

**NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
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FOR

**NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
TASKS**

POLITICAL RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH
CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA,
VIJAYAWADA, 7-16 APRIL 1961

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*Political Resolution Adopted by the Sixth Congress of the
Communist Party of India, Vijayawada, 7-16 April 1961*

INDIA IN A NEW WORLD

SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, VAST CHANGES HAVE taken place in the international arena. Socialism has triumphed in countries with more than one-third of the world population and socialist society has registered spectacular successes in every sphere. The national liberation movement has won sweeping victories. Forty new sovereign States have come into existence in Asia and Africa. Colonialism is being shaken to its very foundation even in areas where it still exists. The working class and democratic movements have made sweeping advance. Forces of peace have grown more powerful than ever before. With all these developments, mankind faces today a situation radically different from what it faced in any previous period.

The essential features of this new situation have been described in the Statement adopted at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 in Moscow. The Statement, a document of world-historic significance, which arms the Communists all over the world with an exceptionally powerful weapon, says:

Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The Statement also points out the magnificent prospects that have opened up before mankind:

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The question before us is: What part have we to play in this great development? Where does our great country stand in its duty towards its own vast masses and towards mankind?

The hope and aspirations of the Indian people on the attainment of independence were aptly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru in his message on 15 August 1947, wherein he held up the promise of a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, the creation of social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fulness of life to every man and woman.

In spite of the difficulties of the period immediately following the attainment of freedom and the immensity of the tasks that confronted the nation, conditions were exceptionally favourable for the fulfilment of that promise. In the first place, the party which had come into power had the confidence of the people in abundant measure, upon which they could entirely rely. Reactionary vested interests who had opposed the national liberation movement stood exposed and discredited, and were in no position to thwart the national advance. Further, the world situation had been becoming increasingly favourable for the attainment of our national objectives. Gone were the days when the imperialists could dictate their terms to economically backward and militarily weak countries. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were ready to render unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries to overcome their backwardness, build up their economy and consolidate their freedom.

While, therefore, national regeneration in a country of 400 million people was undoubtedly a vast and gigantic task, conditions, both internal and external have been exceptionally favourable for the carrying out of this task and

for launching the country firmly on the path of all-sided national advance. It is in this context that the actual achievements of free India have to be assessed. Especially necessary it is to do so today because this is the year when the Second Five Year Plan is to be completed and the Third Plan is to begin. And if a proper estimate is made of the last fourteen years' record, it would be evident that, while some notable achievements have been made, the advance on the whole has been so slow in comparison with the necessities and possibilities and accompanied by such unjust and heavy burdens on the people, so much oppression and suppression that they feel angry, disappointed and even frustrated.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALIST AID

OUR PEOPLE WELCOME THE FACT THAT, AS THE RESULT OF THE First and Second Plans, the industrial base of our economy has become broader and stronger. Many articles which we formerly imported are now produced in the country. There has been considerable expansion of electricity and irrigation projects. A number of heavy and basic industries, which are of great importance for economic growth have been developed. The public sector has grown despite every effort by imperialists and certain monopolist circles inside our country to thwart this growth. The Oil Commission has achieved significant successes in a vital sector of our economy, which so long was completely under the stranglehold of Anglo-American imperialists. It is also to be welcomed that the Government of India has not acceded to the demand of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries to cut down the size of the Third Plan and to abandon the emphasis on heavy and basic industries. Our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than before.

This strengthening of the economic foundations of national independence is the product of several factors. During the days of the national liberation movement, far-seeing representatives of the national bourgeoisie and the Congress had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of the country. After its advent to power, the national bourgeoisie got the opportunity to implement this policy. Nevertheless the

First Five Year Plan paid very little attention to industries. The weaknesses and shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, together with the growth of the democratic movement and the mass urge for economic advance led to the formulation of the Second Plan which stressed the importance of heavy industries as the basis for industrialisation, pointed out the key role which the public sector had to play in this process and recognised, to some extent, the need for land reforms.

Relations of cooperation that were established between India and other countries of the socialist world, above all, the Soviet Union, were of decisive importance in the taking of the first major steps towards industrialisation. These relations enabled India to get credit, capital goods and technical know-how on terms far more favourable than what could be got from imperialist countries — such as lower rate of interest, easier terms of payment, involving no problem of foreign exchange, etc. Above all, aid from the socialist world was of a *qualitatively* different type. It was aid for the building of *heavy and basic industries* vitally necessary for economic independence in the public sector.

India's economic cooperation with the socialist countries has also enabled the Government of India to get assistance to some extent from the advanced capitalist countries for heavy industries. Even then, the contrast between the progress registered at Bhilai on the one hand and Durgapur and Rourkela on the other is glaring. Socialist aid has also helped the patriotic elements in the ruling circles to successfully resist the pressure from the imperialist-controlled World Bank and other agencies to weaken the public sector. The USSR has already offered Rs. 240 crores for the Third Plan, the whole of which will help the development of key sectors of the economy in the public sector. These relations of cooperation with the socialist countries are, therefore, of great anti-imperialist significance. Lastly, due to the very fact that socialist economy is not a crisis-ridden economy, India's cooperation with socialist countries is of great benefit in many other ways. During the recession of 1957-58 in the USA and other capitalist countries, the prices of goods which India exported fell far more steeply than the prices of those which she had to import from the capitalist countries. The result was a heavy drain of foreign assets and heavier loans. It is evident, there-

fore, that the more we de-link ourselves from the capitalist world market and the stronger our links with the socialist world market, the more beneficial it will be for our economy.

While noting the advance in our national economy through planning, it should at the same time be borne in mind that the two plans which have been carried out and the Third Plan as formulated now are fundamentally defective. Apart from the defects inherent in all plans for capitalist development (due to the conflict between planning and the spontaneous laws of capitalism), the other shortcomings of the plans consist in the refusal to adequately mobilise the resources in possession of the rich propertied classes, to ban the wasteful and luxurious expenditure by them and, above all, to bring about such institutional changes as nationalisation of the most important foreign concerns, of banking and such other sectors of economy as are necessary, as well as land reform in the interest of the peasantry.

These defects are responsible for the inability to mobilise adequate internal resources, while the Policy of throwing the main burdens on the poor millions and conferring the main benefits on the rich propertied classes has failed to rouse labour-enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the plans. Because of these wrong and defective policies, extremely serious problems have arisen in relation to foreign exchange that is required for the import of capital goods, the internal resources that are required for investment, the maintenance of a stable price level, etc. Everyone of these problems has, at some time or other, led to a crisis in the implementation of the plans. All the eminent economists of the country have noted 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.

It is true that, in spite of the failure to offer solutions to the basic problems of planning, advance has been registered in several respects, particularly in respect of India's industrialisation. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that progress even in that field is far less than what is possible and necessary. In several spheres, for example coal, the estimated targets, themselves moderate, have not been reached. The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting.

DANGER FROM FOREIGN CAPITAL

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED THE pressure of imperialists and their friends who wanted our country to abandon the policy of building heavy industries and to weaken the public sector.

The total investment in the Third Plan is proposed to be Rs. 10,200 crores. Rs. 3,475 crores will be invested in industries, minerals and power, of which the public sector will account for Rs. 2,425 crores. The emphasis on heavy industries continues, as also the policy of building these industries mainly in the public sector.

At the same time, certain facts should be noted:

First, there has been a rise in price of nearly 25 per cent since the Second Plan was launched. The sum of Rs. 10,200 crores is, therefore, not as big as it seems at first sight.

Secondly, during the Second Plan, actual investment in the private sector was far heavier than was targeted. The same can happen again unless effective measures are taken.

Further, there are a number of developments and trends which are full of dangerous potentialities and cannot but cause grave concern.

In this period, two processes have been in evidence. The relations with socialist world have developed and India has secured valuable assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, assistance which has helped our country to broaden its industrial base and strengthen its independence. Simultaneously, there has been heavy import of foreign capital from the West, both in the public and in the private sector. Our official foreign debts have increased from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 925 crores in 1959, of which the share of the U.S. Government and American agencies comes to nearly Rs. 600 crores. And now, under the Third Plan, it is proposed to borrow over Rs. 2,000 crores, a big part of which is expected to come from the USA. Payment of interest and repayment of loans already contracted will average Rs. 100 crores a year.

Special note must be taken of loans under P.L. 480. In the period of the Third Plan about 17 million tons of food-grains worth Rs. 608 crores will be imported.

Taking advantage of the foreign exchange difficulties, the World Bank and other American agencies are constantly pressing for greater facilities for foreign private capital.

They demand curtailing of the public sector. They demand joint Indo-American ventures, reversal of the condition that control of joint concerns should vest in Indian hands. While resisting the pressure from imperialists in many respects, the Government of India has also made many concessions to it.

In regard to foreign private investment, too, while resisting the pressure of foreign capitalists on many occasions, the Government of India has also made a large number of concessions. It is reported that 228 schemes of collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists have been approved in the first nine months of 1960.

