likely to become sceptical. We may, of course, silence them by saying that the continuation or ending of this special status is a purely internal matter in which outsiders have no business to interfere. It would, however, be difficult for the Government to convince the world that its case on Kashmir is as strong as is made out by its spokesmen.

Coming as this Indo-Pakistan question did against the background of our Government's failure in regard to the solution of the India-China dispute, it is not surprising that our Asian and African friends look upon India's relation with her neighbours as not in conformity with the spirit of peaceful solution of differences. It will be difficult to blame them if they hold the view that India is not taking a helpful and constructive attitude to her neighbours.

The revisionist leadership, however, is not prepared to take note of any of these weaknesses in the Congress Government's foreign policy. That policy, according to them, is the best imaginable. They stick to the dogma that the foreign policy of India under the Congress Government is one of "peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism", even though the majority of her Asian and African friends have begun to entertain doubts on it.

It is obvious that our Party cannot subscribe to this point of view. It has to take note of the impact which this foreign policy is having on our friends abroad, particularly the Asian and African friends. We cannot take the stand that, if these Asian and African friends do not approve or endorse all that India says and does but, on the other hand, believe the Chinese and Pakistani propaganda, it is all due to the "inefficiency of India's propaganda machinery". We are of opinion that it is necessary for us to go deep into the question

of what is wrong with the policy and how it is to be improved upon.

And it is this that our Programme seeks to do when it lays down the policy of “strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way” “making special and concerted efforts to peacefully settle the existing differences and disputes and establish friendly relations with India’s neighbours”.

VI

Implications of Crisis in Capitalist System

Every Marxist-Leninist in the world today is agreed that humanity is now going through the epoch in which, to quote the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties, “the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society”.

Such a characterisation of the present epoch in human history is based on a scientific analysis of the stage of the crisis into which the capitalist system has fallen. Once again to quote the 1960 statement:

“A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind; the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperilists’ positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism resulting from the growth of State-monopoly capitalism and militarism; the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology.”

This analysis of the world situation, one would have thought, would be the basis on which any group of people calling themselves Communists would proceed to discuss the perspective of development before a country like India. This, however, is precisely what the revisionists refuse to do.

Before examining the programme adopted by the revisionists at their Bombay Congress, let us refer to a revealing passage from a document published by the revisionists in June 1964—Dr. G. Adhikari's critique of the present writer's document on "Revisionism and Dogmatism."

"Is it possible", Dr. Adhikari asks, "for countries like India, Indonesia, etc., reach economic independence, that is, the stage of mature industrialisation and developed agriculture in the capitalist way?", and he answers:

"This possibility cannot be excluded in the context of the new world situation (new epoch and the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism) and also because of the possibilities it opens up for the national bourgeoisie as a whole to pursue its class aim of building an independent economy in the capitalist way."

In other words, it is quite possible for the Indian bourgeoisie to develop India in the same way in which the bourgeoisie of the Western capitalist countries did in the 18th and 19th centuries. Dr. Adhikari, of course, concedes that "such a development would be a protracted path, heaping burdens and suffering on the masses and involving danger for the nation", but he pleads for "recognising this possibility soberly".

It is not surprising that the draft programme formulated by the revisionists on the basis of such an understanding envisaged a form of National Democratic Front in which the bourgeoisie is not the vacillating and unstable, but firm ally of the working class: not only does the bourgeoisie *share power* with the working class but "*the leadership of the alliance of the patriotic classes is shared between the national bourgeoisie and the working class*".

Such a crude and shameless advocacy of "progressive role" of the bourgeoisie was too much even for the rank and file members of the revisionist party. They, therefore, have now given it up. The final version of the Programme as adopted by them in

Bombay does not openly talk of the possibility of “mature industrialisation through the capitalist path” nor of the “joint leadership of the bourgeoisie and the working class” in the democratic front. But, even in the revised version of the Programme adopted by them, the essence of their previous understanding remains, though they have tried their best to cover it up in more respectable terms.

Consider, for instance, the third chapter of their final Programme. Its heading is “Contradictions of the Path of Capitalist Development”. It may appear to a superficial observer that the revisionists are unmasking here the whole path of capitalist development resorted to by the Indian ruling classes. One may think that, according to the revisionist, too, the more the country goes along the capitalist path, the worse will be the position of the economy, politics and culture of the country, so that the country has to move away from the capitalist path if it has to develop itself as a modern nation.

This, however, is far from truth. For, what they have in mind when they talk of contradictions of the path of capitalist developments is only this: “this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises and serious limitations of the capitalist system and its basic laws.”

Anybody who is familiar with the works of Marx and Engels, produced over a century ago, knows that the capitalist system does not work smoothly but through contradictions and crises. The great merit of Marx’s work, *Capital*, consists in his ability even in those early years to unravel all the inherent and inevitable contradictions of capitalism. It may be recalled that was the time when capitalism had not transformed itself from the competitive to the monopoly stage, the stage which Lenin called “the last stage of capitalism”. Marx was able to bring into the open the inherent contradictions of even that stage of capitalism.

It is not these “inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises and serious limitations of the capitalist system” that present-day Marxists have in mind when they speak of the general crisis of capitalism—and that, too, general crisis in its third stage. The specific features of this particular crisis—general crisis in its third

stage—have been analysed by present-day Marxist-Leninists who have come to the conclusion that any country which tries to take the capitalist path will, far from developing itself economically, politically and culturally, always be crisis-ridden.

Is this the understanding with which the revisionists analyse the post-independence development in the country? Do they base themselves on the idea that there is a profound crisis in the economy, politics and ideology of capitalism?

We will try to examine the revisionist programme from various angles with a view to showing how it fails to apply the above understanding to Indian conditions.

Before doing it, however, let us make the general observation that the revisionist Programme fails to make a concrete analysis of the specific feature of capitalist development in India. It is here that the main difference between their Programme and our Programme lies. Our Programme, for instance, points out the following specific features of Indian capitalism:

- (a) “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.”
- (b) “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.”
- (c) “Even though developing in the capitalist way, Indian society still contains within itself strong elements of pre-capitalist society. Unlike the advanced capitalist countries where capitalism grew on the ashes of pre-capitalist society, destroyed by the rising bourgeoisie, capitalism in India was super-imposed on pre-capitalist society. Neither the British colonialists whose rule continued for over a century, nor the Indian bourgeoisie into whose hands power passed in 1947, delivered those smashing blows against pre-capitalist society which are necessary for the free development of

capitalist society and its replacement by socialist society. The present Indian society, therefore, is a peculiar combination of monopoly capitalist domination with the caste, communal and tribal institutions.”

These specific features of capitalist development in India make the crises and contradictions of capitalism in our country far more protracted. For at the head of the state are all those forces which are backward and reactionary in the capitalist as well as pre-capitalist societies—monopoly bourgeoisie collaborating with foreign monopolists; former maharajas and zamindars; budding capitalist landlords; leaders of caste, communal and tribal institutions, etc. It is against such a combination of reactionary and backward forces that the conscious working class and its allies have to fight.

This being the position, no useful purpose will be served by making the abstract formulation that contradictions and crises which are inherent in any type of capitalist society, are applicable to the Indian capitalist society as well. What is required is the concrete analysis of the various manifestations of the crisis developing in a society in which there is the coexistence of the institutions, strata of society and ideologies arising out of the caste, communal, tribal, etc., social organisations at one end and the rapidly-growing monopoly capitalists at the other.

That is why our Programme declares: “It has fallen to the lot of the working class and its Party to unite all the progressive forces interested in destroying the pre-capitalist society and to so consolidate the revolutionary forces within it as to facilitate the most rapid completion of the democratic revolution and preparation of the ground for transition to socialism.”

The “progressive forces” mentioned above do, of course, cover a very wide ground. They include not only the working class, peasantry and the middle classes, but also the bulk of the bourgeoisie, i.e., bourgeoisie minus its monopolist wing.

On this question of the forces which join together on the side of the people, there is virtually no difference between the revisionist Programme and ours. There is, however, a basic difference on the question of the forces against which the above-mentioned progressive forces are to be mobilised, the objective with which the progressive forces are to be united.

Our Programme says that “replacement of the bourgeois-landlord state and Government by a state of People’s Democracy and People’s Democratic Government led by the working class on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance” is what is immediately required. The struggles waged by the working class and its allies, therefore, should be directed against the landlord-bourgeois Government headed by the big bourgeoisie, a Government around whom are rallied all the reactionary and backward classes and strata of capitalist as well as pre-capitalist society.

The revisionist programme, however, takes a different attitude. The essence of the contradictions and crises inherent in the capitalist system, according to them, consists in the fact that a differentiation is taking place between the monopolists and the rest of the bourgeoisie. The task, therefore, consists in utilising these differences within the bourgeois class and to strengthen the non monopoly bourgeoisie in its struggle against the monopolists. Unity with the progressive forces within the Congress is, according to them, the main lever to build the unity of the nation.

Our Programme for its part does not fail to take note of the differentiations and contradictions between the landlords and the bourgeoisie, between the monopolists and non-monopolists among the bourgeoisie, between the foreign monopolists and the entire Indian bourgeoisie, including the monopolists, and so on. It is necessary for the working class and other revolutionary forces to utilise these differences and contradictions within the ranks of the ruling classes.

Our Programme, however, bases itself on the reality that “the People’s Democratic Revolution inevitably comes into clash with the state power of the big bourgeoisie in India”. Again.

“The basic and fundamental task of the revolution in today’s context cannot be carried out except in determined opposition to and struggle against the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives who occupy the leading position in the state. They resist and oppose the carrying out of radical and genuine agrarian reforms and have embarked upon the path of reforming feudal and semi-feudal landlordism to serve their narrow class interests of allying with them in order to buttress their class domination.

They also are utilising their state power to protect the foreign monopoly capital and facilitate its further penetration unhindered. Further, with their policies of compromise and collaboration with foreign monopolists and alliance with Indian landlordism, they are vigorously pursuing the path of capitalist development which in turn is immensely facilitating the growth of monopoly capital in our country. Hence the People's Democratic Revolution is not only in irreconcilable opposition to feudal landlordism and foreign monopoly capitalism but together with them it is opposed to the big bourgeoisie which is leading the state and is pursuing policies of compromise and collaboration with foreign finance capital and alliance with native landlordism."

As opposed to this characterisation of the state and Government, i.e., it being an alliance of the landlords and the bourgeoisie led by the big bourgeoisie is the characterisation made by the revisionists: "the State in India," they say, is "an organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole". In this bourgeois state, the big bourgeoisie is not playing the leading role but only "wields considerable influence": as for the landlords, "the national bourgeoisie compromises with them", but they are not allies of the bourgeoisie in wielding state power.

Where such a characterisation of the state and Government leads the revisionists will be seen when we examine their analysis of the state structure in India.

VII

Class Character of Present Indian State

The revisionists would have us believe that the state in India today conforms to the description of the typical bourgeois state, made by the founders of scientific socialism in their *Communist Manifesto*. That description, it may be recalled, is as follows:

"The bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Corresponding to this definition of the state is the appreciation of the role played by the bourgeoisie in social development: "The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part...The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a pre-sentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?"

It is known to all genuine students of Marxism that such a description of the bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class is inapplicable to the new stage of capitalist development, the stage of imperialism. No more is the bourgeoisie the vanguard of the militant classes and strata of society, the champion of revolutionary changes in the social system, the leader in the process of destroying all that is old and outmoded. It is, on the other hand, interested in arresting the onward march of revolutionary social forces; it allies itself with the various conservative and counter-revolutionary classes and strata of society.

Corresponding to this change in the role of the bourgeoisie in social development is the change in its state-political set-up. The typical form of the bourgeois state, characteristic of the period in which the bourgeoisie was playing a historically revolutionary role, i.e., the bourgeois parliamentary-democratic state, is replaced by various forms of anti-democratic regimes. The most notorious among these latter is the fascist state of the inter-war years which was described by the Communist International "as the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital".

This particular form of the anti-democratic bourgeois state could arise only in those developed capitalist countries where the very process of capitalist development has thrown up a top layer of monopoly capitalists powerful enough to subjugate the state to their narrow sectional interests, rather than to the class interests

of the whole bourgeoisie. The fascist state came into existence only when the conflicts and contradictions between this top layer of the monopolists and the rest of the bourgeoisie reached such a stage that they could not be resolved within the confines of a state which till then used to "manage the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie", a stage when the state should look after the interests either of the narrow stratum of monopoly capitalists or of the rest of the bourgeoisie. The typical bourgeois state, i.e., the parliamentary democratic republic, had thus to give way to a state which oppresses not only the toilers but large sections of the bourgeoisie itself.

Does this mean that the bourgeoisie of under-developed countries like India could play the same role as its counterpart did in the developed capitalist countries? Can the bourgeoisie in these countries play the same historically revolutionary role as was played by its brothers in the developed countries? Can India and other developing countries perfect and maintain the typical bourgeois state, the parliamentary democratic republic?

The revisionists believe that this is possible. Here, for instance, is the way in which they open the chapter of their Programme which deals with "Bourgeoisie and State".

"The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, which upholds and develops capitalism and capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India."

From this they proceed to make their assessment of the role played by the bourgeoisie in the state-political development of the country: "In spite of the bourgeois class character of the state, the ushering in of the bourgeois democratic state was a historic advance over the imperialist bureaucratic rule over our country. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and certain fundamental rights for the people and directive principles for the state."

They agree that the parliamentary democratic republic is circumscribed by various limitations, but add: "even with these limitations, the existence of the rights in the Constitution can be

made the platform and instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests. Although a form of class rule, India's present parliamentary democracy has enabled the people to a certain extent to fight the distortion of that class rule in the direction of an autocracy in the service of reactionary monopoly and landlord interests. India's Parliament has provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and demanding social transformations in favour of the people such as land reforms, working class rights, curbs on monopolies, etc.'.