These are dangerous developments. They mean not merely economic drain but something worse. When one remembers the role that American imperialism plays in today's world as the bulwark of world reaction and as the mainstay of colonialism, both of the old and the new type, one can easily guess the purpose for which American loans and 'aids' are being advanced and the forces they are meant to strengthen. It is not accidental that the growth of American 'aid' has been accompanied by increasing pressure for concessions which would create 'suitable climate' for foreign private investment.

It should also be noted that oil refineries owned by American and British oil companies had the audacity to refuse to refine crude oil imported by the Government of India from the USSR at a much cheaper rate than was available from imperialist sources. Prompt and stern action was needed against them in national interest. But our Government dared not act as Cuba did.

Foreign private capital, mainly British, still controls several vital sectors of our economy and nets colossal profits. While being curbed in certain spheres, it has grown in others. There has been an overall increase in the book-value of foreign private capital from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to Rs. 570 crores in 1958. There is increasing trend towards collaboration between Indian big business and foreign private capital, even in such industries as fertilisers. The Government is giving all facilities for such collaboration and has, in practice, modified its own Industrial Policy Resolution.

From all this, it would, of course, be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the Government of India is becoming

more and more subservient to imperialists or that our independence is being bartered away. A considerable part of the rise in foreign private investments is due to re-investment of profits earned in India. Moreover, Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate. The public sector has become a major factor in our economy.

Nevertheless, the links that are getting forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries have to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of imperialists.

Imperialists, above all American imperialists, are conscious that feudal elements and pro-imperialist compradore sections of the bourgeoisie lack a broad social base in the country and cannot, by themselves, halt the advance of the people towards economic independence and full democracy. Hence, the imperialists strive to find new allies, especially among the rightwing of the national bourgeoisie. By utilising the economic difficulties which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments, the imperialists seek to forge alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power and are closely connected with many leaders of the ruling party. These sections of the bourgeoisie, too, in their narrow selfish interest, often adopt a friendly attitude towards monopolists in imperialist countries, strive to enter into collaboration with them, bring pressure on the Government to give them more and more concessions.

This process, which has been accelerated in recent years, can be ignored only at our peril. Strengthening forces of reaction in economic and social, political and ideological life, it holds out serious threat to our economic advance, to our national independence and to democracy. Our people must be made conscious of this menace. They must be roused to defeat the attempts of imperialists who demand more concessions, fight the reactionaries who clamour for the entry of more foreign capital and combat the policy of the Government which facilitates this entry.

STATE SECTOR

THE GROWTH OF THE STATE SECTOR, EMBRACING STRATEGIC INDUSTRIES such as iron and steel, machine-building, coal, oil, etc., has been one of the most welcome developments of the recent period. Nevertheless, the investment in the private

sector has been far greater than what was targeted. Heavy concessions have been made to monopolists even in respect of several industries originally scheduled for the public sector, such as aluminium and fertilisers. The public sector is still far from attaining a commanding position in our economy. Moreover, under the pressure of monopolists and their friends in the Government, the proposal was made sometime ago to sell shares of public sector industries to private interests—a proposal which, in effect, amounts to partial 'de-nationalisation'.

The people must see to it that in the interest of the nation this dangerous move is totally defeated and never made again.

It is also necessary to eliminate corruption and mismanagement which discredit the state sector. It is necessary to place the state sector on a democratic basis and conduct it in such a manner as secures enthusiastic cooperation from workers and the general public. All this is lacking today. The Government's methods of running the state sector, its attitude towards the workers and towards criticism from the public leads to waste and inefficiency, intensifies strife and conflict and gives rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by enemies of the state sector.

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION HAS REGISTERED NO IMPROVEMENT, the total number of unemployed at the end of the Second Plan is greater than it was at its beginning. The Second Plan aimed at providing eight million additional jobs outside agriculture. The actual achievement is estimated to be only 6.5 million. The Third Plan will start with a backlog of 7 million unemployed. If the entire Plan is put through, it will create additional employment for 14 million, while the number of new entrants in this period is estimated to be 15 million. This will add another one million to the backlog of unemployed. The total number of underemployed in rural and urban areas, according to the sample survey, has already reached 15 million.

This inflicts tremendous misery on millions of our working people and means a big loss of productive power and talent of the nation.

SEMI-STAGNATION IN AGRICULTURE

DESPITE THE INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE, OUR AGRARIAN ECONOMY ON which depend an overwhelming majority of our people for livelihood and which contributes nearly half of our national income, is in a state of semi-stagnation. Agriculture lags far behind the requirements of India's development. The rate of increase of agricultural output during the first three years of India's Second Plan was only 4 per cent per annum. The total output of foodgrains increased from 65.7 million tons in 1955-56 to 75 million tons in 1960-61 (anticipated). The result of this meagre increase is that India has to import annually about 3 million tons of foodgrains under PL 480.

The fluctuation of agricultural production from year to year clearly indicates that our peasants are still helplessly dependent upon weather—in spite of the expenditure of about Rs. 1,000 crores under the two plans. Only about 50 per cent of the targets of area to be irrigated under the Second Plan through minor irrigation works has been attained and not more than 25 per cent of the demand for nitrogenous fertilisers is expected to be produced in our country by 1960-61.

But the most important factor behind the failure to step up agricultural production on a significant scale is the fact that due to the Government's policy of compromise with landlords, the remnants of feudalism, though weaker than before, have not been abolished. The Government has refused to carry out such land reforms as would give land to the mass of peasants. Even the recommendations of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee and of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission have been, on the major issue of ceiling, disregarded. Semi-feudal land relations are being sought to be gradually transformed into capitalist land relations without abolishing the concentration of land in the hands of a few. A small stratum of rich and well-to-do peasants has derived some benefit but the condition of the majority of peasants remains wretched and their productive energy has not been unleashed. The failure to assure fair price to the peasants for agricultural commodities, the monetary burdens of taxes of various types and lack of expansion of cheap rural credit have left the peasants at the mercy of grain monopolists, speculators and prevented adequate investment in land. Due to all this, agriculture

continues to be the bottleneck of our planning. Therefore, in spite of the fact that there has been an overall increase of agricultural production by about 40 per cent in the last ten years (a considerable part of which increase is admittedly due to better statistical coverage), the rate of increase is neither adequate nor stable.

The much-talked-of Community Development and other schemes which, it was claimed, would achieve a non-violent revolution in rural areas, have been, on the whole, a failure.

Instead of the mass of peasants getting land, as was promised by the Congress, a characteristic phenomenon of these years has been eviction of peasants on a big scale in almost every State.

The agricultural workers together with their families number over 70 million. The sharp deterioration that has taken place in their condition in the recent period can be seen from the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee's Report. By the end of the First Plan, the tendency to exploit child labour had grown, employment of children on wages having increased from 165 days in a year in 1950-51 to 204 days in 1956-57; on the other hand, casual adult male workers were unemployed for 138 days in 1956-57 as compared to 90 days in 1950-51. The average daily wage rate of adult male workers decreased from 109 n.p. in 1950-51 to 96 n.p. in 1956-57; for adult women, the rate fell from 68 n.p. in 1950-51 to 53 n.p. in 1956-57. The average income of an agricultural labour household declined from Rs. 447 in 1950-51 to Rs. 437 in 1956-57. The average accumulated debt per household increased from Rs. 47 to Rs. 88 in the same period, while the number of households in debt rose from 45 per cent to 66 per cent.

The agrarian policies followed by the Government have not only hampered rapid growth of agriculture, expansion of the internal market and creation of a surplus with which our economy could be placed on a firm foundation. They have also had adverse effect on the political and social life of the country and hampered the growth of democracy. The landlords who, despite the curbs imposed on them, own vast areas of land, in alliance with the topmost strata of rich peasants, some of whom have grown into a new type of landlords, use their economic power to dominate rural life, to buy over local officials, to control many district boards,

panchayats and cooperatives and exercise powerful pull over the Governments in many States. Acting in close cooperation with profiteers, they create artificial scarcity and fleece the mass of people. A large number of them have joined the Congress and strengthened the forces of reaction inside the ruling party. Also in several States, they have become the spearhead of extreme reaction, backing such parties as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and others.

It is evident, therefore, that India's economic development, as well as the cause of Indian democracy require resolute measures to abolish all remnants of feudalism and carry out land reforms in the interest of the peasantry. Without this, the living conditions of the vast majority of our people cannot be improved, the problem of creation of internal resources cannot be solved, the basis of rapid industrial advance cannot be laid and democracy itself cannot become real and effective for the majority of our people.

CONTRAST BETWEEN WEALTH AND POVERTY

THE METHODS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN RAISING RESOURCES HAVE been such that, while the main burden of development has been laid on the common man, the main fruits have been garnered by the rich. National income has increased by 42 per cent during the last ten years which is considerably less than was expected. Per capita income was to have grown by 25 per cent as the result of the two plans. The actual growth has been only 10 per cent. Moreover, where has this increased income gone? To those in the fields, factories and offices whose labour has created this extra wealth or to the parasitic classes? The very fact that such questions are asked increasingly and the Government itself has appointed a Commission to find out the answer shows how serious the situation is. It constitutes a devastating commentary on the economic policies of the Government and reveals callous disregard of the objective of reduction of disparity of income.

Through phenomenal increase in the burden of indirect taxes through continuous mounting in prices of essential goods, through virtual wage freeze and other means the income of the workers, peasants, toiling intelligentsia and other oppressed sections is kept at a miserably low level, their share in the national income steadily declines, while at the same time profits reach dizzy heights. Big business

is enabled to concentrate enormous wealth in its hands, profiteers are allowed to fleece the people and blow up the schemes for State-trading in foodgrains. The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many has, instead of diminishing, grown more glaring than ever.

Monopoly has grown at a fast pace in the last few years. It is estimated that only ten top business houses control between themselves 67 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

The enormous increase in the power of big business and its close links with many Congress leaders have facilitated the growth of corruption on a vast scale. Charges of misuse of the public funds for partisan purposes of the ruling party or group are being levelled in every State. Conflicts inside the Congress over spoils of office have grown sharper and more intense than ever, leading to virtual split in Uttar Pradesh, one of the main strongholds of the Congress. In many States, reactionary elements who had nothing to do with the national movement and who even opposed it, have come to control the local Congress committees, pushing aside honest veterans who gave their lives to the service of the Congress and the country. The relation between big business in towns and landlords in villages, many local Congress leaders and bureaucratic officials is growing ever closer—curbing democracy, corroding public life, reducing administrative efficiency.

A number of progressive measures have been announced but due to the pull of reactionary vested interests on the Government and also the Government's policy of exclusive reliance on the bureaucratic machinery, these are often implemented in such a way as to defeat their very object. Huge budgetary allocations for social services and community and other developments are often spent in a wasteful way and in such a manner as to strengthen the position of the ruling party and even factional groups inside it.

MASS DISCONTENT AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT DESPITE THE RELATIVE progress which our industries have made and despite a certain amount of strengthening of national economy, the

Plan evokes little interest among the people. The dominant mood is one of discontent and frustration.

As a result, the mass enthusiasm that existed when the country attained freedom has been dissipated. The masses who are under the influence of the Congress suffer from the same hardship as the masses following other parties. Many of their hopes have been belied by the actual practice of the Congress Government. Many members of the Congress and considerable sections of the mass following of the Congress are becoming increasingly critical of their own leaders and of the Government.

Inevitably, strife and conflicts, instead of lessening, have grown continuously.

No one could expect that the masses would take all this lying down. The period since the last Congress of our Party has witnessed numerous actions of the people all over the country and a number of major struggles—such as the strike of the workers in the steel city of Jamshedpur, the food satyagraha in U.P., the anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab, the food struggles in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the struggle of the landless agricultural workers in Maharashtra, the peasants struggles in West Bengal for proper implementation of ceilings, the all-India strike of the Central Government employees—the first of its kind in India. In many of these struggles, masses following all parties stood together and fought together.

Some of these struggles embraced lakhs of people and assumed statewide dimensions. They revealed the deep discontent of the masses at their growing misery and their readiness to fight. They also showed the spontaneous support and sympathy that people fighting for just demands get from the broad democratic masses. On a number of occasions, the Government was forced to retreat.

In the context of rising discontent against the ruling party and its policies, it was but natural that the Communist-led Government of Kerala, the greatest single product of the democratic movement since the attainment of freedom, became a rallying point of the hopes and aspirations of the masses. By its resolute defence of the interest of the people, in face of heavy difficulties and under continuous attack from vested interests and the Congress and other parties, the Kerala Government not only strengthened its base

among the toiling masses of Kerala but also had powerful impact on the people of other States—discrediting the Congress Governments, giving rise to the demand that these Governments should do what the Kerala Government was doing, heightening the prestige of the Communist Party, drawing people towards it. Many Congressmen also in all States who are not supporters of the Communist Party, watched with sympathy and good will how the Communist-led Kerala Government was serving the people. Kerala was accelerating the process of mass radicalisation.

The results of many by-elections and local elections are also an indication of the dissatisfaction of the people with the ruling party—though this dissatisfaction where democratic forces are weak, often gets utilised by reactionary, opportunist and unscrupulous elements.

LOGIC OF THEIR POLICIES

DESPITE THE GROWING DISCONTENT OF LARGE SECTION OF PEOPLE, including its own followers the Congress Government has refused to change its policies. The logic of these policies, combined with reactionary pressure, both from inside and outside the Congress has led to a shift towards the right on many issues. The difficulties which the Plan was facing were sought to be overcome by making more concessions to foreign private capital and to Indian big business. Landlords were sought to be appeased by not implementing the Nagpur decisions in a proper way. In Orissa, a Coalition Government was formed in alliance with the feudal Ganatantra Parishad. Brutal repression was let loose to suppress the struggles of the people—over 80 persons being killed in Calcutta during the food movement and over 21,000 being arrested during the Central Government employees' strike. Every effort was made to utilise the dispute between India and China in order to divert mass attention from burning problems and mount a vicious and sustained attack on the Communist Party—the spearhead of the democratic movement.

But on no issue was the cynical disregard of the ruling party of every democratic principle seen so clearly as its attitude towards the Communist-led Kerala Government. The attitude adopted by many leaders of the Central Government towards Kerala was openly hostile from the very

beginning and this hostility mounted as time passed. Finding that the Kerala Government was winning popularity, both inside Kerala and outside, and the contrast between it and the Congress Government was becoming ever more glaring, the leaders of the ruling party, including Prime Minister Nehru, threw overboard all the principles they had hitherto professed. In alliance with forces of casteism and communalism—the reactionary leaders of the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the Muslim League—and backed by the disgruntled leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, the Congress launched a violent campaign in Kerala and later utilised the chaos and disturbances created by this campaign as the pretext to dismiss the constitutionally-elected Kerala Government. It was an eloquent demonstration of the extent to which the ruling party could go in order to restore its monopoly of power.

The powerful all-India campaign that developed in defence of Kerala Government and the mighty demonstrations that took place in every area against its dismissal were convincing proofs of the people's appreciation of what the Government had done during its 28 months of office and their resentment against the Central Government's action. The fact that in the mid-term elections that followed, the Communist Party and its allies polled many more votes than before, effectively nailed down the lie which formed the basis of its dissolution.

It is to be noted that the opportunist policy of the ruling party's compromise with forces of casteism and communalism is bearing its evil fruit. Congress attitude towards the Muslim League in Kerala has given powerful impetus to Muslim communalism in many States. Hindu communal reaction, already active and vociferous, uses this as a pretext to strengthen itself further.

With no positive and rousing programme with which to maintain the unity of the Congress and to strengthen its mass base, with factional squabbles corroding it from within and assuming alarming proportions in several States, there is increasing tendency on the part of many Congressmen to resort to appeals based on caste and community. Sometimes, provincial passions are roused by rival factions in order to discredit the ruling group—leading to ghastly tragedies as in Assam. Due to the position that the Congress occupies in the political life of the country, these pernicious prac-

tices on the part of many of its leaders set the pattern and are imitated by other parties. Ideas of secularism, of nationalism, of unity of the country—ideas fostered by the Congress in the days when it fought the British—are becoming weaker. Sometimes such economic policies of the Government as tend to perpetuate and even accentuate the economic disparity of different regions, also strengthen provincial animosity.

RISE OF RIGHT REACTION

TOGETHER WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF THE RIGHTWING INSIDE the Congress, the forces of extreme reaction have now established an open independent political party of their own, the Swatantra Party. Comprising within its ranks a number of big landlords and monopolists, ex-generals, former princes, disgruntled politicians and American lobby-men, the Swatantra Party has nevertheless acquired, in some parts of the country, a certain amount of respectability, due to the leadership of Sri Rajagopalachari. It is trying to link itself up with other reactionary parties. The wide gulf that separates the actual practices of the Congress from its many noble declarations, the growth of factionalism and intrigues in Congress Committees, the blatant way in which the machinery of the State and its funds are often used to serve the interest of the Congress Party or its dominant group, give rise to revulsion and disgust among the people. At the same time, the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government. Such a situation helps parties like the Swatantra.

The Right inside the Congress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra finds powerful allies among the Right inside the Congress. The immediate aim of both is to push the Congress further to the Right.

Striving to build itself up as the 'main party of opposition' so that its capacity to pressurise the Congress may increase, the Swatantra Party skilfully utilises the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that the shortage of foodgrains is due to the 'killing of incentive' of 'agri-

culturists' by agrarian reforms and the slogan of cooperation, that the high prices of industrial goods are due to 'burdens' on the industry in the form of high taxes. It thunders against corruption, waste and inefficiency in Government enterprises in order to discredit the public sector. It openly assails India's foreign policy on the plea that this policy has left us 'without friends' and advocates a 'defence pact' with Pakistan.