Does this mean that the parliamentary democratic system, established by the bourgeoisie in India, can be used for the transition from the capitalist to the socialist system? The revisionist answer is that there are difficulties in its way, there are certain forces obstructing the process. What they are is explained as follows:

“Differentiation is growing within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie which is not a homogenous class. It has contradictions within itself. This is most sharply expressed in the emergence of monopoly groups. Their growing grip over the economy and political life of the country is coming in conflict with the vital interests of the masses, harming the interests of broad sections of the national bourgeoisie and endangering India's march towards economic independence itself. In the economic sphere they seek to annul the dominant role of the public sector, so essential for the development of national economy; they facilitate the penetration of foreign monopoly capital through anti-national collaboration agreements... In the political sphere, they seek to consolidate the right reactionary forces in the country, to bolster up the right wing in the ruling party. They unleash an offensive against all progressive and national policies and organise an anti-Communist offensive to defeat and disrupt the democratic forces.”

The way in which the agrarian question is sought to be solved is also producing “a new set of reactionary vested interests”. They are “landlords, usurers and wholesale dealers” who “often

combine in the same person”, and “constitute the modern parasites holding up the progress of agriculture and supporting right reaction”.

These two reactionary forces, i.e., “the monopoly groups and feudal circles represent the main anti-democratic forces of reaction in the country. Their constant effort is to exercise pressure to shift Parliament and Government policies to the right. Hence they oppose extension of democracy, support restrictions on parliamentary democracy and promote bureaucratic authoritarianism.”

The revisionist Programme, therefore, does not take the preservation of the parliamentary democratic system for granted. They warn the people that “with the growth of monopoly and right reaction a new threat arises aimed at undermining even the existing democratic liberties and parliamentary democracy as a whole.”

The essence of this analysis, it can be seen, is that India’s bourgeois parliamentary democratic system is inherently revolutionary and democratic; there is nothing basically wrong or undemocratic in it; the root of the difficulties which arise in the course of its working is the emergence and further strengthening of a top layer of monopolists within the bourgeoisie who, together with feudal and other reactionary elements in the rural areas, try to subvert the parliamentary democratic system. Remove the dead weight of reactionaries from the system and purify it—such is the naive prescription made by these doctors to heal this sickly political system.

Behind this understanding lies a completely unscientific, one-sided analysis of the way in which the economy and political institutions of capitalism have been developing in India. It fails to take into account the specific features of India’s capitalist development—features whose crux is briefly noted in our Programme and was referred to by us in the earlier article. Let us, however, recall, one of the most essential of these features which is:

“Neither the British colonialists whose rule continued for a century, nor the Indian bourgeoisie into whose hands power passed

in 1947, delivered those smashing blows against pre-capitalist society which are necessary for the free development of capitalist society and its replacement by socialist society. The present Indian society, therefore, is a peculiar combination of monopoly capitalist domination with the caste, communal and tribal institutions.”

Such being the origin of capitalism in India, the background against which it has been and is still developing, the new state which came into being on August 15, 1947, is not a revolutionary democratic state expressing the will of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and strata of Indian society. It is, on the other hand, a state which reflects the compromise between the bourgeoisie and the feudals, the comprador and oppositional wings of the bourgeoisie, and, above all, the feudal-capitalist classes in India on the one hand and foreign monopolists on the other.

It is true that, within the framework of such a compromise between the various sections of the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie is getting stronger than the feudals: in relation to foreign monopoly, too, the bourgeoisie is trying its best to strengthen itself. But this very strengthening of the bourgeoisie is within the framework of its compromise with the feudals and with foreign monopolies. Furthermore, within the class of the bourgeoisie itself, the monopolists are growing at the expense of the other sections of the bourgeoisie—a fact which is noted by the revisionists themselves, when they say:

“Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolists and big financiers. Allocation of raw materials, transport facilities, import-export and capital issue licences are made by the Government and bureaucrats in such a way that the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of Big Business”.

Having made this admission, however, the revisionists shrink from the conclusion which naturally follows—the conclusion that “the foreign and Indian monopolists and big financiers” have a far greater hold on the state in India than the rest of the bourgeoisie; in other words, the big bourgeoisie is the leader of the national bourgeoisie as a whole.

Hence the verbal gymnastics through which they manage to concede that “in the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence,” but argue that the Indian people can use the fundamental rights provided for in the Constitution as “the platform and instrument of their struggles for enlarging their interests”.

Distinctions are made as between “the state which is the class rule of the bourgeoisie” and “the Government in whose formation and functioning the bourgeoisie pursues the policy of compromise with the landlords, admits them in the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state levels.”

Contrast this with our Programme according to which the Indian state is “the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, led by the big bourgeoisie, who are increasingly collaborating with foreign financial capital in pursuit of the capitalist path of development”. The strengthening of the monopolists at the expense of the rest of the bourgeoisie; the collaboration between the Indian and foreign monopolists; the emergence of a new class of reactionary rural rich formed out of the old feudal and semi-feudal exploiters as well as out of the rising capitalist elements in the rural areas—all these are inherent in the character of the new state which emerged on August 15, 1947, a state which reflects the compromises between the Indian ruling classes (pre-capitalist as well as capitalist) and foreign monopolies.

There are, no doubt, differences, conflicts and contradictions within the camp of bourgeoisie. The conflicts and contradictions between the narrow stratum of monopolists and the rest of the bourgeoisie are particularly significant. The working class and its allies can and should use these conflicts and contradictions in order to isolate the monopolists. That is why our Programme envisages the building of a People’s Democratic Front in which the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, “having no links altogether with foreign monopoly or having no durable links”, would find a place.

This, however, should not make us blind to the class character of the present Indian state which is the political expression of the alliance of the entire Indian bourgeoisie (including, and led by,

the big bourgeoisie) with feudals and semi-feudals and of collaboration with foreign monopolists. That is why our Programme says:

“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 headed by the working class.”

“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”— such is the basic task of the Indian Revolution envisaged in our Programme.

This struggle for dislodging the present big bourgeois leadership from the state machinery and for establishing the hegemony of the working class is denied by the revisionists. In place of this struggle around a particular state, struggle to replace the power of a particular class alliance by the power of another class alliance, they envisage struggle for replacing a particular Government by another Government. Listen:

“The *present Government*, which represents the national bourgeoisie and is pursuing the path of building independent national economy along the path of capitalist development, *is incapable of implementing this (national democratic) programme.*”

“Therefore, as the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broadbased, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it defeats the forces of reaction inside and outside the ruling party and comes to the position of taking governmental power into its own hands.” (Emphasis added).

VIII

Bourgeois Democracy and Revisionism

Mercilessly exposing the revisionists of his day, Lenin had ridiculed their talk of “democracy as opposed to dictatorship”. He exposed the hollowness of the idle talk about democracy and

dictatorship *in general*, and raised the question: Democracy for whom? Whose dictatorship? Democracy for, and dictatorship of, which class or classes?

Making a concrete analysis of “the most democratic state in history”, the bourgeois parliamentary democratic state, he unmasked it as providing a democratic cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, he explained how the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of the hitherto-exploited majority over the exploiting minority and is, therefore, more democratic than any previous state.

The revisionists of present-day India faithfully follow in the footsteps of their counterparts in other countries. Exactly like the Russian revisionists against whom Lenin concentrated his fire, our revisionists, too, talk in laudatory terms of the democratic character of the bourgeois state. They praise the system of parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise, praise the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The establishment of such a system is hailed as a “historical advance”. In making such an assessment of democracy in India, they follow the revisionists of other countries, refuse to pose and answer the question: democracy for, and dictatorship of, which class or classes?

Functioning as they are in a stage in the history of the international working class movement when the Leninist analysis of the bourgeois class character of the parliamentary democratic state is proving correct and unassailable, our revisionists cannot but pay lip-service to that Leninist axiom. Not only have they to note the “bourgeois class character” of the Indian state, but they have to observe that “although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, the people can exercise them only to a limited extent”.

“Many of these rights”, they proceed, “are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state in favour of the exploiting classes. 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 workers and

peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The Preventive Detention Act and DIR are used against democratic forces. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights in resolute manner. These anti-democratic tendencies were further demonstrated when the elected Communist-led Ministry in Kerala was removed by using arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President”.

The superficial character of this criticism of the bourgeois state in India will be clear from the fact that the revisionists are not prepared to go even as far as such a bourgeois democratic jurist as M.C. Setalvad, the former Attorney-General to the Government of India, has done. This is how Setalvad characterised “the existence of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution” which, according to the revisionists, can be used as an “instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests”.

“The proclamation of Emergency issued by the President under Article 352 of the Constitution on the 26th October 1962 after the Chinese aggression continues in force. The order of the President made under Article 359(1) of the Constitution soon after the aggression also continues to be operative. The combined effect of these two measures is, firstly, that the rights of the citizen throughout the country under Article 19(1) of the Constitution remain suspended; secondly, the citizen is debarred all over the country from moving any court in respect of infringement of his rights under Articles 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution. He cannot, even though imprisoned, apply to any court for habeas corpus. The Defence of India Act and Rules made under it which are emergency measures also continue to be operative. Some provisions of the rules which contravene Articles 14, 21 and 22(4), (5) and (7) and which were considered to be invalid by the Attorney-General of India before the Supreme Court, are being used to imprison and detain hundreds of citizens”.

Setalvad’s conclusion is that “in substance, the Executive has taken advantage of the Chinese aggression to constitute itself into what may be called a constitutional dictatorship”.

Setalvad is not alone in this respect. Increasing numbers of jurists and other intellectuals are coming out with their own forthright criticisms of the way in which the much-vaunted "democracy, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles" are being trampled underfoot. Most of them are persons who would not have raised any objection if the parliamentary democratic state had, in fact, operated as the dictatorship of the ruling classes as a whole over the common people. Their objection is that, even for the ruling classes, there is no democracy in the real sense of the term; only such sections of the landlord-bourgeois classes as are prepared to toe the line of the ruling party, are allowed to enjoy their democratic rights.

It is against the background of such criticisms by bourgeois democrats that our revisionists are indulging in high appreciation of the parliamentary democratic system in India. Their main argument in justification of this stand is that the parliamentary democratic institutions established in India "provide the forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure". This is as true as of parliamentary democratic system anywhere in the world. It was precisely for making such general statements that the European revisionists of his day were sharply criticised by Lenin. Here, for instance, is what Lenin said about Kautsky:

"Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with mediaevalism, nevertheless remains and under capitalism cannot but remain restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor. It is this simple truth, which forms an essential part of Marx's teachings, that Kautsky, the 'Marxist', has failed to understand. On this fundamental question Kautsky gives us what is agreeable to the bourgeoisie instead of a scientific criticism of those conditions which make all bourgeois democracy only a democracy for the rich".

This is precisely what our revisionists do in relation to Indian democracy. They talk of "a historic advance over the imperialist bureaucratic rule over our country" which bourgeois democracy constitutes in India, but conceal the reality that this is no

democracy for the mass of our people. They laud the "Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles" which can be made the "platform and instrument of struggles of the people", they go into ecstasies over the institutions of parliamentary democracy which "enable our people to intervene in the affairs of the state". They, however, refuse to take that very attitude to the fundamental rights and parliamentary institutions which, according to Lenin, divide the Marxists from the revisionists.

"There is not a single state", says Lenin, "however democratic, which does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of despatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law and so forth, in case of a 'disturbance of the peace', i.e., in case the exploited class 'disturbs' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. Kautsky shamelessly embellishes bourgeois democracy and hushes up, for instance, what the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie of America and Switzerland do against workers on strike. Oh, the wise and learned Kautsky remains silent about these things! This pundit and statesman does not realise that to remain silent on this matter is despicable".

It is in this very "despicable" manner that our revisionists remain silent on how the "fundamental rights" and parliamentary institutions are being utilised by the Indian bourgeoisie. They assert that India's Parliament has "provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and demanding social transformation in favour of the people such as land reforms, working class rights, curbs on monopolies, etc.". They, however, remain completely silent on the result of our people's activities, their using of this "forum to intervene in the affairs of the state". Let us once again go back to Lenin who had the following to say on the bourgeois parliament and the revisionists' attitude to it.

"Can it be the learned Mr. Kautsky has never heard that the *more* highly democracy is developed, the *more* bourgeois parliaments fall under the control of the stock exchange and the

bankers? This of course does not mean that we must not use the bourgeois parliaments (the Bolsheviks have made better use of them than any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we captured the entire workers' *curia* in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional character* of bourgeois parliamentarism as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the growing contradiction between *formal* equality proclaimed by the democracy of the capitalists and the thousand and one *real* limitations and restrictions which make the proletarians *wageslaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that opens the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction which the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly showing up to the masses *in order to prepare them for the revolution*. And now that the era of revolution has begun, Kautsky turns his back upon it and begins to extol the charms of moribund bourgeois democracy”.

Our revisionists are sure to point their accusing fingers on these quotations from Lenin and say that, since we are taking these quotations here, we are dogmatists and sectarians, having no faith in the proletarian use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions, particularly in an epoch in which the possibility for peaceful transition has opened out. The best answer for this would be that we are the very people who have been and are still advocating such an electoral line as will inflict as big an electoral defeat on the Congress, and secure as substantial and electoral victory for the left opposition parties as possible. We have been and still are accused of “harbouring constitutional illusions”, since we are advocating this line of united fronts and electoral adjustments.

There is thus no question of our taking a negative attitude to the struggle in the electoral and legislative fronts. We are all for making the maximum use of the opportunities provided by the parliamentary institutions, including the use of majorities in particular legislatures where these can be secured. The question

really is whether we are to use the electoral and legislative struggles in order to “open the eyes of masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism”, as Lenin called upon every revolutionary to do, or, whether we would use these parliamentary institutions as the instrument for bringing about revolutionary social transformation as our revisionists argue.

Let us, however, note that we need not go to Lenin for an understanding of the bourgeois parliamentary institutions in India. We have our experience of working this system for more than fifteen years. That experience shows that our bourgeois democratic Constitution is not just a cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working people as Marx, Engels and Lenin taught. It is more than that. This “democracy”, so much lauded and praised by the revisionists, denies real democratic rights even to the oppositional elements within the ruling classes. That is why innumerable bourgeois democrats are now taking of “one-party dictatorship exercised by the Congress”.