Enjoying the support of imperialists, backed by many feudal elements and some of the most reactionary big businessmen and often acting in close cooperation with communal parties, as well as reactionary elements inside the Congress who are rightly called 'veiled Swatantraites', the Swatantra Party tries to combat the growing influence of socialist ideas and of the Communist Party. It assails all the positive gains which the nation has made since the achievement of freedom—such as India's independent foreign policy, the growth of the public sector, the formation of linguistic States, etc. It attacks Nehru and those closest to him. In alliance with other forces of Right reaction, it seeks to modify Indian foreign policy and give it a pro-imperialist orientation; create feelings of hostility against socialist States, belittle the significance of economic assistance given by them; discredit and whittle down the public sector; sabotage all agrarian reforms; undermine and weaken democracy.

The Jana Sangh, which spearheads the forces of Hindu communalism, has become more active than ever. In several areas, especially Hindi-speaking areas, it seems to have increased its strength, making some headway even among the youth and the students. It is responsible for a number of anti-Muslim riots that have taken place in recent years—the most ghastly of them being the recent carnage that took place in Jubbulpore, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh. While Prime Minister Nehru has denounced these riots in the sharpest terms, it is a notorious fact that quite a number of local Congress leaders were sympathetic towards the rioters, many others were apathetic and did nothing to check it and many police officials directly or indirectly aided the hooligans. In Punjab, the Akalis, as well as Hindu communalists, have succeeded in sharply dividing big sections of people along communal lines.

These developments which are creating conditions of

grave peril for our country and our people are neither fortuitous nor inevitable. They are the result of a number of factors. Firstly, the national bourgeoisie, the ruling class, while being objectively interested in independent economic development, pursues policies of compromise with anti-national vested interests, and, when its leadership is challenged seriously by the Communist Party and democratic forces, as happened in Kerala, tends to lean on reactionary forces for support. Also, in the name of ensuring stability but really in order to maintain itself in power at all costs and by all means, the Congress enters into all sorts of opportunist alliances—as with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and the Akalis in Punjab. Secondly, the policies of the Congress, in so far as they curb to some extent the interests of foreign and internal reaction, engender conflict between them and the national bourgeoisie. Thirdly, the anti-people policies of the Government give rise to mass discontent and this discontent in the absence of a strong Communist Party in many parts of the country and the weakness and disunity of the democratic forces, is utilised by forces of right reaction for its own consolidation.

Right reaction constitutes a growing menace to our independent foreign policy, to consolidation and strengthening of our national freedom, to democracy. The extent and gravity of the menace cannot be assessed by mere reference to the strength of the Swatantra Party or communal parties like the Jan Sangh. Right reaction consists not merely of these parties but has powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself—even at the highest level. Its slogans are supported by many of the biggest newspapers. The Government's policy of heavy concessions to the vested interests is continuously emboldening it, while the increase of dissatisfaction among the masses forms fertile ground for its expansion. Moreover, the anti-Communist campaign indulged in by Congress leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru, diverts attention of people from the menace and aids its growth.

Fissiparous and separatist tendencies based on caste, community, province and region have grown apace in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation.

Patriotic elements belonging to all parties are deeply worried by these phenomenon.

To a great extent the responsibility for this lies on the Congress. In the past, national unity was achieved on the basis of the objective of national independence. After independence, this unity could be maintained and carried forward on the basis of a programme of radical reforms to complete the democratic revolution—nationalisation of foreign capital, land to the tiller, restriction of monopoly, improvement in the condition of the people and so on. But in the narrow class interest of the bourgeoisie, the Congress failed to carry out such a consistent programme. Many of its measures gave rise to profound discontent and frustration. They are being utilised by reactionary, separatist and disruptive forces to assail national unity.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the situation we are facing, is extremely complex and full of contradictory features.

First: Our industries have registered advance, but at a rate which, taking into account our needs, is slow and halting. Agriculture, on the whole, continues to be in a state of semi-stagnation and dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon.

Second: Economic relations with the socialist world, above all, with the USSR, have grown, enabling us to build several industries which are vital for the consolidation of our national independence. At the same time, the Government has contracted and is contracting heavy loans from the imperialist countries headed by the USA. Collaboration between Indian big business and foreign capital is growing.

Third: The public sector has become an important factor in our economy. But simultaneously, there has been enormous growth of monopoly and of concentration of economic power in the hands of the big monopolists.

Fourth: Feudal relations are being curbed but the main benefit goes to a narrow stratum of rich peasants. Moreover, landlords remain a powerful force and have stepped up their activities.

Fifth: The economic advance registered has been achieved by methods which have imposed colossal burdens on the people and enriched the richer classes, both in cities and in rural areas. Unemployment figures have continued to mount.

Sixth: Misery has grown among the working class, toiling peasants and intelligentsia, giving rise to numerous struggles in which people have displayed militancy, heroism and will to fight. But due to many factors, such as disunity of popular forces, disruptive role of rightwing Socialists, inability of the working class to act on a national-political plane, weakness of peasant organisations and our own failure to conduct a sustained nationwide campaign, the democratic movement, despite these struggles, remains weak and is unable to win major demands.

Seventh: Our influence among the people has increased in the majority of States, but we are still far from becoming the decisive factor in the political life of our country.

Eighth: Popular discontent is being used, in many areas, by parties of religious fanaticism which have become more active and blatant than before. Tendencies of casteism, communalism and provincialism have become more pronounced. Fissiparous and disruptive trends are fast growing.

Ninth: Forces of extreme reaction have formed an open political party, the Swatantra Party, which assails India's foreign policy, public sector, land reforms, etc. The Swatantra Party very often acts in close collaboration with parties of communal reaction, the rightwing leadership of the PSP and rightists inside the Congress.

Tenth: The basic policies of the Nehru Government remain as before, national bourgeois policies—both in the external and internal sphere. At the same time, the Rightists have tightened their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to move the Government to the right. Many of their attempts have been resisted. Sharp conflicts over policies have arisen inside the Congress, but also on many issues they have succeeded in bringing about some shift to the right.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC TRENDS

CLOSELY LINKED WITH THE STRENGTHENING OF THE POSITION OF the Right in the Congress and the growth of reaction in our political life is the phenomenon of increase of authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies. The arbitrary dismissal of the Kerala Government was a blow not only against the Communist Party but against Indian democracy, against

democratic norms and practices. Since then the ideological-political offensive against democracy has gathered momentum. Sedulous propaganda goes on that 'parliamentary democracy is not suited to India'. Praja Socialists and Swatantraites with the tacit support of rightwing Congressmen backed Thimayya's move. But for the firm stand taken by Nehru, they would have succeeded in removing the Defence Minister and that success would have marked the dangerous intrusion of the military in political affairs. Recently, Dr. Rajendra Prasad openly made the astounding suggestion that the President of the Republic should not be a mere constitutional head but should have real powers. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President, in his presidential address at the Bhavnagar Session, suggested that direct elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament should be given up. All these are ominous pointers—especially if we bear in mind what has happened in many countries in recent years—the latest instance being the establishment of a regime of dictatorship in Nepal.

Complacency based on the assumption that 'such things cannot happen here' would be utterly unwarranted. Not merely do reactionary forces, profoundly anti-democratic in their outlook, occupy important strategic positions in the economic, social and political life of the country but many policies of the Government, breeding widespread frustration, are creating those very conditions in which the people become apathetic and acquiesce in the establishment of anti-democratic regimes as a supposed 'way-out', as a 'remedy' for the worsening conditions of life, bureaucratic callousness to their needs, rampant corruption and other evils.

DISUNITY OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES

THE SITUATION THAT HAS GROWN IN THE COUNTRY IS CAUSING re-thinking among many honest supporters, members and even leading cadres of the Congress. They are alarmed by the growing attack on the progressive achievements of the last 14 years and the attempt to take the country back. They have seen the proud position which India has acquired as the result of her foreign policy and they want that policy to continue. They detest the fact that big business grows ever powerful, corrupts our social and political life and they dis-

like the concessions being made to it. They would like the public sector to grow rapidly. They expected honest implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on ceilings and State-trading in foodgrains and were disappointed when this did not happen. Many of them do not desire the Congress to have alliance with forces of feudal and communal reaction, and are unhappy over the growth of casteism. Quite a number of them were critical of Congress tactics in Kerala. They would like parliamentary democracy to be preserved. It is true that these views have not crystallised into a clear-cut platform. Vacillations and inconsistencies are to be seen quite often in their practice. Some, for example, who take a progressive stand on one matter, fail to take a similar stand on another. While detesting factional squabbles inside the Congress, they very often fail to see its political roots. Moreover, the leadership of the Congress tries to allay their discontent by demagogy about socialism, by talks of the responsibilities of the ruling party and the need to preserve the unity of the Congress in face of attack by opposition parties and above all, by appeals based on loyalty to Nehru.