If the revisionists were serious students of the political system in the country, they would have made a concrete historical analysis of how the political system has functioned during the last fifteen years. If they had done this, they would not have made the tall claims for democracy which they are doing in relation to the bourgeois democratic state established in India. Let us, therefore, examine how this system did function since its establishment.

IX

Real Face of Bourgeois Democracy in India

Three times did the people of India go to the polls on a countrywide scale since the Constitution of India was adopted—in 1952, in 1957 and in 1962. They are, at the present moment, on the eve of another countrywide general election which is scheduled to be held in early 1967.

Between the first and fourth countrywide general elections, mid-term elections were held in some states—in the former state of PEPSU in 1953; in the former state of Travancore-Cochin in 1954; in the Andhra state in 1955; in Kerala in 1960; in Orissa in 1961; and in Kerala once again in 1965.

Everyone of these (general and mid-term) elections was utilised by the people as “a forum to intervene in the affairs of the state”, as the Programme of the revisionists characterises such occasions. The people gave their votes in such a way as to make it clear that they have no confidence in the ruling Congress Party and the Government headed by it”.

As early, as at the time of the first General Elections in 1951, the people of India showed that they had lost whatever confidence they once had in the Congress. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party noted immediately after that General Elections:

“The main issue that was posed before the people by every party, including the Congress party, was whether the Congress Government should continue to rule the country. On this straight and simple issue, the people of India have given their verdict against the Congress party. In spite of the tremendous resources it commanded, including the use of administrative machinery, in spite of the denial of even ordinary civil liberties to the Communist Party and other democratic opposition parties, the Congress party could secure only 44 per cent of the votes taking India as a whole. Except in the small states of Coorg, Saurashtra, Bhopal and Delhi, in no state could the Congress party secure a majority of votes polled, the actual proportion of its votes to the total varying between 30 per cent in Travancore-Cochin state and 49 per cent in U.P., the home province of Pandit Nehru.” (*Statement of the Central Committee* issued on March 29, 1952).

Further elaborating the point made in the statement, the Central Committee stated in a report that “a qualitatively new situation” has been created in Indian politics. The essence of this new situation is “a serious crisis for the ruling classes”; the fact that possibilities for the defeat of the Congress in several states have been created; “the myth of the invincibility of the Congress has been shattered”: the “monopoly position which the Congress enjoyed in the political life of the country has been destroyed”.

The significance of this new situation, the Central Committee went on, is the emergence of “*political instability* caused by changed correlation of class forces — the emergence of the Party

of the working class as a major force. It may mark the beginning of a political crisis for the ruling classes”.

Leaders of the ruling Congress party were behind none in recognising the significance of this “new situation in Indian politics”. They, therefore, made a two-pronged attack on the forces that were threatening the continued rule of their party.

On the one hand, *they used their control over the administrative machinery of the country* in order to prevent the emergence of non-Congress Governments in those states where the Congress was reduced to a minority in the legislature.

In two of these—Travancore-Cochin and Madras, they instructed the Raj Pramukh and the Governor respectively to allow Congress Ministries to be formed even though the Congress had no majority in the newly-elected state legislatures.

In the other state where the Congress had been reduced to a minority—in the state of PEPSU, they allowed the formation of a non-Congress Government led by the Akalis but including certain other forces. The Ministry, however, was dissolved by the President in a few months.

While taking these *administrative measures to tide over the immediate threat to Congress power*, the leaders of the ruling Congress party knew that they had to take *certain political measures of a more lasting value* if they had to retrieve the loss incurred by them between the attainment of independence and the First General Elections. They, therefore, reappraised their policy, made a show of radicalising both the internal as well as the external policies of the Government.

In the field of foreign relations, they took up a new anti-imperialist and pro-socialist posture. In the field of internal policy, too, they adopted radical slogans.

The obvious calculation was that such a reappraisal of policy would help them to “steal the thunder” out of the Communist, Socialist and other radical opposition parties which posed a real threat to their monopoly of power.

This, however, did not yield the results expected by the Congress leader. The Second General Elections held in 1957 showed that, far from arresting the process started at the time of

the First General Elections—the process of radicalisation of the people and the weakening of the position of the ruling party—the radical trend got further strengthened.

As the Communist Party noted in its review of the Second General Elections:

“The developments in Kerala where the democratic forces made a breach in the Congress monopoly of governmental power and established a Government led by the Communist Party have attracted worldwide attention and constituted the single biggest event in our national-political life. But Kerala was no isolated incident. It marked the highest level reached by the democratic movement in recent years, a movement which scored impressive successes in many parts of the country during this Second General Elections—as demonstrated in the victories of the Communist Party candidates from the major industrial areas, the serious weakening in the position of the Congress in a number of its former strongholds, such as U.P., Maharashtra and Gujarat, and the strengthening of the position of the Left in several state legislatures and in Parliament. The Communist Party with its twelve million votes has again emerged as the main opposition party in the country with added strength” (*Political Resolution of the Amritsar Party Congress, April 1958*).

While taking note of the fact that the Congress still “wielded very big influence in all states”, the Party, however, went on: “Its hold on the people is weakening, its mass base is shrinking. The revelations in the Mundhra enquiry, dealing a heavy blow to the prestige of the Government, have shaken the confidence of even many Congressmen in the professions of their leaders. Increasingly isolated from the advanced democratic masses, corroded from within by dissensions and factional squabbles, the Congress is in a state of political and moral decline, in a state of chronic crisis which has deepened after the general elections.”

The above assessments of the political situation in the country as it emerged after the 1952 and 1957 General Elections were made by the Communist Party which was then united. Now that unity is broken with two parties both of which claim to be the inheritors of the once-united party, the question naturally arises: which of the two parties accepts the validity of the above assessment?

Making particular reference to the revisionists, one would like to ask them whether they accept the assessment that the defeat inflicted on the ruling Congress party in 1952 was the beginning of a *serious political crisis* for the ruling classes. Do they agree that, despite the two-pronged attack launched by the ruling party between the First and the Second General Elections, the political crisis facing the ruling classes continues, rather than getting resolved? Or, do they believe with Congressmen that the crisis which broke out in 1952 was resolved by the new policies adopted by the Government in the post-1952 period?

So far as our Party is concerned, we have no doubt on this score. Summing up the impact of the policies and practices of the Government on the living conditions of the people, our Programme says:

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

For the revisionists, however, the “conflicts and contradictions” are “not between the people and the bourgeois-landlord Government”, but “between the progressive and reactionary sections of the ruling classes”. This is writ large in every chapter of their Programme. To cap it all is the way in which their Programme misses the thoroughly anti-democratic character of the Central Government’s attitude to those states where the Congress was reduced to a minority and the opposition got the opportunity to form an alternate Government.

The revisionists have no doubt made reference to the use of “the arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President” in removing the elected Communist-led Ministry in Kerala. They, however, do not relate this to what the Central Government did in other states

under similar circumstances. If they had done this, they would have had to admit that the “democracy” of Congress-ruled India is transformed into its opposite if and when non-Congress parties are in a position to replace the Congress in the seat of governmental power.

We have already noted how in every one of the three states where the Congress was reduced to a minority in 1952, the Congress-led Central Government managed to bring the Congress back to power.

The same thing happened in Travancore-Cochin in 1954 where, as is well-known, the Congress was defeated in the election but managed to come to power again in a few months through a transitional PSP Ministry which was first installed and then overthrown by the Congress.

Again, in the post-Second General Elections period, the Congress managed in Orissa (where the Ganatantra Parishad threatened to replace the Congress), first to allow the Parishad to share power with the Congress and then to remove it from power.

The “use of the arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President in Kerala” was thus only a link in the chain of anti-democratic measures resorted to by the Congress party to maintain itself in power at any cost.

All these anti-democratic tendencies reached their high-watermark in Kerala in 1965 where the manoeuvres of the Congress had started even before the electorate was called upon to exercise their franchise. This election was organised under conditions as are unparalleled in the history of parliamentary democracy.

Almost the entire leadership of the biggest non-Congress party in the state was put behind the bars under the fascist-like provisions of the Defence of India Rules. When, despite the limitations imposed on them by this action of the Government, the voters expressed their confidence in that Party by returning it as the biggest single party in the legislature, the Government refused to accept the verdict of the people and continued to keep the leaders of this Party in jail.

Furthermore, even though every opposition party without exception expressed the confidence that a non-Congress Government can be formed if only the newly-elected legislature was allowed to meet, the ruling Congress Party acting through the Governor and the Central Government dissolved the legislature without even convening it for a day.

The conclusion is thus inescapable that the ruling Congress party is determined to use everything that is in its power—its vast financial resources; the enormous machinery of propaganda which is at its disposal; the pressures that can be put on the backward sections of the people through various dubious methods; and above all, the administrative machinery at the disposal of the Congress ministers at the Centre—to prevent the replacement of the Congress Government by an alternate Government.

The revisionists, however, appear to be supremely unaware of, or unwilling to, admit this anti-democratic character of India's "democratic parliamentary" system as it functioned in actual practice.

It may be noted in this connection that the first draft of their Programme, published in 1964, had no reference at all to what happened in Kerala in 1959. The critique of the class character of the state contained in the chapter on "Bourgeoisie and the State" mentioned the use of various restrictive provisions of the law, but did not take note of the use of "the arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President in Kerala" even in passing.

This omission, of course, was removed in the final version of the revisionist Programme, where, as has been noted above, the Kerala experience has been barely noted. Even this, however, does not draw the logical conclusion that the much talked of "democracy" of the Indian bourgeoisie is a cover for the one party rule of the Congress.

As opposed to this is the clear and forthright criticism made in our Programme: "When the people begin to use parliamentary institutions for advancing their cause and fall away from the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords, these classes do not hesitate to trample underfoot parliamentary

democracy as was done in Kerala in 1959. When their interest demands, they do not hesitate to replace parliamentary democracy by military dictatorship. It will be a serious error and dangerous illusion to imagine that our country is free from all such threats. It is of the utmost importance that parliamentary and democratic institutions are defended in the interest of the people against such threats, and that such institutions are successfully utilised in combination with extra-parliamentary activities.”

X

Peaceful Path: Possibilities and Limitations

The foregoing discussion on the nature of parliamentary democracy as it is functioning in India would lead us to the conclusion that the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the character of the bourgeois state and the need for its revolutionary replacement by the state of the proletariat is fully applicable to the specific conditions of India. It is a deception of the people to say that, our state, being “democratic” in character, can be transformed from a bourgeois state to a socialist one.

It is, however, necessary at this stage to address ourselves to a very important theoretical question which has of late come to the forefront—the question of “diverse forms of transition to socialism”. The question in its essence is: is it inevitable that the social transformation for which present-day revolutionaries are fighting—the transformation of the class state of the landlords and the bourgeoisie into the proletarian state which brings the socialist society into existence—will be brought about only through the armed struggle of the working class and its allies on the one hand and the class state of the landlords and the bourgeoisie on the other!

A good deal of uninformed talk is going on to the effect that, while the Marxist-Leninists had up till now considered armed struggle to be unavoidable, they no longer do so. The international Communist movement is supposed to have brought about a complete reorientation in its outlook which in effect means the renunciation of the Leninist critique of the bourgeois-democratic parliamentary republic.

But a study of the documents will show that the international Communist movement does not consider it possible to use the parliamentary form for revolutionary transformations except in some countries, and that too under very serious limitations.

The question, therefore, arises: in which category does our country come? Is it one of those where “capitalism is still strong and commands a huge military and police apparatus” and where, therefore, “the transition will be inevitably attended by a sharp class struggle”; or is capitalism so weak and the military-bureaucratic machine so undeveloped that the class struggle is less acute?

To pose this question is to answer it. Even the blind can see that ours is the *most developed capitalist country among the undeveloped countries*. As for the military-bureaucratic machine, our bourgeoisie is perfecting the well-organised and powerful “steel frame” which it inherited from the British rulers. It is obvious that the struggle to be waged by the working class and its allies *will be fierce; the enemy will use all means available to it*.

There is, therefore, no question of our being able to develop the parliamentary struggles in such a way that the bourgeois parliament can be smoothly transformed into the organ of the working class and its allies. This is the clear and unmistakable lesson that has to be learnt from the history of our republican Constitution as it works.

Does this mean that the parliamentary form of struggle has no role to play, that it will not be possible at all to win stable majorities in the legislative institutions and use them, in combination with revolutionary mass struggles, in order to smash the military-bureaucratic machine? *The answer to this lies in the extent to which the working class is able to play its leading role in uniting all the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic classes and elements with the worker-peasant alliance as its core. The broad lines along which the working class has to play its role and discharge its duty have been outlined as follows by our Party in its Programme:*

“The working class and the Communist Party, while not for a moment losing sight of its basic aim of building the People’s Democratic Front to achieve the People’s Democratic Revolution and the fact that this has to inevitably come into clash with the present Indian state led by the big bourgeoisie, does take cognizance of the contradictions and conflicts that do exist between the Indian bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and foreign imperialists. They express themselves on the issues of war and peace, on the economic and political relations with socialist countries, on the terms of aid from foreign monopolists, on the question of finding adequate markets for our exports and on the questions of foreign policy and defence of our national independence. In the background of the daily-intensifying general crisis of world capitalism, the different contradictions obtaining in the national and international spheres are bound to get intensified. The Communist Party while carefully studying this phenomenon, shall strive to utilise every such difference, fissure, conflict and contradiction with the foreign imperialists to isolate the imperialists and strengthen the people’s struggles 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”.

Such an approach to the conflicts and contradictions within the enemy camp in order to strengthen the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution makes it necessary for the working class and its Party to have that flexibility combined with adherence to principle, ability to use all forms of struggle without losing sight of the aims and objectives of the struggle, of Marxist-Leninists.

“The struggle to realise the aims of the People’s Democratic Revolution through the revolutionary unity of all patriotic and democratic forces with the worker-peasant alliance as its core,”

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

Such a Party can take full advantage of the favourable changes taking place within the country as well as abroad. It will be able to unite the broad mass of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people around a programme of militant mass struggles combined with the struggles on the parliamentary front—a programme which will isolate and weaken the big landlords and monopolists, strengthen the democratic people. That is why our Programme pledges the Party to "utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence Governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people".

The role which the formation of such Governments can play in the development of the revolutionary movement is explained in a two-fold way: it will (a) "give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and thus help the process of building the democratic front", (b) it, however, would not solve the economic and political problems of the nation in any fundamental manner".

Taking these two implications of the formation of such Governments into consideration, the Programme calls upon the

Party to “continue to educate the mass of the people on the need for replacing the present bourgeois-landlord state and Government headed by the big bourgeoisie even while utilising all opportunities for forming such Governments of a transitional character which give immediate relief to the people and thus strengthen the mass movement.”

It is with this understanding of never-ending conflicts between two combinations of the class forces aligned against each other—the ruling classes headed by the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the democratic masses headed by the working class on the other—that our Party looks upon the problem of peaceful transition. It declares:

“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 bring about these transformations through peaceful means.”

Having thus taken note of the possibilities of peaceful transition, the Programme, however, adds: “It needs always to be borne in mind that the ruling classes will 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 twists and turns in the political life of the country.”

It will be interesting in this connection to note that the relevant passages regarding the possibilities for, and the limitations of, the peaceful path are almost similar in our Programme and the Programme of the revisionists. This is the most telling refutation of the canard by the Congress rulers (which is very often echoed by the revisionists as well), that our Party stands for the insurrectionary method while the revisionists are the champions of the peaceful parliamentary path.

The revisionists themselves have to pay verbal tribute to the

absurdity of the idea of voluntary relinquishment of power by the ruling classes to the revolutionary forces, to be prepared to face up to all contingencies and so on; while our Programme makes a serious estimation of the possibilities of using the parliamentary institutions to bring Governments of a transitional character into existence.

The fact, however, remains that the processes of struggle envisaged in the two Programmes are different from and opposed to each other. It is in relation to this task of the revolutionary struggle—the task of combining the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles to broaden and strengthen the unity of the revolutionary forces—that the National Democratic Front envisaged by the revisionists and the People's Democratic Front outlined in our Programme differ from each other.

XI

Leadership In The Democratic Front

What is the crucial difference between the “correct revolutionary slogan” of National Democracy (as conceived by the revisionists) and the “dogmatic-sectarian slogan” of People's Democracy? The question was answered in the clearest possible words by the revisionists when they formulated their draft Programme.

“National Democracy”, they explained, “differs from the State of People's Democracy, which we had put forward as our central slogan in our Programme of 1951. The class composition, as well as the programme, which were put forward for People's Democracy in our 1951 document are about the same as put forward for National Democracy here. The difference consists in this that, *in a People's Democracy the alliance of the patriotic classes is under the exclusive leadership of the working class. In the case of National Democracy, the leadership of the alliance of the patriotic classes is shared between the national bourgeoisie and the working class.*” (Emphasis added.)

Please note that what is shared under this concept between the bourgeoisie and the working class is not only the state power,

established in the course of the joint struggle of all the patriotic classes. Such a *sharing of power* by all those who jointly fight and defeat imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capitalism is inherent in the concept of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly democratic front establishing itself as a state to the patriotic classes. *What is envisaged here is that, within the alliance of patriotic classes, leadership will be jointly exercised by the working class and the bourgeoisie.*

This is a shameless repudiation of all that Marx, Engels and Lenin have spoken and written about the leading role which the working class has to play in the democratic revolution. It is a repudiation also of the very concept of National Democracy as envisaged in the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties—a statement on which the revisionists claim to base themselves in their talk of National Democracy.

That statement says:

“After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the people free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger.’ The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic problem.” (Emphasis added.)

Classes and conflicts between various classes and strata, particularly between the bourgeoisie and the working people, reflect themselves in their respective concepts of the type of new society to be built after the attainment of independence. “The working class and the broad peasant masses” should, therefore, play the leading part in resolving this basic contradiction between the bourgeois and popular concepts of national development

—such, in short, are the leading ideas given expression to the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties who raised the new slogan of National Democracy.

This, it can be seen, has nothing to do with the joint leadership of the working class and the bourgeoisie over the other patriotic classes. On the other hand, it calls for a determined and systematic struggle between the two concepts regarding the further development of the revolution, struggle between two sets of policies, through which alone will the task of national regeneration and national development be accomplished—the concept and policies of the working class on the one hand and those of the bourgeoisie on the other. Only to the extent to which the concept and policies of the bourgeoisie are defeated and those of the working class are established as the concept and policies of the overwhelming majority of the people will the democratic tasks of the revolution be completed and the process of the revolution growing into the socialist stage begun.

Here, however, is a group of self-styled Marxist-Leninists who are dreaming of “establishing the joint leadership of the working class and the bourgeoisie over the rest of the people” and gives it the name of National Democracy. Does anybody require further proof for the proposition that those who formulated this programme are out-and-out revisionists?

It may be argued that the above formulation is a part of their Programme in its draft form and that it does not find a place in the final version of the Programme adopted by the revisionists at their Bombay Congress.

One may concede that they had to make some changes in formulations. The changes, however, have not made the slightest change in the understanding of role of classes in the patriotic alliance.

Here, for instance, is how the final version of their Programme explains the question of the leadership within the alliance:

“In this class alliance, the exclusive leadership of the working class is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists.” Does this not mean another way of putting the idea of joint leadership?

Lest we should be accused of being one-sided and prejudiced against the revisionists, let us point out that the above formulation is followed by another which is:

“As the Government of the National Democratic Front, and the class alliance it represents, will be based on the worker-peasant alliance as its pivot, the working class will increasingly come to occupy the leading position in the alliance, as it is this class alliance which is the conscious initiator and builder of the National Democratic Front.”

This has the appearance of placing before the people the perspective of a constant growth in the political influence and leadership of the working class in the class alliance, with a corresponding decrease in the political influence and leadership of the bourgeoisie. We, for our party, would have no quarrel with such an idea if it were seriously meant.

Any intelligent person can see that the establishment of the leadership of the working class in the alliance of different classes including the bourgeoisie is a protracted and painful process. It is obvious that the bourgeoisie will continue to exercise its leadership over sections of the working people not only in the beginning but for some time to come, i.e. till the conscious ideological-practical activity of the working class itself, combined with the actual experience of the peasant and other masses, liquidates the last vestiges of bourgeois influence over the rest of the people.

The question, however, is whether the idea of a furious struggle, between the two contending classes—the working class and the bourgeoisie—within the class alliance is a part of the process of building the National Democratic Front. The answer can be found in the way in which the revisionists envisage the process of development through which the Front is born and grows.

They formulate the process as follows:

“Such a (National Democratic) Front is not in existence today because a section of the democratic masses still support the ruling Congress Party, while another section of these very democratic masses is fighting the anti-people policies of the ruling party. The

National Democratic Front will arise and take shape in overcoming the main rift among the democratic masses and uniting them. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction, and strive to bring about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the Government, necessary for the implementation of the above programme”.

The target of attack in all the struggles through which the formation of the democratic front is envisaged, it can be seen, is not the landlord-bourgeois class state nor the ruling party which represents the alliance of the ruling classes. The targets are the so-called “forces of right reaction”. The objective of the struggle, too, is not to defeat the class policies pursued by the national bourgeoisie but “bringing about radical changes in the policy and the set-up of the Government”.

The idea is clear: there is nothing wrong with the Government and the ruling party. Left to themselves, they would pursue policies which, though not radical enough, are national and democratic. The trouble is that the “forces of right reaction” are putting pressure on the ruling party. Hence, “isolate and defeat” these forces.

Let us put the question straight: against whom are the democratic masses to fight—is it only against the “forces of right reaction” (inside and outside the ruling party), or is it against the ruling party itself? Whose policies are bringing the country to disaster—is it of the Government and the ruling party, or those of the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, etc., outside and the Morarjis and Patils inside the ruling party? This is the crucial question discreetly avoided by the revisionists when they use such nebulous expressions as “defeating the forces of right reaction”, “striving to bring about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the Government” and so on.

Anybody with the minimum amount of commonsense can see that it is not the *policies proposed by the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, etc.*, on the one hand that have led to disastrous consequence: for

the country's economic and political life. It is, on the other hand, the *policies adopted and implemented by the ruling party and Government*, headed by no less a person than the late Pandit Nehru. It was this Government, and its leader Pandit Nehru, who adopted the capitalist path of development giving it the name "socialist pattern".

This path deliberately adopted by Nehru and his party is, according to the revisionists themselves, generating such acute conflicts and contradictions as have "condemned our country to a low rate of economic growth, stagnating agriculture, growing inequalities of income, continuing low standards of living of the broad masses". It is again this very path of capitalist development, adopted under Nehru's own leadership that has led to "the growing power of monopoly groups which, in alliance with feudal elements and in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, are presenting an increasing threat to India's economic development itself".

And yet our revisionists would have us fight not the ruling party which pursues this path, but the so-called "forces of right reaction".

We have no quarrel with the idea of concentrating the main fire against the most reactionary sections of the ruling classes. Isolating and defeating these sections is, of course, quite in conformity with the strategy and tactics of the revolution advocated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is, therefore, quite understandable that such shameless champions of reactionary classes as the Swatantra and Jan Sangh outside, and the Morarjis and Patils inside, the ruling party sought to be isolated and defeated.

Our quarrel is with the way in which the revisionists are using the idea of isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction in order to embellish the ruling party, its perspective of national development the so-called "progressive and national" policies pursued by its leaders and so on.

We would like to put a few straight questions to our revisionists:

Do they, or do they not, consider it to be the main ideological-political task of the vanguard of the working class to systematically and mercilessly expose before the people, and

organise them in militant struggles against the capitalist path adopted by the ruling party as a whole (including its most progressive section)?

Do they, or do they not, agree that this path of capitalist development is in fundamental contradiction to the path of development which the overwhelming majority of our people should take if they are to be in a position to solve their problems?

Do they, or do they not, take upon themselves the task of explaining to the people that the nakedly and crudely reactionary policies advocated by the Jan Sangh and so on outside, and the Morarjis and Patils inside, the ruling party are the logical development of the capitalist path adopted by the ruling party as a whole?

Do they, or do they not, consider it necessary to call upon the people to reject this path of capitalist development, since that path is leading, and will continue to lead, the country to ruin and disaster?

The constant and bitter struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class on the question of the path to be followed by the nation, as we saw in the beginning of this article, is inherent in the concept of National Democracy as envisaged by the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in their Moscow Statement of 1960. If the revisionists are loyal to the idea (as they claim to be), they would agree that isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction is inseparable from exposing, fighting and defeating the path of capitalist development adopted by the national bourgeoisie and the ruling party as a whole.

It is to cover up their refusal to do this that they talk of National Democracy which is "neither under the exclusive leadership of the working class nor under the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie". This enables them to give a "respectable" cover for their essentially class-collaborationist idea of National Democracy.

The revisionists do, no doubt, talk about the disastrous consequences of the capitalist path of development adopted by the bourgeoisie, about the need for taking the non-capitalist path in its place. But, as we shall see, their understanding of the non-

capitalist path of development is as class-collaborationist as their idea of National Democracy.

XII

Non-Capitalist Path and the Revisionists

Lenin began his classical work, *The State and Revolution*, by expressing his holy indignation against the revisionists of the Second International who were distorting and vulgarising the doctrines of Marxism.

“They omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of its doctrine, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the social chauvinists are now ‘Marxists’ (don’t laugh!). And more and more frequently, German bourgeois professors, erstwhile specialists in the extermination of Marxism, are speaking of the ‘national-German’ Marx, who, they aver, trained the labour unions which are so splendidly organised for the purpose of conducting a predatory war!”

Unfortunately for us, Lenin’s own contribution to the further development of Marxism has had to share the same fate which, according to Lenin, Marx’s doctrines had. Nor is this surprising; Lenin himself wrote that what was then happening to Marxism “had, in the course of history, often happened to the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation.”

We have been forced to make the above remark because of the way in which our own revisionists are today “omitting, obliterating and distorting the revolutionary side” of a very important contribution made by Lenin to the further development of Marxism—his idea that it is possible for certain countries, under certain conditions, to skip the stage of capitalist development, to pass from the stage of pre-capitalism to socialism and communism.

The possibility of such a transition from pre-capitalist to socialist society, visualized by Lenin, it is known, was the basis of what has now come to be known as the non-capitalist path of development. This concept, however, has been so distorted and

vulgarised by our revisionists that, if one may adopt the phraseology used by Lenin in relation to Kautsky, one may say that our revisionists have transformed Lenin into a "common or garden liberal."

Let us quote in full the passage in Lenin's "Report on the National-Colonial Question" presented to the Second Congress of the Communist International where this idea was fully and systematically formulated:

"The question was presented in the following way: can we recognise as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of development of national economy is inevitable for those backward nations which are now liberating themselves and among which a movement along the road of progress is now, after the war, observed? We reply to this question in the negative. If the revolutionary, victorious proletariat carries on systematic propaganda among them, and if the Soviet Governments render them all the assistance they possibly can, it will be wrong to assume that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for the backward nationalities. We must not only form independent cadres of fighters, of party organisations, in all colonies and backward countries, we must not only carry on propaganda in favour of organising peasants' Soviets and strive to adapt them to pre-capitalist conditions; the Communist International must lay down, and give the theoretical grounds for the proposition that, with the aid of the proletariat of the most advanced countries, the backward countries may pass to the Soviet system and, after passing through a definite stage of development, to communism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development.