Nevertheless, however vacillating and inconsistent these members and supporters of the Congress may be, they must not be placed in the same category as Right reaction—whether inside or outside the Congress. Essentially they are progressive. The process of re-thinking that has started among them is not fortuitous. The growing radicalisation of our people and the increasing discontent and frustration generated by the Government's anti-people policies could not but have their impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of vested interests, the influence of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress the growth of corruption and the decline of these values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement give rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress. Conflicts arise over policies, conflicts which though yet in an elementary stage, sometimes find expression in speeches in the Assemblies and the Parliament.

But by themselves, these progressive forces are too unorganised and weak to make an impact on Congress

policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the Right. They sometimes succeed in getting progressive resolutions adopted by the Congress, but are unable to get even these resolutions implemented. Anti-Communism to which many of them have succumbed also prevents them from cooperating with the most powerful and organised democratic force in the country in order to develop a strong movement.

As for the Praja Socialist Party which still wields considerable influence in some States, its leadership has become more and more opportunist. It joined hands with the Congress and the Muslim League to overthrow the Communist-led Kerala Government, securing as reward the office of Chief Ministership. It tried to disrupt the glorious food movement in Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the food movement in Punjab and other struggles. It took a leading part in the anti-China campaign during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Tibet and subsequently. With its mass base weakening in many States, it now counts on alliance with reactionaries and disgruntled Congress factions, as well as the good will of Congress leaders in some places for success in the ensuing general elections.

The attitude of the PSP has disrupted Left unity even where it existed in some form earlier. At the same time, many of the cadres of the PSP are radical minded, its following is largely a Left following. On certain occasions, e.g., the Central Government employees' strike, Communists and Praja Socialists cooperated.

Our Party, the Communist Party of India, has been in the thick of practically every major struggle that took place in this period—struggles which have been mentioned earlier. Trade unions, where we work, have become stronger than ever before. The main fire of the Government and the Congress has been concentrated on us. Despite this, we have registered advance in several areas. We won the Nowgong assembly bye-election at the height of the anti-China campaign and the parliamentary bye-election in Calcutta; secured impressive victories in Bhopal and won many panchayat and local elections in several States. The campaign in defence of Kerala was one of the biggest all-India campaigns conducted by our Party in its entire history as also the campaign to help the Kerala unit of our Party for the mid-term

elections. Vast masses participated in the *padyatras* (march on foot) in Kerala and Tamilnad for agrarian reforms. Impressive also was the mass mobilisation achieved in many States during the rallies which were held at the culmination of State conferences.

Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that our activities have, on the whole, been of a sporadic character. The working class has gone into action on a national and industrial level to defend its wages, its trade union and democratic rights from the attacks of the Government and the employers. But political actions by workers, working class actions in support of struggles of the peasantry and on general democratic issues have been very few. Working class action has not reached to the level which could bring about a major political shift in the position of the masses and have an impact on the policies of the Government. Except on Kerala, there was no all-India campaign. Above all, the Party's weakness among the peasantry which was one of the main factors for the weakness of the whole democratic movement, continues.

Due to the absence of a broad nationwide united campaign for progressive policies, the disruption of whatever Left unity existed in the past, the inability of the Communist Party to move the working class on a big scale on general democratic issues, and the weakness of the peasant movement, the democratic forces have not been consolidated. They have not been able to defeat anti-people policies or even compel the Government to implement its own declarations in such a way as would benefit the people. Extreme reaction has taken advantage of this situation to strengthen its own base and mount an offensive.

The proposals of the Third Plan show that, while adhering to the policy of industrialisation, the Government does not propose to make any basic changes in its policies. While admitting that 'in recent years, transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for land reforms', the Draft of the Third Plan contains not a word to suggest that any effective measures are to be taken to realise these professed aims, on the all-important question of resources for the Third Plan, the Draft proposes additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 1,650 crores which is to be raised mainly by 'broadening the tax structure', that is, by laying more burdens on the people. The taxation proposals of this year

are a clear indication of what the Government intends to do, how it seeks to squeeze the people while making new concessions to Indian and foreign big business.

In this way, some economic development will undoubtedly take place. But the limitations inherent in the capitalist path of development, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy without radical agrarian reforms, by concessions to foreign capitalists and without curb on the monopolists cannot but make progress slow and halting, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to profound contradictions and sharp conflicts. With such policies the food situation will remain highly unsatisfactory, unemployment will grow, condition of masses will remain wretched. In these conditions, the dangerous anti-democratic trends that have already manifested themselves will further accentuate.

FORWARD TO UNITY

CONFRONTED WITH THESE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS which, if continued, cannot but mean more misery for the masses, heavier burdens on them, further enrichment of the rich and increasing attacks on democracy, millions of people in all parts of the country and following all parties are asking the question: What is the way out? How to go forward? Historic responsibility rests on the Communist Party and on the most advanced and conscious democratic forces to give a proper reply to these questions.

Conditions, despite the negative features that have been narrated, are in many respects extremely favourable for the forces of democracy. The character of the new epoch, the new balance of world forces, the role played by the socialist system and its mighty vanguard, the USSR, are drawing people towards socialism. Our Party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. Reaction still lacks a broad mass base. Its positive slogans evoke little response. Moreover, the living experience of the last fourteen years has taught our people many lessons, above all, it has taught them the necessity for struggle and unity.

Fourteen years of experience are teaching the people what price they have to pay if the ruling classes are permitted to continue the building of capitalist order of society,

giving concession to foreign capital, making concessions to landlords and relying on the profit-motive of big business. Fourteen years of experience are teaching democratic elements inside the Congress that by reliance on individual leaders, no matter how great, they cannot attain the cherished goal of a happy and prosperous India and that even progressive declarations will not be implemented by passive waiting or even by their own exertion alone. Fourteen years of experience are teaching the democratic forces outside the Congress that, in order to alter the policies of the Government and in order to defend the people against the ever mounting attacks on their standard of life and liberties, they have to build united action with Congress masses, encourage the strengthening of democratic forces inside the Congress and join hands with them for common national tasks. The urge for unity has grown among all sections of people, especially among those who toil, suffer and fight.

These and other favourable factors exist. They are creating conditions for very broad democratic unity. They are creating conditions for a united mass movement, extensive and powerful. Reaction can be smashed and the compromising policies of the Government defeated if serious and sustained efforts are made to build a united mass movement. Such a movement will be built through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activity. It will have to cover every area and be based on strong mass organisations. Then only the plans of right reaction can be defeated, the desired changes can be brought about in the policies of the Government and all-sided advance ensured.

Striving to build such a movement, our Party must intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

It will be unity for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development, for the reversal of those policies and for bringing about a *shift to the left*.

Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests of the working people and to improve their living conditions.

The classes that will constitute the democratic front

are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Working class—peasant unity must form the core and pivot of this front. It was noted by us three years ago at Amritsar that the failure to organise and develop kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions constituted the greatest weakness of the democratic movement. That weakness still continues. We must, therefore, once again emphasise the slogan: 'Turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry'. This time, the slogan must be seriously taken up and implemented by every State unit.

In order to build the democratic front, it is not enough to have a correct idea about the classes that will constitute it. It is equally necessary to have a correct appraisal of the various parties in the country.

Our Party has always advocated close cooperation and unity between Left parties. But we cannot ignore the fact that the leadership of some of these parties, especially that of the Praja Socialist Party, has become, in many respects, more rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks and the masses following them are, broadly speaking, left-minded who want to fight the anti-popular policies of the Government. Hence the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for correct approach towards these parties so as to draw them and especially their following wherever possible into common activity and struggle.

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it has played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership. The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation.

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. That situation still continues. In some States—

Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal—with the decline in the influence of the Praja Socialist Party, the most important division has become the division between the mass following of the Congress and the Communist Party.

From this it does not follow, however, that a general united front with the Congress is possible today—that is, with the Congress as it is. Our relations will inevitably be one of unity *and* struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie *as a whole*—including its right-wing. Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle—landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its Governments.

At the same time, it would be a big mistake to *equate* the Congress with parties of right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, *progressive*—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on.

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts:

(1) Policies and measures which are hitting the masses, giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its Government. It is this discontent that is utilised by right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself. At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own strength or even only by the unity of the Left forces; the broadening and deepening of the struggle against these policies requires the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

(2) A large part of the forces of the right are inside the Congress. *At the same time*, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are *also* inside the Congress.

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. But it is equally true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found not inside the PSP or any other 'Left' Party but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence. Many inside the Con-

gress assail the public sector. But it is equally true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress. As regards communalism, there can be no doubt that communalism has penetrated deeply into the Congress. But it must also be noted that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Jubbulpore than many leaders of the Left parties.

In order to defend India's foreign policy, the public sector and the parliamentary system, in order to wage an effective battle against communalism, it is necessary that we forge links with Congressmen.

For this, an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again, direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congressmen but also to Congress Committees, taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality.

An urgent and important issue on which broad unity can be forged is that of opposition to communalism. A correct approach and fraternal appeal for practical united activity will get response from all healthy elements including many Congressmen. This has become a vital necessity especially after the Madhya Pradesh riots and the intensification of the activities of the Jan Sangh.