"It is impossible to say beforehand by what means this can be done. Practical experience will suggest this to us. But it is definitely established that all the toiling masses of the most remotest nations appreciate the ideas of Soviets, that these organisations, the Soviets, must be adapted to the conditions of the pre-capitalist social system, and that the Communist Parties must immediately start work in this direction all over the world." (Emphasis added)

The above passage, particularly those parts of it which have been emphasised, would make it crystal clear that Lenin was thinking of a particular path of transition to socialism in such countries as have had no development of capitalism and, therefore, have not thrown up their own bourgeoisie or the proletariat. This, as a matter of fact, was explicitly stated by Lenin in the preceding paragraph where he stated:

“The practical work carried on by the Russian Communists in the colonies which formerly belonged to tsarism, in backward countries like Turkestan and others, confronted us with the question of how to apply communist tactics and policy amidst pre-capitalist conditions; for the most important characteristic feature of these countries is that pre-capitalist relations still predominate in them and, therefore, a purely proletarian movement is out of the question in them. In those countries there is almost no industrial proletariat. Nevertheless, even there we have undertaken and have to undertake the role of leader..... Our experience in this sphere is not yet very considerable; but the debates which took place in the commission in which several representatives of colonial countries participated, proved irrefutably that it is necessary to indicate in the thesis of the Communist International that peasants’ Soviets, Soviets of the exploited, are a useful weapon not only for capitalist countries but also for countries in which pre-capitalist relations exist; and we must say that it is the bounden duty of the Communist Parties, and of those elements which are associated with them, to carry on propaganda in favour of the idea of peasant’s Soviets, of toilers’ Soviets everywhere, in backward countries and in colonies; in those countries also they must strive to create Soviets of the toiling people as far as conditions will allow.”(Emphasis added)

Please note that the weapon with which Lenin says that pre-capitalist society in such countries can be transformed into socialist society is the development of the class struggle of the peasants and other toilers. This, it can be seen, is the practical application of the theory of class struggle to the concrete conditions of countries with predominantly pre-capitalist societies

but surrounded by countries in which capitalism is either predominant, or has been replaced by socialism. The main motive force of what is now called the non-capitalist path was thus the organised and militant struggle of the overwhelming majority of the toilers (headed by their revolutionary vanguard) against the exploiting minority of the predominantly pre-capitalist society. That is why Lenin insisted on the formation of peasants' or toilers' Soviets.

It was this revolutionary concept of transition from pre-capitalist to socialist society that formed the basis of the non-capitalist path envisaged in the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. For, that Statement based itself on the reality that, after winning political independence, different classes and parties offer different solutions to the problems of post-independence development. The social contradictions, which had to a very large extent been subordinated to the national contradiction (imperialism vs the people) in the pre-independence years, now come to the forefront; the national, i.e., anti-imperialist, bourgeoisie strives to take the country along the capitalist path, while the people see in the non-capitalist path the only way of taking the country forward.

This contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the people regarding the path to be chosen is the major element which is "omitted, obliterated and distorted" by our revisionists. The authors of the revisionist Programme pose the question of path as one of "which path should India take in order to complete the national democratic revolution.....?" and answer it as follows:

"Life itself teaches our people that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger along the path of capitalist development which India is following at present."

Any objective and truthful student of affairs, however, would see that the above poser is a wrong poser. For, no amount of argumentation can, in this seventh decade of the twentieth century, lead any sensible person to the conclusion that the capitalist path will lead the country to prosperity and progress. The real questions are:

First, can we skip the stage of capitalist development in the

way in which Lenin had visualized it when he talked of passing straight from pre-capitalist to socialist society?

Second, if we cannot, can we shorten the duration of the stage of capitalist development and reduce the people's sufferings which are inevitable for a country of developing capitalism?

Third, in either case, what are the political and organisational pre-requisites for realising what is desirable as well as practicable?

The answer to the first question is obviously in the negative. Ours is a country which has already entered the stage of capitalist development, which has gone far in the direction of capitalist development. India is admittedly the most developed capitalist country among those who threw off the colonial yoke in the post-Second World War period; not only is this capitalist development continuing after the attainment of independence, it is leading to a very rapid growth of what may be called emerging monopoly capitalism.

This is a reality which cannot be denied by the revisionists themselves. They have to admit that "despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress and the Government is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the State sector".

To which they add: "One of the most striking results of this path of capitalist development is the concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the broader sections of the national bourgeoisie to the detriment of the country's national independence".

Coming to the way in which the state machinery operates, the revisionists conclude that "even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers".

It is ridiculous under these circumstances to talk of our country skipping the stage of capitalist development. That is why we in our Programme state that "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”.

Does this mean that, since our country has already embarked on the path of capitalist development, it has no other alternative than that of the emerging monopoly capitalism evolving itself into the classical state monopoly capitalism? Does it follow that the working class in this country has to organise itself and the rest of the people in the same way in which the anti-monopoly struggle is carried on in the imperialist countries?

The answer is, ‘No’. The path of development along which the country is now moving—the capitalist path leading to the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a narrow circle of monopoly capitalists—can be altered: the grip which the big landlords and monopoly capitalists have on the country’s economy and politics can be broken; these reactionary classes can be dislodged from economic and political power; guarantees can be created that new exploiting classes do not grow within the newly-developing socio-economic system.

There is, however one essential pre-requisite for the attainment of these desirable objectives—the bourgeois-landlord Government headed by the big bourgeoisie (through whom the exploiting classes exercise their grip on the economy and politics of the country) should be dislodged from power.

As our Programme says:

“The Communist Party of India, taking into consideration the degree of economic development, the degree of political-ideological maturity of the working class and its organisation, places before the people as the immediate objective the establishment of People’s Democracy based on the coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class. This demands first and foremost the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord state and Government by a state of People’s Democracy and a Government led by the working class on the basis of firm worker-peasant alliance. This alliance 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 task according to our Programme is thus not of fighting for the transformation of an essentially pre-capitalist society into a modern socialist society. The task, on the other hand, is the consolidation of all the anti-monopoly, democratic forces into a single front, a front which, in the course of its struggles against the bourgeois-landlord state and Government, will acquire sufficient strength to replace this state and Government by a new state and Government of People's Democracy. Without discharging this political task of successful struggle against, and replacement of, the bourgeois-landlord state and Government, it is idle to think of either completing the democratic revolution (elimination of all forms of pre-capitalist society), or of preventing the growth of monopoly capitalism, or of paving the way for the establishment of socialist society.

The authors of the revisionist Programme, however, look at it in a completely different way. The process of their thinking on the question is as follows:

- (a) There are two paths—the capitalist path taken by the present Government and the alternative path laid down in their Programme. “The Programme we have put forward is such an alternative path of development...This will open up for our people a path of development which, through far-reaching reforms, unshackles the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensures rapid economic growth, rising living standards of the masses and their active participation in production. The intervening stage can be described as the stage of non-capitalist path of development. In this stage the main direction of the economy will be on such lines and the growth of capitalism will be progressively restricted and the pre-requisites created for putting our country on the road of socialism.”
- (b) Among *the classes which are interested in carrying through this programme of non-capitalist development* are “first and foremost, the working class.....second, the broad masses of cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers....Third, the rising class of urban and rural intelligentsia....Finally, *the national bourgeoisie* (please note!) excluding its monopoly

section, which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, without which it knows truly independent national economy cannot be built, nor backwardness and impoverishment eradicated.”

- (c) The authors do, of course, pay verbal tribute to the concept of the bourgeoisie being inclined to compromising with internal and foreign reaction. But they add, “it is important to note that capitalist development has resulted in a certain differentiation in the national bourgeoisie; powerful monopolist groups have arisen, which, in alliance with reactionary parties outside the ruling Congress, as well as with Right-wing elements within it, are seeking to subvert national policies and bring about changes which will harm the interests of the bulk of the national bourgeoisie. Thus, in order to create the instrument for implementing the programme we will have to build a National Democratic Front, bringing together all the patriotic forces of the country, i.e., the working class, the entire peasantry, including the rich peasants and agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the non-monopolist bourgeoisie.”
- (d) They pay similar verbal tribute also to the worker-peasant alliance which, it is stated, “will be the basis and pivot of the front”. But the character of the front itself, and of the worker-peasant alliance which is its “basis and pivot”, can be seen from two conditions which follow:
 - (i) The key condition for bringing the National Democratic Front into existence is the overcoming of the division between the masses rallied behind the Congress and those who are loyal to the democratic opposition.
 - (ii) The aim and objective with which the National Democratic Front is to be brought into existence are “to bring about radical changes in the policies and set-up of the Government necessary for the implementation of the above programme”.

The above outline of the revisionist idea of non-capitalist path is revealing

First, it does not look upon the struggle around the question of path (capitalist vs non-capitalist) as a struggle between two *classes* which, though allies in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly struggle, are opposed to each other on the question of socio-economic transformations. Everybody from the working class to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie is supposed to be interested in the rejection of the capitalist, and the adoption of the non-capitalist, path. This is obviously in contradiction to the Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties concerning the emergence and accentuation of class struggle within the alliance after the attainment of political independence.

Secondly, it characterizes as "national policies" the policies of the ruling classes as represented by the Government as a whole. The struggle for defeating this attempt at the subversion of "national", i.e., Congress policies is, in short, the essence of the struggle for building the National Democratic Front.

Thirdly, it places before the people the practical aim of "bringing about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the government", rather than that of replacing the landlord-bourgeois Government by a Government of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-monopoly democratic front. This too, let it be noted, has to be realised through the unity of the masses loyal to the Congress and those who are rallied behind the parties of the democratic opposition.

In short, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working people around the question of the path are shown as a struggle in defence of the present policies of the ruling Congress party (since they are "national policies"!). To such an extent have they dragged Lenin's idea that peasants' and toilers' Soviets in countries with predominantly pre-capitalist conditions can become the major weapon for skipping the stage of capitalist development.

XIII

Attitude to Congress and Other Right Parties

Having seen the *class content* of National Democracy and non-capitalist path, as understood and interpreted by the revisionist, it remains for us now to examine *the role which the various political parties in the country will, according to the revisionists, play in the National Democratic Front.*

It is admitted by them that the Indian National Congress is "the party of the Indian bourgeoisie" and, furthermore, "the ruling party". One would, therefore, have expected them to define the relation of the party of the Indian working class to this bourgeois party, which wields state power, as one of basic opposition. All the more so since the revisionist programme itself at one place points out that "the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen are hit by 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."

The revisionist Programme, however, makes it clear that the authors are more concerned with embellishing this party and its policies, rather than laying down a programme of action through which "the discontent of the toiling people which finds expression in various forms of struggle" can be developed into a determined assault on the bourgeois state.

Let us quote in full the passage in which their Programme characterizes this party and lays down the line to be adopted towards it.

"The Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, is the ruling party today. The role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Pandit Nehru's leadership has given it a big mass base, which extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class, peasantry, artisans, intellectuals and others.

"The influence of the Congress, though much less than what it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is still vast and extensive. Thus the Congress has been and is still a very important factor in the political life of the country.

"The division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the democratic opposition is the most important division in our democratic forces today."

Nobody would quarrel with the idea that the Congress has a mass base. Nor would anybody deny that the section of the masses who are rallied behind the Congress should be won over

and brought into united action with the masses led by the democratic opposition. The question, however, is: can the Congress as a whole (including its leadership) be included in the "democratic forces" who should be united in the democratic front; or should it be exposed and fought as the most powerful anti-democratic force which has to be defeated through militant mass struggles?

It will be useful in this connection to compare the above characterization of the Indian National Congress with the characterization of the Swatantra and other parties. "The Swatantra Party", the authors explain, "is the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes, though these classes have not yet withdrawn their support from the Congress. They are trying to capture the leadership of the Congress through the extreme right within the Congress, and simultaneously they have set up the Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress and other democratic parties. Their aim is to reverse the policies of the Congress in reactionary direction. The Swatantra Party tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policies and acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies. It is growing in the wake of the monopolies and the compromises of the Congress Government with imperialism and feudalism."

Making similar characterization of the Jan Sangh and the RSS, the Muslim League and the Jamait-e-Islami, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Akali Party as communal, chauvinist, revivalist, separatist, etc., they conclude:

"The reactionary organisations exercise a pull over a section of the masses by utilising their elementary discontent against the anti-people policies of the Government and playing upon backward, feudal sentiments and prejudices. Very often the chauvinism and communalism of the rightist elements within the ruling party and the Government bring grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary communal chauvinist leaders of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence."

Comparing the two characterizations, one will be struck by the difference between the Congress and Swatantra Party. The former is the party of the Indian bourgeoisie—including the monopolists of course, but non-monopolists, too, and excluding the feudal classes. The later, on the other hand, is the party of a section of the bourgeoisie (monopolists) and the feudal classes. The political struggle between the two parties is thus the struggle between the non-monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the monopolists and the feudal classes on the other.

Furthermore, this struggle is becoming so serious that the monopolists and the feudal classes are trying to and may succeed in capturing the leadership of the Congress. Evidently, therefore, that leadership (barring, of course, a small section of its extreme right!) is anti-monopoly and anti-feudal.

From the above differences in the class character of the two bourgeois parties emerges the clear political line of collaboration with the Congress as against the Swatantra. This is the political content of the National Democratic Front envisaged by the revisionists.

We have already seen how they visualize the Front to grow. “The National Democratic Front”, we are told, “will arise and take shape in overcoming the main rift among the democratic masses and uniting them. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national movements, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction, and strive to bring about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the Government, necessary for the implementation of the above Programme”.

Unity with the Congress as a whole against the right reactionaries inside and outside the Congress is thus the essence of National Democracy as envisaged by the revisionists.

Lest we should be accused of misrepresenting them, let us frankly admit that the revisionists do not use the term “unity with the Congress as a whole”. They themselves cannot however deny that:

- (a) While they give a call for unity with the masses led by the Congress, they do not call for a struggle against the Congress leadership. The only struggle they envisage is

against what is called the right wing within the Congress leadership. Will it, therefore, be wrong to conclude that the Congress leadership minus the so-called right wing is not, according to them, a force to be fought and defeated?

- (b) The call for unity of the masses is confined to those who are rallied behind the Congress on the one hand and those behind the democratic opposition on the other. No effort for unity with the masses rallied behind the right reactionary and communal parties is to be made, even though these organisations are also admitted to have "a pull over a section of the masses". The reason given is that they exercise this pull only because they "utilise the elementary discontent of the masses against the anti-people policies of the Government" and "play upon their backward feudal and semi-feudal sentiments and prejudices". The main task in relation to these parties and the masses rallied behind them, therefore, is to "firmly combat the reactionary communal chauvinist leadership of these organisations and wean the masses away from their influence".
- (c) The revisionist idea of dealing with the Congress thus differs from their approach to the reactionary and communal parties in a very important respect.

In relation to the Congress, they want to unite with the masses rallied behind it, in defence of "national policies" adopted by its leadership, with a view to defeating the rightist section of the leadership as well as to bring about changes in its policies in a leftward progressive direction.

In relation to the right reactionary and communal parties, on the other hand, their approach is to firmly combat their leadership and weaning the masses away from them.

It is amusing that such a strategical-tactical line should emerge out of a Programme which in its analytical part is relatively more objective and exposes the policies and practices of the Government and the ruling party. This exposure is not confined to the right wing section of Congress leadership or to the right reactionary and communal parties. One would like to ask the

authors of the programme whether it is because of the policy of the ruling party as a whole, or of "right reactionaries inside and outside it", that "most of the increasing wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes";

"his [the worker's] share in the increasing wealth has fallen while that of his employer has risen";

"despite the acts abolishing landlordism, three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. Legal limitation on rents, provision of credits and loans, development of irrigation and other facilities have brought some relief to a certain stratum of the peasantry. But the high taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains";

"The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or a living and in many backward areas they are treated no better than serfs";

"High cost of living and declining living standards" are the lot of the urban middle classes;

"Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers."

And so on.

The disastrous consequences of the policies and practices of the ruling Congress party as a whole (not of the right wing of its leadership alone) are so serious that the mass discontent which arises out of them can be, and are admittedly being, utilised by the leaders of the right reactionary and communal parties. Yet the very authors of the revisionist Programme, who call for the line of firmly combating the leadership of these reactionary and communal parties, do not think it necessary to combat the leadership of the Congress which prepares the fertile soil for these reactionaries. As for the task of weaning the masses away from the leadership, it does not apply at all to the Congress masses.

To state all this is not to deny the essential differences between the declared policies of the Congress on the one hand,

of the Swatantra and similar parties on the other. Differences do undoubtedly exist among them. The essence of these differences consists in the crudely reactionary character of the latter and the apparently progressive character of the former. The differences should, therefore, be taken into account in working out the day-to-day practical plans of action.

But is it correct to point out these differences in order to conceal the fact that it is the Indian National Congress as the ruling party that has deliberately set the country along the capitalist path; that it is its policies that facilitate the growth of monopolies; that it is this party which is making ignoble compromise after ignoble compromise with foreign monopolies; that it is this party which is protecting the feudal vested interests although in a modified (increasingly capitalist) form; and so on?

Will it be honest on the part of anybody who calls himself a Marxist-Leninist to say that it is only the right reactionaries inside and outside the ruling party who are suppressing the democratic rights of the people and taking the state machinery in a semi-fascist direction?

Does it behove any revolutionary to think and talk of uniting with the masses rallied behind such a leadership without exposing, fighting and defeating this leadership?

The answer to the above questions is given in our Party's Programme which says:

“The basic and fundamental tasks of 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.”

While making the above formulation on the attitude towards all bourgeois and feudal parties, our Party notes that “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....The Communist Party will firmly combat the reactionary ideology and programme of the Swatantra Party”.

Furthermore, “religious obscurantism, communalism and casteism as well as bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism are

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.”.

What about the Congress party? Does it fight for principles of democracy, secularism, socialism and so on? Is it better in this respect than the parties mentioned above? Our Programme answers:

“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.”

It is only through such exposures of, and struggles against, the ideological positions and political-practical activities of all political parties representing the ruling classes that the masses rallied behind all the parties can be united with those rallied behind the parties of democratic opposition. Our revisionists, however, would not think of such unity of the masses against the class policies and practices of all bourgeois-feudal parties; they would rather have the Congress (minus, of course, the right wing of its leadership!) united with the democratic opposition against right reactionaries and communists.

XIV

From Revisionism to Chauvinism

Over five decades have passed since Lenin made his brilliant analysis of socialist opportunism which, according to him, “grew

up as a product of the preceding 'peaceful' epoch of development of the labour movement."

"This epoch", he continued, "taught the working class important methods of struggle, such as utilising parliamentarism and all legal possibilities, it taught it to create mass economic and political organisations, a widespread labour press, etc.; on the other hand, this epoch created the tendency to repudiate the class struggle and to preach social peace, to repudiate the very principle of illegal organisation, to recognise bourgeois patriotism, etc.

"Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy in the labour movement and the labour aristocracy which received a particle of the profits obtained from the exploitation from the colonies and the privileged position of their 'fatherland' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers within the socialist parties, served as the main social support of these tendencies and the channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat."

Nobody would suggest that the situation obtaining within the Indian Communist movement to-day is similar to what existed in the European socialist and labour movements in the days of Lenin. There are, no doubt, several vital differences, the most important being that, unlike the European labour movement of those days, our Communist movement operates in a country which, though dominated by native capitalists and landlords, is still under various forms of foreign pressures and domination; whatever "labour aristocracy" may have been thrown up here do not occupy "the privileged position of their 'fatherland' in the world market". This and other differences preclude us from drawing an exact parallel between the subjects of Lenin's sharp criticism and our own revisionists.

There are, however, certain undeniable facts which make it necessary for us to examine the present-day phenomenon of Indian revisionism from the method adopted by Lenin.

First of all, it would be noted, the sixth decade of the twentieth century was for the Indian Communist movement "the peaceful epoch of development" in more or less the same way as the latter

half of the 19th century was for the European socialist and labour movements. The Communist Party of India became the leading opposition party in those years; it came very near to forming coalition governments in two or three States and did actually form in one of them. The Party was able to utilise parliamentarism and all legal possibilities (from the Indian Parliament down to the panchayats, etc.). The Party became a force in the public life of the country and started actively intervening in important public affairs.

Secondly, these achievements (which enabled the Party to set itself on the path of establishing proletarian hegemony in the democratic movement) were combined with some very dangerous tendencies which in their totality may be called the extension of bourgeois influence over the proletariat. Without going into too many details, let us merely note that it was in this period that a strong and well-organised group within the Communist Party began to put up a dogged fight for the line of organising a broad national united front including the Congress on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other, and of making this broad national (Coalition) Government. This line was, of course, rejected at the Fourth Congress of the Party held at Palghat in 1966, but it is necessary to remember that it received as much as one-third of the votes recorded at the Congress.

Thirdly, this was the period which marked a certain degree of capitalist development with all its economic and political consequences. Expansion in the number of workers; the consequent entry of new sections of pauperised semi-proletarian elements into the working class; greater degree of organisation of industrial and intellectual workers leading to slight improvements in their conditions of employment—all this generated illusions of growing prosperity and of the possibility of further improvement without furious class battles.

It was in this context that the well-tested class weapons of partial and general strikes were, to a certain extent, replaced by non-proletarian forms of struggle such as satyagraha, peaceful picketing, hunger-strike, etc. (It is, of course, not suggested here that these particular forms of action are always wrong; as a

matter of fact, they can be used on some occasions as the means through which the less class-conscious and less organised sections of the working class can be organised and brought into struggle. What is wrong is to use them as alternatives to the proletarian class form of action—the strike.)

The above-mentioned opportunist trends were strengthened by (a) the distorted interpretation given to the assessment of the new epoch, the non-inevitability of non-peaceful forms of transition, etc., made by the Communist Party of Soviet Union at its 20th Congress; and (b) the victory of the Communist Party at the 1957 election to the Kerala State Legislature.

The former gave some sort of theoretical “respectability” to the right opportunist line advocated and rejected at the Fourth Congress of the Party; the latter consolidated them politically and practically. The result was that the entire Party became the battlefield in which conscious and well-organised groups of revisionists and their political opponents fought each other.

It was against this background that differences cropped up in the international Communist movement, too. This was very cleverly utilised by the most conscious representatives of the above-mentioned (right-opportunist and revisionist) trends to push their anti-proletarian viewpoint; they tried to create the self-image of Marxist-Leninists fighting for the correct line, against sectarianism and dogmatism. Anybody, who opposed their right-opportunist practices and revisionist theories, were denounced as sectarians, dogmatists, anti-internationalists and so on.

Matters did not rest even here. For, right-opportunism and revisionism got a further opportunity to divide and disrupt the working class movement and the Party when India-China relations became strained and actual military clashes broke out between the two countries. It was in this situation that our revisionists “advanced” from positions of opportunism and revisionism to those of chauvinism. Once again to quote Lenin:

“Social chauvinism is opportunism ripened to such a degree that the existence of this bourgeois abscess inside the socialist parties as it has existed *hitherto* has become impossible.

“Those who refuse to see the very intimate and indissoluble connection that exists between social-chauvinism and opportunism snatch at individual ‘cases’—this or that opportunist, they say, has become an internationalist, this or that radical has become a chauvinist. But this is a positively frivolous argument as far as the development of *trends* is concerned. First, the economic foundation of chauvinism and opportunism in the labour movement is the same;.....Secondly, the political and ideological content of both trends is the same.”

After examining in detail the position occupied by the opportunists in each European social-democratic and labour party, Lenin concluded:

“On the whole, if we take trends and tendencies we cannot fail to admit that it was the opportunist wing of European socialism that went over to chauvinism.... The gigantic power of the opportunists and chauvinists comes from their alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the governments and the general staffs. This is often overlooked in Russia, where it is assumed that the opportunists are a section of the socialist parties, that there always have been and will be two extreme wings within those parties, that the thing to do is to avoid ‘extremes’, etc.—all the stuff that one finds in philistine copybooks. In reality, the formal adherence of the opportunists to workers’ parties does not by any means remove the fact that, objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, that they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement.”

Once again, cautioning against making exact parallels, let us, however, note that the soil of opportunism prepared within our Communist movement in the earlier part of the fifties took into its bosom the seeds of chauvinism which sprouted into the full tree of chauvinism in the early sixties.

It is necessary in this connection to note that, in our Party, it is not a question of this or that individual having been a right-opportunist and revisionist, but the whole Party being a victim of these dangerous trends for some time.

The Sixth Congress of the Party held at Vijaywada had characterized a particular formulation in the unanimously adopted

resolution of the Amritsar Congress as “reformist”. The crux of that reformist line was that “the Communist Party and the democratic forces, if they unite and undertake their mass tasks seriously right from now, can certainly expect to effect further breaches in the Congress monopoly of power. The process, begun at Kerala, can be carried forward towards the establishment of alternative democratic governments in some other states.”

Why was this formulation wrong and characterized as “reformist”? Because “it held out the prospect of smooth advance towards power. It does not visualize a furious assault on democracy as social contradictions sharpen, as the movement develops and we grow stronger— an assault which may lead to as veritable crisis of parliamentary democracy.” (from Ajoy Ghosh’s *Report to the Congress*, as adopted by the Congress).

The Sixth Congress also denounced the tendency to “equate peaceful path with parliamentarism, a tendency which has resulted in the concept that advance of the toiling masses towards the conquest of power may be achieved through successive elections, in each of which we shall grow gradually stronger..... In essence, this is a reformist and even revisionist concept.”

While all of us should own our respective responsibilities for having been victims of the above tendencies, special credit should go to the authors of the revisionist Programme for consistently pushing that line and for systematically developing it into the full theory of revisionism. It was they who, as has already been noted, interpreted the concept of National Democracy to mean the “alliance of the parties and organisations of the working class and peasantry with the leadership of the ruling Congress Party minus its right-wing section”. Credit should go to them also for extending their class-collaborationist internal political policy to the field of external relations by taking the line of “my country, right or wrong”.

The extent to which they have gone in this respect can be seen only if we examine how the problem of India-China and Indo-Pakistan relations are according to them to be solved. Before proceeding to do this, however, let us note how Lenin ridiculed the arguments advanced by Plekhanov and Kautsky. The

argument was as follows :

“It is the right and duty of everyone to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in the recognition of this right for socialists of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation.”

Lenin’s comment: “This matchless reasoning is such a boundlessly vulgar travesty of socialism that the best answer to it would be to coin a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side and of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, mind you, means that we must justify the shooting of German workers by French workers, and of French by the German in the name of ‘defence of the fatherland!’”.

XV

Bourgeois-Nationalism on the India-China Question

Nowhere is the class essence of revisionism, its surrender to bourgeois ideology, revealed more nakedly than in its "nationalistic" approach to the problems of India's dispute with her neighbours, particularly with China and Pakistan.

As soon as the relations between India and China deteriorated in 1959, S.A. Dange and his colleagues began to take a shamelessly bourgeois-nationalistic and anti-China line. The public statements made by Dange in the wake of certain border incidents were so much at variance with the Party line that the National Council of the Communist Party unanimously adopted a resolution censuring him for gross violation of Party discipline. Despite this resolution of the National Council, however, Dange and his friends persisted in their line.

The still further deterioration of India-China relations in the subsequent years, particularly in 1962, enabled Dange and Co. to push through the National Council their own anti-China and pro-imperialist line: they got the Council to adopt a resolution with a 2 : 1 majority on November 1, 1962. That resolution completely toed the line of the landlord-bourgeois Government and of such reactionary parties as the Jan Sangh and Swantra. It joined them

(a) in making an all-out (military, economic, ideological and

- political) attack on socialist China, such anti-Chinese position being made the centre of all the political and organisational activities of the working class;
- (b) in rejecting any negotiated settlement with China except on terms dictated by the Government of India—terms which, as was well-known, would be completely rejected by the Chinese; and
 - (c) in accepting the Western imperialist military “aid” (of course, on *commercial* terms) as the only means through which to resist the Chinese “aggression”.

The adoption of this resolution was followed by a hysterical mass campaign, denouncing the leaders of People’s China as the enemies of peace, freedom and socialism. The revisionist-led Central Executive Committee further “improved on” the National Council resolution by characterizing the Chinese military action as “a long-prepared aggression” calculated to grab “the rich oil fields and tea gardens” of Assam (Resolution adopted on December 1, 1962).

The revisionist spokesmen (for example, in Parliament) not only called China the aggressor but praised the landlord-bourgeois Government of India for its striving for peace. Here, for example, is what their leader in the Rajya Sabha, Bhupesh Gupta, stated in Parliament on November 8, 1962:

“This aggression took place at a time when the representatives of the Government of India were getting ready to meet the representatives of the Chinese Government for talks in regard to the border question and for paving the way for its solution through peaceful negotiations.”

That this is contrary to truth will be seen if the developments with regard to India-China relations were objectively studied. Let us, therefore, narrate the story in its broad outlines.