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude. Also, when progressive declarations are made by the Congress, we have not just to 'expose' them but use them for forging unity.

We have to support unhesitatingly and by mass mobilisation every correct measure that the Government takes against right reaction. Such action on our part will enable us to fight the reactionary measures of the Government all the more effectively. Further, when conflicts arise inside the ruling party over issues of policy, we must make our position clear before the masses and mobilise them in support of correct policies.

In view of the need to broaden the basis of our struggle

and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We must stress this because despite what we said at Palghat, we have paid too little attention to this task.

What this requires are:

(1) Use progressive declarations of the Congress to forge mass unity in action.

(2) In agitation, keep in mind not only those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who sit 'in front' and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its Government, but also those who 'stand on the periphery.'

(3) Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.

(4) Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and Government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the rightist elements.

(5) Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this, which arise from the class policies of the Government, have to be laid bare so that they are drawn into the struggle for changing these policies.

While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that, too, without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists. The process of intense heart-searching that has started among them is bound to gather momentum as the difficulties of foreign exchange, price policy, administrative inefficiency etc.,

become more evident. All effort must be made by us to raise the level of consciousness and understanding of democratic-minded Congressmen and convince them about the correctness of the basic slogans of our Party for national rebirth.

Progressives and democrats in other parties and also among those who belong to no party also constitute a vast number. While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties other than the Congress or are not attached to any particular party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity.

Independent mass activity by the Party, *combined* with fraternal and genuine united front approach so that on *each* issue the maximum possible support is mobilised—such has to be the tactics. For such independent mass activity, the need is to raise the level of consciousness of the masses following us. We do not make unity a *precondition* for mass action. But even when waging struggle on our own and in the course of preparation for launching struggle, we must adopt an approach which draws others towards us.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to rouse the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort, it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should unite.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TASKS

THE TASKS ON THE FULFILMENT OF WHICH DEPEND OUR NATIONAL regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation of our independence, by defence and strengthening of our foreign policy and forging of closer links

with the socialist and Afro-Asian States; by preventing further penetration of foreign capital and elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalisation; by the rapid expansion of the State sector. Nationalisation of banks and of such other concerns as may enable the State sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the State sector, combating of waste, corruption and inefficiency, and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it. The carrying out of agrarian reforms which would really benefit the mass of peasantry, reduce the heavy burdens on them and make possible more capital investment on land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich. Fixing of minimum wage for all workers and employees and sliding scale of dearness allowance. Improvement in the living standard of the people. Repeal of repressive laws and guaranteeing of unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater powers for States, for local elected organs and extension of democracy.

These are national democratic tasks. They conform to the interest of the vast majority of our people. Most of them are in the objective interest of the national bourgeoisie itself, except of a handful of monopolist reactionaries. They can be carried out by united action by all who desire national regeneration. If carried out, they would launch our country on the path of all-sided advance, generate labour enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit of frustration, reduce strife. They would weaken the forces of reaction in the country and bring the people to the position when the struggle for basic changes and for socialism can be waged more effectively. It is necessary, therefore, that all patriotic and democratic forces should come together to carry out these tasks and form, for this purpose, a broad national democratic front.

In order to build such a united front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the menace represented by right reaction, making Congressmen, including progressive-minded Congress leaders, aware of the seriousness of the menace, approaching them in terms of Congress declarations, in terms of commonly accepted ideas and digits. We shall expose the demagogic slogans of right reaction, the slogans with which it seeks to utilise popular

discontent. We shall strive to move into action the masses under our influence in opposition to the slogans and tactics of parties of extreme reaction, and their attacks on our foreign policy, on our cooperation with socialist States, in defence of peace and our national interests, on the public sector, etc., and seek the cooperation of Congressmen and Congress organisations for this purpose.

In order to build such a front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the compromising policies of the Congress Government, policies which facilitate the further penetration of foreign imperialist capital, retain the remnants of feudalism, encourage casteist, communalist and regional and other fissiparous tendencies, policies which, instead of encouraging growth of democratic forces, try to suppress them, which help the rich at the cost of the poor. We have to explain to the people and the progressive-minded Congress followers that without fighting these policies, the growth of reaction cannot be checked and the country cannot advance on the path of progress and prosperity.

In order to build such a front, we have to establish unity of action of the masses in defence of their immediate interests and against the attacks of the exploiting classes and the Government, strengthen the mass organisations and develop them as genuine united organisations.

In order to build such a front, we have to fight an uncompromising battle against forces of casteism, communalism, regionalism and provincialism, against all discrimination in relation to minorities, for protection of all their legitimate interests, for adequate facilities for backward castes and for balanced development of all regions of our country. While fighting for greater power for States, we have to come forward as defenders of national unity, seeking the cooperation of and striving to act jointly with all healthy and patriotic forces in all parties for this purpose.

In order to build such a front we have to strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organisationally.

The struggle against the slogans of the extreme right, the struggle against the policies of compromise pursued by the Government, as well as the struggle in defence of progressive policies and declarations made by the Government—all these struggles cannot be effective if they are waged only or even mainly through speeches in the parliament and

legislature and through articles in our journals. They have to be waged on a mass scale—by efforts to build popular unity and also through independent mobilisation by the Party. For this, we have to lay utmost stress on the task of raising the political level of the masses who follow our Party so that they move into action on political issues. Such positive action and independent mass action will also facilitate the process of radicalisation among the masses who follow the Congress and other parties, and be a powerful lever to forge democratic unity.

DEFEND AND STRENGTHENED INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

ONE OF THE MAIN TARGETS OF ATTACK OF IMPERIALISTS AND their friends is India's foreign policy. This is not surprising in view of the position India occupies in world affairs. Ours was the first party in the country to advocate that a foreign policy of peace, anti-colonialism, cooperation with socialist countries and close friendship with African and Asian countries is in our genuine national interest. We have been extending general support to the Government of India's foreign policy. In the period since Amritsar, reactionary pressure on India's foreign policy has increased—both from imperialists and by extreme rightwing elements in our own country. Imperialists have been striving to change our foreign policy and for this purpose, they are utilising their economic 'aid'. The Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the rightwing PSP leaders, rightwing elements inside the Congress, the big bourgeois-controlled press—all have been active on the issue, making full use of the India-China dispute for the purpose. The slogan is given of 'common defence' with Pakistan. The argument is advanced that India should be 'really neutral' and not associate itself 'too closely' with socialist States. The whole purpose of this pressure, these slogans and arguments, is to bring about a reactionary modification of our foreign policy—a modification which imperialists desire and have been striving for several years.

By and large, these pressures have been resisted. There have been powerful counteracting forces, too. India's association with the USSR and economic cooperation with it has grown closer. A large number of African States who have won political independence in recent years take an

anti-imperialist stand in the UNO. The interest of the Indian nation demands a continuation of the present foreign policy. Nehru, who has been the main architect of this policy, has shown no inclination to abandon it. India stands in the camp of peace and anti-colonialism, against war and for disarmament.

At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there have been pronounced vacillations of the Government of India on several occasions in recent periods. There have been a number of failures on its part to take a consistent stand—especially on issues of anti-colonialism. The Government of India takes too long a time to take a correct position and even then the position is not always sufficiently firm. In a world situation which 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, it was expected that India would act as the leader and vanguard of the newly-independent States. This has not happened. On several issues, a number of African States which shook off colonial rule only recently take a more consistently anti-imperialist stand than us.

A glaring example of this has been our Government's vacillations on the issue of Congo. While denouncing Belgian imperialists, India keeps silent on the role played by USA and showers praise on Hammarskjöld whose despicable activities in Congo helped the imperialists. While rightly opposing the seating of Kasavubu's agents in the United Nations and demanding that the Congolese Parliament should be convened, India refuses to recognise the legal Government headed by Antoine Gizenga, as has been done by several African States, by Yugoslavia and even by Indonesia. Several other examples can be cited. More than once, under the spurious slogan of 'the power blocs' and on the plea of 'not taking sides in the cold war', India has refused to take a firm anti-imperialist position. India is now coming to be looked upon by many as the leader of 'moderates' in the Afro-Asian group. This certainly is not a role which Indian patriots would like India to play.

Such vacillation on the part of the Government of India is not in conformity with India's general foreign policy and India's great anti-imperialist traditions and also does not reflect Indian public opinion.

Therefore, while continuing to support the general

foreign policy of the Government, it is the task of all democratic forces in the country to exercise vigilance so that there is no sliding back and to mobilise the masses so that the vacillations and weaknesses are combated.

A major reason for this weakness is that while the reactionary forces who want to change the foreign policy are vocal and active, the progressive and democratic forces, including the mass following of the Communist Party are not so active in counteracting their pressure. There is the sectarian tendency of not making full use of the correct stand of the Government in order to forge broad unity and bring about broad mobilisation. Also there is the reformist and tailist tendency of taking the present foreign policy for granted, of relying too much on the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru and hesitation to go beyond the stand taken by them. We underestimate the conspiracies of the imperialists and their capacity for desperate action—due to which we are often taken by surprise.