The beginning of the deterioration in India-China relations should be traced to the events in Tibet in the early weeks of 1959. Let me, therefore, quote the relevant passages from a resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party which met in New Delhi from May 9 to 12, 1959:

“Following the events in Tibet, this (India-China) friendship has to a certain extent been damaged and disturbed. It is necessary, therefore, that the real significance of these events is grasped.

“What happened in the Tibetan region of the Chinese People’s Republic was a rebellion organised by a handful of serf-owners and bigoted lamas in order to block all reforms and thus perpetuate brutal oppression and tyranny. They wanted to deny the Tibetan people the light of modern civilization so that they would remain sunk in the bottomless pit of backwardness, servitude and indescribable misery.

“In their rebellion, these reactionary circles were encouraged and even materially helped by the imperialists. It is at their instigation and with their help that the former local Government in Tibet became a cockpit of intrigue and abused the wide powers of autonomy and prepared for the present rebellion in violation of the 1951 agreement between the central authority of the Chinese People’s Republic and the local Government of its Tibetan region.

“It was no surprise, therefore, that not a moment was lost by the imperialists—the instigators of the U.S-Pak bilateral pact, SEATO and the like—in acclaiming the Tibetan rebellion as a new opportunity for advancing their intrigues and aggressive plans against India-China friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity.

“The Central Executive Committee emphatically states that this rebellion had nothing to do with the interests of the Tibetan people. It was designed to serve only the interests of a handful of reactionary forces at home and imperialism abroad. To describe such a rebellion as ‘national uprising’ is incorrect and highly misleading.”

After explaining how various elements in the political life of India were distorting and exploiting the Tibetan developments to disturb India-China relations, the resolution “drew the attention of the people to the fact that some unfortunate and incorrect steps on the part of the Government of China” helped such distortion and exploitation. The resolution “appealed to all national and patriotic forces to rise to the occasion and defend India-China friendship and our foreign policy in the interests not only of our two countries but of all Afro-Asian peoples and world peace.”

The appeal of the Communist Party, however, went unheeded. Far from trying to correct their initial mistake in helping the Tibetan counter-revolutionaries, the leaders of the ruling party made demonstrative use of the Dalai Lama and his band of lamas to carry on a persistent political campaign against People's China.

Such a diversion was considered necessary at the time when the Congress Government was launching a virulent attack on the Communist Party of India. The situation that emerged after the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry, followed by the mid-term election in that state, called for a concentration of fire on the Communist Party.

It was against this background that new efforts were made to settle the dispute with China. Prime Minister Chou En-lai visited Delhi in April, 1960. It is no more a secret now that Chou En-lai had come with the firm idea of settling the entire border problem on the basis of give-and-take on both sides. No less an authority than the distinguished Indian diplomat K.P.S. Menon has put on record that Chou En-lai was prepared to concede India's claim south of the MacMahon line in return for Indian recognition of Chinese claims to Aksai Chin.

Menon himself and several other knowledgeable persons have put it further on record that Pandit Nehru himself, and some of his colleagues like Krishna Menon, were inclined to accept it, but that they were over-ruled by the Cabinet.

The failure of the Nehru-Chou En-lai talks in Delhi in April 1960 naturally increased the tension on the India-China border. Clashes began to take place on a larger scale. Both sides started occupying the hitherto unoccupied areas, establishing military posts, sending armed patrols, etc. Reports appeared in the Indian Press that the Indian armed forces were "taking the initiative" in this region.

Provocative statements were made by the spokesmen of the Government of India on "throwing the aggressor out". There was, for instance, the provocative call to the military to "push the Chinese out", given by Prime Minister Nehru himself a few days before the massive entry of the Chinese forces into the

region south of the McMahon line.

All these facts are being stated here not to suggest that the Chinese attitude to the Indian border question is beyond dispute.

While there is no question of our “toeing the Chinese line”, as is alleged by the revisionists and their Congress and other “patriotic” friends, *we were not and are not prepared* to allow ourselves to be fooled by chauvinistic slogans which have become the common slogans of the revisionists and the landlord-bourgeois ruling classes.

We were not and are not prepared to join the chorus of the “peace-loving character” of India’s ruling circles—they being stabbed in the back by a treacherous enemy who is intent on grabbing our territory, etc.—the chorus played by our ruling circles and joined by the revisionists.

We were not and are not prepared to become blind to the reality that it was the class policy of the landlord-bourgeois ruling classes of our country that made them the allies of the Tibetan counter-revolutionaries, thus initiating the process of deterioration in the India-China relations.

We were not and are not prepared to conceal the truth that, even after the support extended by our ruling classes to their brethren in Tibet, our relations with China could have been straightened out if only reasonable proposals for settling the dispute have been accepted.

We were not and are not prepared to give up our view that the responsibility for the Chinese offensive of October 1962 should be shared also by the Indian ruling classes who adopted a very provocative attitude in the weeks preceding the Chinese onslaught.

Our revisionists wanted us and the people of India to forget all this.

They wanted us to join the anti-China “national” front which included such reactionary anti-democratic anti-Communist elements as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party.

They wanted us to forget the principles of proletarian internationalism, genuine patriotism, both of which made it imperative that India should continue to remain friendly (and not

hostile) to People's China, that she settle the India-China border problem on the basis of give-and-take.

They wanted us to ignore and disregard the teaching of the international Communist movement that, to quote the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist Parties, "the U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under its control by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic aid", and to accept the new thesis that Western military 'aid' is helpful for the preservation of national freedom and sovereignty.

Unfortunately for these "patriots" and "internationalists", however, reality is increasingly asserting itself. The anti-China posture of our ruling classes is leading to the isolation of India in the Afro-Asian world whose leaders are getting more and more puzzled at the growing dependence of this biggest non-socialist Asian country (which was once a leading anti-imperialist country) on imperialist "aid".

Internally, too, the growing military budget of the country is heaping bigger burdens on a people who can no longer bear it; the slogan "defence and development" is thus proving bankrupt.

Above all, the damage done to our freedom and sovereignty by the policy of dependence on the United States and other imperialists is being realised by larger and larger sections of the people. Those who had hailed the United States and the United Kingdom in November-December, 1962 as "friends-in-need" have seen how those "friends" used the "needs" of our ruling classes to twist their necks. The proposed military "aid" for defence against China became the starting point of persistent demands for such "adjustments" of India's policy as would serve the interests of the imperialists abroad and reactionary ruling circles at home.

The extent to which this blackmailing on the part of the United States and her allies has gone was clearly seen in the two conflicts with Pakistan—those in Kutch and Kashmir. This has convinced all truthful observers that it was wrong on the part of the ruling party, as well as several opposition parties (including the revisionists) to have relied on Western imperialists to help India in resisting the Chinese. Many of those who had originally welcomed

military "aid" from the Western Powers are today so disillusioned that they have been forced to oppose even such forms of economic "aid" as PL 480, Indo-American Foundation and so on.

All this is having its impact on the revisionists as well. They, too, have now become the champions of peaceful settlement with China, though they would never have India open direct talks with China. They, too, have started talking in terms of the folly of trying to retake by force Aksai Chin and other areas under effective Chinese occupation. They, too, have become convinced that food and other forms of "aid" from the United States imperialists would lead to the loss of India's independence.

All this would have been welcome developments if they had taken place in a party which does not call itself Marxist-Leninist. But coming as it does from those who would resent being called revisionists, one would like to ask them a straight question: Do you admit that it was wrong on your part to have welcomed military "aid" from the Western imperialists to resist the Chinese aggressor, as you did in November, 1962?

Still another question which they should answer: Do you consider the Congress Government's support for the Tibetan reactionaries, its refusal to settle with China during the Chou En-lai visit to Delhi, the provocative statements of the Congress Government spokesmen and armed actions resorted to by the Congress Government during the months following the Chou En-lai visit to Delhi, etc., to have been wrong and detrimental to the genuine national interests of India?

These are questions of crucial importance in assessing the correctness of the stand taken by the revisionists and by us on the question of India-China relations. They are related to the attitude to be adopted by those who call themselves the vanguard of the working class to the class enemy at home and abroad. The question reduces itself to the permissibility or otherwise of rallying behind the ruling class of one's own country who are falling into the arms of the biggest and most reactionary imperialist power in the world in the name of "defending the freedom of the country". One would like to know whether the revisionists are conscious of the gravity of the crime involved in

their bourgeois-nationalist attack on People's China.

XVI

Chauvinism Towards Pakistan

Just as in relation to China, so in relation to Pakistan, too, the revisionists have been taking a shamelessly national-chauvinistic approach.

Their chauvinism in relation to Pakistan is, if anything, even more reprehensible than that in relation to China. For, while anti-China chauvinism represents the ideology of the bourgeoisie as a whole, the anti-Pakistan chauvinism represents the ideology of that section of the bourgeoisie which belongs to the majority (Hindu) religious community. The two together have ranged the revisionists, along with the Jan Sangh, on the side of the worst form of national-chauvinism which calls for war against neighbouring peoples.

Chauvinism in relation to Pakistan is as old as the partition of India and the formation of the two States of the Indian Union and Pakistan. Forces of Hindu communalism launched a violent campaign against those who wanted that India should live as a peaceful neighbour of Pakistan. They directed their attacks also against those who tried to unite the Hindus and Muslims and make them friendly to each other.

They did not spare Gandhiji who did his utmost to establish relations of friendly co-operation between the two newly-created states and between two religious communities within India. His tireless campaign for friendship with Pakistan and against communalism internally so enraged the Hindu chauvinists that they murdered him. Even after his death, which naturally created a feeling of revulsion among all decent people in India, the Hindu chauvinists persisted in their hate campaign and even demanded war against Pakistan.

The Communist Party for its part faced the situation with courage. It carried on a tireless campaign against Hindu chauvinists. It exposed the hollowness of the plea made by the Hindu chauvinists that India could develop along the path of progress only

if the partition is annulled—by force, if it became necessary.

It called for the peaceful coexistence of the two neighbouring countries which were created by the British precisely with the hope that they would fight each other and thus create a situation in which they (the British) could easily and effectively intervene in both countries. Anti-Pakistan chauvinism, the Party pointed out, would thus help the British imperialists to continue their domination over both countries.

In the meantime, however, the ruling classes of Pakistan began to show signs of allowing themselves to be used as tools and instruments of imperialism. The beginning of this was the other side of Hindu chauvinism—anti-India and anti-Hindu chauvinism of the rulers of Pakistan.

It was this that made them attack Kashmir, seize a part of that state and threaten to take the whole of it. They, however, failed to take the whole state by force, or to make India submit to diplomatic pressure through the United Nations and its Commission on Kashmir. This made the rulers of Pakistan accept the invitation of the imperialist Powers to join their military alliances. The Pakistan-U.S. Military Aid Pact was signed and Pakistan joined CENTO and SEATO.

The imperialist allies of Pakistan made the pretence that these alliances were directed against the growth of "Communism in Asia". The Pakistani rulers, however, made their reservations public, stating that all the "aid" that they would be getting under these agreements would be used against India.

These developments gave rise to resentment among the Indian people. They were concerned at the threat that was growing to Asia in general and to the Indian subcontinent in particular. Pakistan, which was being heavily armed by the imperialist Powers and providing bases of operation for the armed forces of imperialism, would be a constant threat to India and most of her neighbours. The Indian people, therefore, could not but vigorously protest against imperialist intrigues in Pakistan and against the policy of the Pakistani rulers which helped these intrigues.

This was the soil on which the seeds of anti-imperialism of

a new type were sown. India came out as the big Asian Power which fights for non-alignment, raising her powerful voice against imperialist military blocs. She championed the cause of the freedom-loving peoples of the entire colonial world. She began to forge relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist Powers. It looked as if Lenin's prediction of "India, China and Russia joining together and fighting battles of freedom against imperialism" has come true.

This naturally dealt a heavy blow to the advocates of war against Pakistan. For, the essence of the new anti-imperialist approach to world problems was the principle of peaceful coexistence of states having different social systems. Mutual relations between India and Pakistan should, according to this principle, be settled through peaceful negotiations. Resort to war against neighbours is strictly banned.

The anti-Pakistani Hindu chauvinists, therefore, bided their time. They were, however, satisfied that the Government and people of India considered the rulers of Pakistan to be threatening the peace of India and other neighbouring countries. They hoped, and tried their utmost, to transform this opposition to the policies of the ruling classes of Pakistan into opposition to the Government and people of Pakistan itself.

This being the situation, the Communist Party had to be extremely vigilant, not to allow the principled position of opposition to the military pacts (entered into by the rulers of Pakistan) to be turned into anti-Pakistani hate campaign run by the Hindu chauvinists.

Such vigilance required that the Communist Party should have very clear ideas of the character of the state in the two neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan; the specific circumstances in which the ruling classes of India happened to take an anti-imperialist position, while their counterparts in Pakistan took a pro-imperialist position; the limits beyond which the anti-imperialism of the Indian, and pro-imperialism of the Pakistani, rulers cannot go; and so on.

Lack of clarity on these and other related issues would land the Communist Party into a situation in which it would be turned

into a blind camp-follower of the Indian ruling classes, making it join the chorus of anti-Pakistani chauvinism. This was unfortunately what happened.

The new phase of anti-imperialism in the political attitude of India's ruling classes gave rise to a trend in the Communist Party which failed to take note of the class interests which the new anti-imperialist policy of India's ruling classes were calculated to serve.

Making the typically non-class approach to the policies of the Indian and Pakistani rulers, a section of the Party leadership began to counterpose the "progressive" ruling classes of India to the "reactionary" rulers of Pakistan. Support to the former as against the latter came to be looked upon as the way to further strengthen the anti-imperialist, and to defeat the pro-imperialist, forces on the sub-continent.

In a few years, however, the situation took a different turn. The anti imperialism of the Indian ruling classes began to get eroded.

As the Programme of our Party points out:

"Beginning from the year 1958, 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 Internatinoal Commission in Vietnam and Laos, its stand at the Belgrade conference of non-aligned Powers in 1961 which put India in opposition to most of the Afro-Asian countries, its role in the recent Cairo conference of non-aligned states and its approving recognition of imperialist-inspired Malaysia were all evidence of this new phase....