Mass mobilisation and mass action on issues of peace and anti-colonialism are yet totally inadequate. The tendency is one of leaving the initiative in the hands of the Government, of waiting to see what it does when an issue arises. The democratic forces do not seize the initiative. They do not act to shape Government's policy. They only react to declarations made by the Government. Inevitably their role becomes one of supporting or opposing the acts of the Government in the sphere of foreign policy.

Such a situation should not be allowed to continue.

It is also imperative that effective steps are taken by the Government of India to liberate over 6 lakhs of our countrymen who, to this day, remain under the colonial rule of the Portuguese fascists.

It must be the endeavour of all patriotic people to ensure that the foreign policy of our country becomes increasingly anti-imperialist, a policy of increasingly close association with the freedom-loving countries of Asia and Africa and of cooperation with socialist and other States in defence of peace. Our Party and the mass organisations under our influence will have to play a far more important role in this direction than hitherto.

TASKS ON MASS FRONTS

THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT HAS REGISTERED A BIG ADVANCE. In recent periods, on a number of occasions, all workers of the same industry have gone into action. The strike of over five lakh employees of the Central Government, which came about because of the united decision of all organisations of the Government employees united in the Joint Council of Action was, despite all limitations and lack of preparation, a major event and focussed attention on the most outstanding grievance of all people, that is, the steep rise of prices. Nevertheless, that consciousness which would move the entire mass on a general issue affecting the workers as a whole and on general democratic issues is yet too inadequate.

Even in the field of wages, the working class is facing a serious crisis. Although the continuous struggle of the workers has wrested some increases in money wages from the unwilling hands of the employers, their real wages show a markedly declining trend since 1955. The real wage level in 1960 is no higher, if not actually lower, than the level of 1939. At the same time, production, productivity and profits in the organised industries have been rising throughout the Second Plan period.

By fighting for higher wages, dearness allowances, bonus, more amenities and better conditions of work, the worker fights for a larger share of the wealth he is producing and of the goods which are the real national income, a share which the employer always wants to reduce in some way and for which the worker must always fight in the ways open to him. This day-to-day struggle is, therefore, the necessary and constant daily task of the trade unions. The entire working class, irrespective of different affiliations, is vitally interested in the fight for a sliding scale of dearness allowance, the raising and fixing of minimum wages, for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices and rationalisation and productivity schemes leading to retrenchment.

At the same time, this struggle of the workers is increasingly sought to be suppressed by the ruling class through use of the repressive machinery of the State and free hand to the capitalists to practise victimisation. Attacks on democratic and trade union rights including those which

are 'legally' recognised on paper are mounting. These attacks can be effectively resisted and repulsed only on the basis of united and determined mobilisation of the working class backed by democratic public opinion.

All these factors, together with several other aspects of intensified capitalist exploitation, are daily strengthening the objective basis for forging the class unity of the workers and mobilising them for united action in their common interest. The recent struggles and strike actions of the textile, jute, plantation, cashewnut, tramway (Calcutta) and other workers in various States and above all, the historic strike of the Central Government employees, are eloquent testimony to the growing urge of all sections of the working class for unity. Great new possibilities are opening up provided the trade unions utilise them with confidence and bold initiative.

If the trade union movement is to be raised out of the rut of localism and narrow economism, a determined campaign for trade union unity and united action must be developed. On this question, a basically sectarian outlook still persists and must be constantly combated. Developing broadest unity of all sections must be combined with principled exposure of disruptive and anti-unity elements and planned expansion of trade union organisation among the lakhs of still unorganised workers.

In order to overcome the serious lag in the political consciousness of the working class, it is necessary to educate, organise and mobilise the workers as part and parcel of day-to-day trade union activity itself. Popularisation of the all-round advance of the socialist countries, the need for active solidarity with the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and with the working class struggles in imperialist countries; campaign on the concrete issues of disarmament and peace; vigilance, exposure and action against the reactionary conspiracies and manoeuvres of imperialists and monopolists against democracy, against national economic development and freedom—these are some of the most important issues around which we must carry on ceaseless efforts to bring the organised working class into action so that it may increasingly play its vanguard role.

This vanguard role also requires that the working class

comes out in action in defence of the demands of other classes—above all, the peasantry.

The democratic forces must adopt a correct attitude towards the small and medium industrialists who suffer from the fiscal and other policies of the Government and from the activities of the monopolists. In matters of trade union demands, these sections of the bourgeoisie cannot be placed in the same category as the big bourgeoisie. We must bear in mind that in order to defend and strengthen democracy, as well as for the broadening of the mass movement, it is necessary to support actively the just demands of the small and middle bourgeoisie and draw them closer to the democratic masses.

In an agrarian country like ours, national regeneration demands, above all, rapid development of agriculture. Experience of the last thirteen-and-a-half years proves that this cannot be done except through democratic reconstruction of agriculture. Experience also proves that left to itself and in the absence of a mass movement, the Congress and the Government will not implement in a proper way even their own declarations. The fate of the Nagpur Resolution on land reforms is the latest instance. Ceilings are being imposed in such a way as to leave practically no land for distribution—thus defeating the purpose of ceiling.

At the same time, it has to be admitted that our own approach towards the progressive declarations made by the Congress from time to time has been defective—arising from partial and inadequate understanding of the factors that lead to such declarations. To some extent, they express the needs of national bourgeois development as against imperialism and feudalism. Then there is the pressure of masses exerted through the rank and file and progressive Congressmen. Finally, there is the attempt to create illusions among the masses, illusions about possibility of gradual and smooth advance, through the benevolence of the ruling party, without struggles, without mass movement. The Nagpur Resolution was also due, to a considerable extent, to the agrarian reforms proposed by the Communist-led Government of Kerala. In these circumstances and in view of the certainty that the rightwing-controlled State Ministries were bound to sabotage the reforms, it was all the more necessary for the Communist Party, the Kisan Sabhas and other democratic forces, to launch a mass cam-

paign and develop common activity so as to ensure proper implementation of the declarations—implementation in such a way as benefits the peasants and agricultural workers. This we failed to do.

Alliance of the working class with the peasantry forms the pivot and core of the national democratic front. And one of the most important means by which such alliance is forged is the initiative taken by the Party of the working class to organise the peasantry. The Amritsar resolution of our Party stressed that 'the failure to organise kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions, in spite of the most favourable conditions, constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement.' That failure, in the main, persists. In several places, the peasant masses, dissatisfied with the Congress are falling prey to the propaganda carried on by parties and elements of extreme reaction.

Our tasks on the kisan front which arise out of the present serious situation, are to abolish the remnants of feudalism, bring about a proper redistribution of land, democratise rural society, create a productive upsurge in agriculture and effect radical improvement in the living conditions of the mass of peasantry and agricultural labourers.

The most important task for fulfilment of these aims is the forging of unity of all sections of the peasantry, including agricultural labourers, in common campaigns and struggles for the carrying out of radical agrarian reforms and for securing immediate economic relief for the rural masses.

In these campaigns and struggles, the agricultural workers, share-croppers and poor peasants will constitute the most firm and the most reliable force, but it is essential the middle peasants should be decisively won over and the rich peasants should be drawn into common actions on as big a scale as possible on specific issues.

There are several issues on which broad-based mass campaigns can be built and all sections of the rural population mobilised in view of the growing food crisis, mounting taxation, the increasing grip of the moneylenders on the peasantry, the price-scissors which cheat the producers in two-fold ways, by exacting from them higher prices for manufactured goods and by denying them a just price for their own products. A ringing call and mass mobilisation

for food, adequate credit, for fair prices, for a just distribution of resources for agricultural improvement, for developing rural industries, for various development works and employment, for irrigation schemes, for the lowering of taxes and rents, for fair wages, for a reasonable ceiling and its strict implementation and the distribution of surplus land, is bound to get response from all sections of the peasantry.

The strengthening of the democratic movement in the rural areas necessitates the organisation and moving into action of the most consistently militant forces in the villages, that is, agricultural workers. The unity of the mass of peasantry for immediate economic relief and for radical agrarian reforms would lack firm foundation without the movement of agricultural workers for their specific demands (wages, hours of work, employment, fallow land, homesteads, etc.) and their active and organised participation in all common peasant movements and popular struggles in the countryside.

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of building peasant unity today is the existence of political divisions among peasants who owe allegiance to different political parties. A very large section of the peasantry belonging not only to upper and middle strata, but also the class of poor peasants and agricultural labourers is still under the influence of the Congress. The gulf that exists today between this section of the peasantry and that which follows the Communist Party cannot be bridged without our making very serious and conscious efforts to that end. The Party must do its utmost to end this division. Experience has shown that adequate response is not always secured by issuing appeals to peasants over the head of and against the political parties to which they owe allegiance. It would, therefore, be advisable and necessary to approach the peasantry following the Congress in such a way that they can be drawn into common actions and in certain cases, it would be advisable to appeal to local Congress Committees and other local organisations to which the peasants, who are not under our influence, are politically attached, for joint front actions for the redress of common grievances and the achievement of common mass demands for the rural population.

The existing political divisions among the peasantry

can be overcome only if the Kisan Sabha itself is sought to be built as a united mass organisation of the entire peasantry regardless of the allegiance that different sections of the peasants owe to different political parties. Serious attention has to be paid to this task.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to rouse the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should unite.

The struggle to draw women, youth and students into the democratic movement, to build their broad-based mass organisations and develop united movements and campaigns for the defence of their vital interests is a vital part of the struggle to build the national democratic front. Underestimation of the importance of this work is fraught with serious dangers for the democratic movement and must be overcome.

There is a new awakening among women, a rapidly growing urge to overcome the age-old disabilities they suffer from and to make their contribution to national advance. Our women comrades have done valuable work in the women's movement and the results show the great possibilities that are there. But we are far from fulfilling our responsibilities and rousing the mass of women to the common task facing us.

The same vast possibilities are there among youth and students. There are vast new opportunities of drawing them in the service of the people and in defence of their own vital interests. The Party must take effective steps to organise the youth and students, to enable them to act unitedly in defence of their interests and to rouse their patriotism for making their proper contribution in the struggle for national advance and national unity and against reaction,

obscurantism and communalism. Popularisation of the ideas of scientific socialism among the younger generation is an essential part of the Party's work on this front.

Systematic and vigorous efforts must be made to overcome weaknesses of the Party's work among the intelligentsia and on the cultural front.

ORGANISE MASS STRUGGLES

THE RULING PARTY AND EVEN SOME RIGHTWING PSP LEADERS frown upon mass struggles. The Government strives to crush them. It says that such struggles dissipate mass energy, divert people's attention from the task of national reconstruction, weaken the unity of the country. Our Party resolutely rejects these contentions. The fact is indisputable, as has been pointed out earlier, that while wages have yet to rise above the 1939 level and minimum wage and adequate dearness allowance to compensate for the rise of prices is denied to workers, profits have mounted; that the mass of peasants have benefitted little from the agrarian reforms and the condition of agricultural workers has actually deteriorated in recent years; that soaring prices are fleecing all sections of people; that corruption is rampant and the bureaucratic callousness to the needs of the people has grown. Nor can the Government deny that whatever concessions the people have been able to win, wherever they have been able to stop or slow down the offensive of the vested interests, it has been due primarily to the struggles waged by the toiling masses, the resistance put up by them, combined with bold advocacy of their cause by their representatives in the Legislatures. This is proved by the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the taking of certain steps, though half-hearted, to reduce cloth prices after the Central Government employees' strike, the stoppage of advance collection of betterment levy after the great struggle in Punjab, the failure, after mass campaign, of the Pattom Ministry to sabotage completely the agrarian reforms enacted by the Communist-led Government and so on.

Moreover, we have to bear in mind that it is the worsening condition of the life of the people and consequent discontent that are major factors creating the very conditions in which Right reaction can thrive. Had not the Commu-

nist Party and the democratic organisations acted resolutely in defence of the people and organise their struggles and movements, wherever they could, parties of extreme reaction would have been far stronger today than they are.

Our Party cannot, therefore, relent its opposition to these policies or weaken the struggle against these attacks on the people. We seek and shall strive to secure the support and cooperation of all democrats for these struggles which are an essential and integral part of the mass movement to build the national democratic front. They have been important in the past in rousing the people in defending their interests and in building their organisations. They will acquire even greater importance in the coming period.

Mass action in defence of the interests of the people and for progressive policies are themselves powerful factors helping to bring people together. They do not disrupt national unity as Congress leaders allege. On the contrary, they facilitate the cementing of unity on a genuine democratic and popular basis.

We must broaden the basis of the struggles and with general democratic support for them so that they acquire greater sweep and momentum. Also, in view of the attitude displayed by the Government during many recent struggles, when draconian measures were adopted, the masses, their organisations and the Party have to prepare themselves organisationally, politically and ideologically for stubborn resistance.

Our Party will, at the same time, mobilise the people for carrying out the tasks of national reconstruction. We shall cooperate with all patriotic forces in order to ensure speedy fulfilment of the Plan targets. We shall make every endeavour to build popular unity so that the resources allocated for nation-building activities are utilised in a proper way and in the interest of the common people.

• ANTI-COMMUNISM—A BANKRUPT BANNER

DEMOCRATIC UNITY REQUIRES, TOGETHER WITH THE CONDUCTING of struggles for immediate demands, together with fraternal approach towards the mass of Congressmen, members of other parties and masses who are under no party's influence, together with campaigns on policy issues, sustained ideolo-

gical battle. The Second Five-Year Plan had declared the following four objectives:

- (a) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industries;
- (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

As we have already seen, a certain amount of industrial development has taken place and there has been some increase in national income. But the main benefits have gone to the rich, the level of living of the vast majority remains miserably low, unemployment figures continue to mount and inequalities in income and wealth have grown continuously. The pledges given by the Government have remained unfulfilled and will remain unfulfilled unless the masses *unite and struggle*. The ruling party, with a view to prevent such unity and such struggle, raises the slogan of anti-communism, for it is in the Communist Party that they see the most resolute defender of the people. Anti-communism has always been the bankrupt banner of those who want to keep the masses away from struggle and divert mass attention from their own failures. In the ultimate analysis, it helps imperialists and Right reaction.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms. We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and the Congressmen that there is not a grain of socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We should also explain to them what socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

In a vague and general way large number of our people have come to accept socialism as a correct objective. They have seen what socialism has achieved in countries where it has triumphed. They have seen how it has done away with the anarchy of capitalism, put an end to the

staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, eliminated unemployment and launched the people on the path of speedy and continuous advance. Hence they get drawn towards socialism.

A major ideological task of ours is to deepen this consciousness. We have to explain to the masses, especially the workers and advanced sections the principles of scientific socialism and show the relation between socialism and the struggle for defence and extension of democracy in every sphere—economic, social and political.

The third general elections will be an important event in the life of our country. The Congress will do everything in its power to give us a setback at the polls so that opposition to its anti-people policies gets weakened. The ideological-political offensive against our Party that has been gathering strength in recent periods is essentially an offensive against the forces of Indian democracy and a preparation for the coming elections.

The Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh as well as the Praja Socialist Party will make every effort to dislodge us from our position as the leading party of opposition in the Parliament as well as in several State legislatures.

These efforts must be defeated. We must not only retain our present position but strengthen it substantially. Serious preparations must be made for this right from now.

We shall fight the elections as a big political battle on the basis of the entire policy of our Party. Sharply demarcating ourselves from the parties of right reaction and communalism and their slogans, we shall, at the same time, lay bare the anti-people policies of the Government and put forward our alternative policies. We shall come before the people with our record as the Party that strives to build national democratic front for national democratic tasks and, as part of this struggle, defends the people against attacks from the Government and vested interests. In States where the possibility exists, we shall give the slogan of establishment of a Government which can carry out genuinely popular and democratic policies.

PATH OF NATIONAL ADVANCE

THE GENERAL OBJECTIVES TO REALISE WHICH THE NATIONAL democratic front has to strive have been narrated earlier.

Their main contents are: strengthening national freedom; elimination of foreign monopoly capital; rapid building up of national industries; extension of the public sector and democratic control over it; genuine agrarian reforms; extension of democracy in political, economic and social life. Formulating concrete slogans on each of these issues, our Party will develop countrywide mass campaigns for their realisation, seek cooperation of patriotic elements in every party. It will wage struggles in defence of the interests of the people in the context and as an integral part of such a campaign.

Such a campaign, if sufficiently sustained and broad-based, sufficiently militant and powerful can help the people win their immediate demands, bring about changes in the Government's policies, foil the attempts of Right reaction, expose and isolate it. It can alter the correlation of forces in our country in favour of democratic forces and lead to a situation when it becomes a practical possibility to raise the slogan of the establishment of a Government of the national democratic front—a Government representing the fighting alliance of all democratic forces in the country and pledged to carry out a genuine national-democratic programme. Such a Government, if formed, will be an organ of struggle against reactionary forces, a Government which will pursue a consistently peace-loving and anti-imperialist foreign policy, eliminate the hold of foreign capital on vital sectors of our economy, carry out agrarian reforms which really benefit the peasantry, severely curb monopoly capital, rapidly expand the State sector so as to make it the decisive factor in national economy, extend democracy and bring about such changes in the State structure as enable the mass of people to influence and shape governmental policies. The formation of such a Government will enormously strengthen the position of the toiling people in all spheres and facilitate the transition to socialism.

Advance along these lines would correspond to the best interest of our country and our people. Conditions for such advance are more favourable today than ever before. Our Party fervently appeals to all national and patriotic forces to come together so that the vast possibilities that are opening up are fully utilised and our people speedily realise their cherished ideals.



25 nP.

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