"The new phase in the Government of India's foreign policy 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. 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."

A shift took place in the policy of the Pakistani rulers as well—a shift in the other direction. The failure to get Kashmir, either by force or through diplomacy, made the rulers of Pakistan have some rethinking on the efficacy of the "aid" which they were getting from their imperialist "allies".

On the other hand, the various benefits—economic, diplomatic and otherwise—secured by India through her friendship with socialist Powers made the rulers of Pakistan see the wisdom and necessity of a new look towards the socialist Powers.

The result of such a reappraisal of the foreign relations of their state led them to have closer relations with socialist Powers and to relatively greater independence from the imperialists.

These shifts in the foreign policies of the Indian and Pakistani rulers coincided with the development of strained relations within the socialist camp. This took place at a time when the two biggest and most powerful socialist states—the USSR and People's China—were no more friendly with each other but showed signs of mutual conflict.

The natural consequence was that, while India's relations with China became more and more strained new relations of friendship grew between Pakistan and China. The continued friendship between India and the Soviet Union further exasperated the Chinese leaders who publicly accused the Soviet leaders of helping "the reactionary Indian ruling circles" against socialist China.

They for their part began to make public their sympathy and support to the rulers of Pakistan who still continued to receive not only economic but military "aid" from the imperialists.

It was against this background that a new wave of chauvinism swept the country. It started first as a "hate China" campaign but gradually embraced Pakistan as well. China and Pakistan were denounced as two greedy neighbours who were unscrupulous enough to resort to any device to deprive India of her national territory. Any suggestion that India should live as the peaceful neighbour of China and Pakistan was considered

“treachery”. Demagogic slogans of forcible “recapture of all territories seized by China and Pakistan” were advanced. Slogans of “liberating Tibet” and the “annulment of the partition” (which created the two states of India, Pakistan) were raised.

This was the situation in which anybody, who claims to be a Marxist-Leninist (and not a bourgeois national-chauvinist), would uphold the banner of peace between India and China on the one hand and between India and Pakistan on the other. This was expected of the Party leadership by the majority of Party members.

However, a section of the leadership (who happened to have a majority in the top leadership) refused to take this Marxist-Leninist position. They, on the other hand, allowed themselves to be carried away by and themselves strengthened, the further development of the chauvinist (anti-China and anti-Pakistani) wave.

We have already seen how S. A. Dange and his colleagues were so blinded by their anti-China chauvinism that they shamelessly welcomed imperialist military “aid” to resist the “national enemy”, People’s China. In relation to Pakistan, too, they persisted in the earlier stand that the Pakistan rulers were “reactionary” and “pro-imperialist” while the Indian rulers were “anti-imperialist” and “progressive”.

The extent to which the anti-China and anti-Pakistani chauvinism has led the revisionists was seen at the time of the Indo-Pakistani armed conflict which took place last year—first in the Rann of Cutch and then in Kashmir. The stand taken by them at that time was scarcely distinguishable from that of the Jan Sangh.

Concealing the fact that it was the arms and other “aid” supplied by the imperialists (American Patton tanks) that helped Pakistan in the Indo-Pak war, they joined the chorus that it was China and her moral and diplomatic support which encouraged Pakistan to attack India. They thus helped the Jan Sangh and other chauvinistic elements to tell the people that it is not the imperialists, but China and Pakistan, that are engaged in hostilities with India.

Utterly blind to realities, they took the stand of no negotiated

settlement—either with Pakistan or with China—except on terms dictated by India. They denounced the Communist Party for its policy of setting with both neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual give-and-take. Such an approach, according to them, was nothing but treachery.

Even when it became clear that the rulers of India would have to talk with the rulers of Pakistan, they failed to take a constructive attitude to the proposals made by India's friends (including the Soviet Union) for a summit meeting between the leaders of the two countries. Only after the Government of India accepted the Soviet Government's invitation for the Tashkent meeting did they give their support to the idea of the summit meeting.

At the root of this approach lies the revisionist rejection of the idea that the foreign policy of every state is made by the dominant class in the country. It rejects the fact that the foreign policy of India is made by the bourgeois-landlord classes of India at whose head stands the rapidly-growing stratum of the monopoly bourgeoisie, while the foreign policy of Pakistan is made by the landlord-bourgeois classes of Pakistan.

The extent to which the ruling classes of this or that country act in conjunction with, or fight against, imperialist Powers depends on the assessment made by leaders of these ruling classes on how and through what measures their class interests can be preserved and advanced.

Nehru's anti-imperialism of the mid-fifties, his subsequent anti-China posture, the trend being shown by his successors to go further along the path of collaboration with imperialism— all these are the results of the estimate of the current situation made at different times by the leaders of the ruling classes.

So are the shifts in the foreign policy of the rulers of Pakistan—their membership of imperialist military bloc, the relative independence from the imperialist Powers shown by them subsequently, President Ayub Khan's public appeal to the President of the United States to help Pakistan even while he was getting moral support from People's China and so on.

XVII

The Revisionists on the National Question

The essence of national chauvinism being the obliteration of the class unity of the working people of all countries, or the “unity” of the working people of a particular country with “their own” ruling classes against the people of another country, its role does not remain confined to the external relations of the country concerned. It also embraces the relations between different nationalities in a multi-national state. That was why Lenin had to fight in irreconcilable struggle against the Great Russian and other forms of chauvinism on the national question in Russia.

India is admittedly a multi-national state. This fact is reflected in the twin slogans of “linguistic states” and “federal constitution” which had been accepted by the anti-imperialist democratic movement in the pre-independence years. It is further reflected in the conflicts which raged in the post-independence years around the question of official language and on the implementation of the pre-independence promise of forming linguistic states.

The extent to which these national conflicts can go and has gone was seen when the Dravida Kazhaghham (DK) and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhaghham (DMK) of Tamilnad brought to the forefront the demand for a separate Dravidastan. It is seen today in the fierceness of the conflict between the Central Government and such tribal peoples as the Nagas, Mizos and so on. The other hill peoples of Assam too are now on the point of launching a struggle for their own state—whether within the Indian Union or outside is not yet clear. Although not going to this extent, it is well-known, there are several other regions, mainly inhabited by the tribal people who are also advancing slogans of basically the same character.

India, however, is not only multi-national, but a land of many castes and religious communities. Conflicts among these various castes and religious communities are mixed up with national conflicts. The forces striving for the unification of national (or

linguistic-cultural) group are sometimes combined with, and at other times obstructed by, the forces of caste and communal separatism. This makes the internal situation in our country much more complicated than anywhere else in the world.

There are two approaches to this phenomenon—the approach of the bourgeoisie and the approach of the proletariat. The former would consider the “unity of India” as “good” and the “fissiparous forces” (such as the caste, the religious community, the tribe, the language and the religion) as “evil”. It would, therefore, give a stirring call to the people to oppose and defeat the fissiparous forces and strengthen the forces of unity.

The proletarian standpoint has nothing to do with such abstract slogans of “good” and “evil”. It goes into the essence of this conflict and uncovers the reality of conflicts among different sections of the ruling classes.

Capitalist development in our country, as anywhere else in the world, means the rapid growth of the bourgeois class. While those who are already in the field become stronger and more powerful, new sections enter into the fold. While the former try to maintain and further strengthen their stranglehold on the people, the latter try to get an increasing share of the loot. This inevitably leads to conflicts between the two major sections of the bourgeoisie.

Such conflicts between the newly-emerging and already developed sections of the bourgeoisie are breaking out in India under circumstances in which society as a whole is divided into various castes, religious communities, linguistic-cultural groups and so on. New strata of the bourgeoisie arise out of those castes, religious communities, tribes and linguistic-cultural groups which have so far been lagging behind.

Even from the ranks of the most socially-oppressed and lowest castes, the most backward tribes and the most undeveloped linguistic-cultural groups and regions, new strata of the intelligentsia, the professionals, small businessmen, etc., are emerging and are trying to secure a place for themselves. At the same time, the already rich and powerful sections from the higher castes and advanced regions are doing their utmost to preserve

and further strengthen their own grip on the country's economy and public life.

This is the origin of the caste, communal, tribal, linguistic and regional conflicts, since the bourgeoisie thrown up from every national and social group is able to appeal to the peasants, middle classes and workers belonging to their national or social group as against their rivals. This is a fact noted by a non-Marxist economist like D. R. Gadgil who points out that the existence and development of monopoly in business-field leads to concentration of power in terms of regional, communal, and social groups.

“This”, he goes on, “is an extremely important sociological phenomenon which cannot be ignored in Indian conditions. It cannot be ignored because the total picture that emerges is that of concentration and control over and patronage resulting from all modern finance, trade and industry in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons concentrated in particular social groups. The diffusion of the benefits of the rise of modern industries and commerce is thus clearly restricted within the community and the joint operation of socio-economic and political power makes certain groups so entrenched that social justice is denied and social peace cannot be guaranteed with the continuance of this state of affairs”.

Out of this conflict between various sections of the ruling classes arise various ideological-political outlooks of a separatist character—casteism, communalism, tribal separatism, linguistic chauvinism, regional separatism and so on. As against these ideological-political outlooks of a separatist character is the outlook of a “strong unitary centre” firmly keeping under check all fissiparous trends.

The ruling classes belonging to each social and national group try to unite “their own” people against other nationalities and social groups. In thus uniting its own national or social group against the rest, it helps the dominant ruling group at the centre by disrupting the unity of the working people of the whole country against the bourgeois-landlord regime.

At the same time, the dominant ruling group at the centre tries

to establish a fake 'unity of the nation' by denying the right of every nationality and social group to have equality of opportunity and status in a democratic set-up. In doing this, it fosters and strengthens those very fissiparous forces against which it claims to be fighting.

This makes it necessary for all Marxist-Leninists to make it clear to the people that the so-called "struggle between nationalism and the fissiparous forces"—the struggle in the name of which the leaders of the ruling party are trying to beat oppositionist forces into submission—is a fake "struggle". It is the means through which the dominant section of the bourgeoisie is trying to maintain its domination not only over the working people but over sections of their own class. The slogan of "national unity" is thus the weapon with which the dominant monopoly group tries to bring their competitors into submission.

Equally is it necessary for Marxist-Leninists to see that the claims made by those sections of the ruling classes which are not monopolistic and dominant at the centre—those who claim to champion the cause of their respective national and social groups — are equally false. It is not the interests of the people belonging to these national and social groups (as is alleged), but of a narrow stratum of the ruling classes belonging to these groups, that they with their separatist slogans and demands try to serve.

While thus exposing the false claims of the dominant and other sections of the ruling classes, Marxist-Leninists should see what is anti-federal and democratic in the struggles waged by the various national and social groups against the dominant section of the ruling classes.

The demand of the scheduled and backward castes for equality and social justice; of the religious communities against suppression by the majority community; of the tribal people against attacks by the ruling classes from the plains; of the linguistic-cultural (or national) groups and regions against over-centralisation—all these are perfectly legitimate, *democratic* demands. They are part of the platform on the basis of which the democratic revolution is to be completed and the soil prepared for the socialist revolution.

This, however, does not mean that the unity of India as such is an anti-democratic or false slogan. The working people belonging to all national and social groups are, on the other hand, interested in preserving and further strengthening the unity of India. For, it would enable them to join their forces, to give strength to their struggle against the class enemy—the bourgeois-landlord regime at home and imperialism abroad.

This real unity, however, is different from, is in conflict with, the “unity” of the type which is sought to be imposed on the people by the dominant monopoly section of the Indian ruling classes. For, it is not a unity calculated to preserve the existing regime but to replace it by a new regime of People’s Democracy. It will not suppress the various nationalities, tribes and other social groups who are fighting for their legitimate, democratic demands. It would, on the other hand, help them in these struggles.

Such a Marxist-Leninist approach to national unity and democracy is absent in the ideological stand of the revisionists. Blindly echoing the agitational and propagandist slogans of the monopoly bourgeoisie, they violently attack the so-called “fissiparous forces” of casteism, communalism and so on. They praise the dominant sections of the ruling party for its “national” outlook. Both the Programme and the various resolutions on current questions adopted at their Seventh Congress show that their approach to the problem of national unity and democracy is nothing but tailism to the bourgeoisie.

Their characterization of the DMK, for instance, is that it is a party “reflecting separatist tendencies allying itself with the Swatantra Party and the Muslim League on key political questions, but indulging in left demagogy, a party that aims to divert and disrupt the democratic movement in the South”. There is not a word here, it will be noted, about the role which the DMK has played in giving expression to the national aspirations of the Tamil people.

Let us recall in this connection that the Communist Party (when the revisionists and we were both in the same party) never took such a negative attitude to the DMK. The party did always

make a strict distinction between the 'essentially democratic content of the national aspirations of the Tamil people (which were sought to be given expression to by the DMK) and the separatist, distorted from given to it by the DMK leaders. While opposing the DMK for its separatist distortion, the Party was at one with the DMK in championing the Tamil people's national cause. That was why the National Council of the (then united) Communist Party laid down in 1961 that the Communist Party should come to an electoral united front with the DMK if it agrees to keep its slogan of separation from the North out of the election manifesto. Even if the DMK refused to do this, it was laid down, the Party should have adjustment of seats with it.

These clear and explicit directives of the Communist Party were disregarded by the revisionists who adopted the line of fighting the DMK as a reactionary pro-imperialist party. They joined hands with the Congress, not indirectly but directly, in order to defeat the DMK in the parliamentary, legislative and local elections. This went to the extent of a statewide election campaign of several parties, including the Congress on the one hand and the revisionists on the other (municipal and panchayat elections in Madras.)

If this was the attitude adopted by the revisionists to the DMK (which is not communal in the sense of fighting for a particular caste or community), it is natural for them to adopt the very same or still more hostile attitude to those who organise themselves in the name of and fight for a particular community.

The resolution on Kerala elections adopted by the Seventh Congress of the revisionists declared that they "will have no truck with reactionary communal groups such as the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress". It accused the Muslim League of acting in such a way as to "accelerate revival of Hindu communalism".

The bankruptcy of this stand has now become clear for all to see. The revisionists themselves have now admitted that the Muslim League without ceasing to be a party representing particular community can be welcomed into the ranks of the democratic movement.

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