

COMMUNIST PARTY

in the Struggle

for

PEACE

DEMOCRACY

and

NATIONAL ADVANCE

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Three Annas

RESOLUTION

(The following resolution was adopted by the Central Committee at its meeting held in June 1955. It is to be made the basis for immediate work and for discussion at the forthcoming Conferences of the Party. — Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.)

I. INDIA UPHOLDS THE CAUSE OF NATIONAL FREEDOM, ASIAN UNITY AND PEACE

1. The period we are passing through is rich with events of world-historic importance. The breach that was made in the system of world imperialism by the October Revolution was further widened, after the victory over the forces of Fascism, by the ending of capitalist rule in the countries of Eastern Europe, by the emergence of the Chinese People's Republic, by the formation of the Democratic Republics of Korea and Viet Nam. Over nine hundred million people have broken away from the orbit of imperialism. The balance of forces has decisively shifted in favour of the camp of socialism and democracy. These developments and the growth and strengthening of the social-

...and market have further deepened the general crisis of capitalism and sharpened all its contradictions. The great victories and the phenomenal advance of the national liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial world and the growing unity and might of resurgent Asia are dealing powerful blows to the whole imperialist order, cracking its very foundation. The imperialist powers, headed by the USA, are striving to build ramparts against the advancing tide of the people's movements and are engaged in preparation for a war for world conquest as their way out of the crisis.

2. The mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism, led by the USSR and China, is conducting a great battle for peace, rallying in this battle progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

The mass movement for peace, the movement which unites hundreds of millions of people in all countries and from all classes, has repeatedly frustrated the plans of the warmongers and has grown into one of the most powerful movements in all human history.

3. However, the menace of war continues to threaten humanity. Though suffering defeat after defeat, the imperialists resort to new measures, sabotage agreements which they were forced to sign and intensify preparations for an atomic war. They seek to bring every country under their domination, build war bases there. They threaten the sovereignty and freedom of every country and strive to suppress the forces of democracy everywhere. Under the circumstances, the struggle for peace has become the central

issue of world politics today and a task of decisive importance for all countries. It has the most vital bearing on the struggle for defence of national independence and democracy.

4. Important changes have taken place in India's role and position in world affairs during the last few years. The immense and growing might of the socialist and democratic world, the staggering defeats suffered by the imperialists in their adventures in Korea and Viet Nam, the sweeping advance of the national liberation movements in Asia, the growth of the anti-imperialist, anti-war and mass democratic movement of the Indian people, the weakening of the imperialist camp and the sharpening of Anglo-American contradictions—all these developments on the one hand, and the increasing pressure from American imperialism which threatens India's sovereignty and tries to transform India into a satellite and a war base on the other, have brought about a radical change in the Indian Government's foreign policy.

5. Today, India's foreign policy, in the main, opposes the war drive of imperialism and helps the cause of world peace. It upholds the cause of Asian solidarity and generally opposes colonialism. It builds friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China and other peace-loving states.

Of historic importance was the Nehru-Chou declaration of June 28, 1954—the *Panch Shila*. It became a powerful factor in the Asian people's struggle for unity, peace and freedom.

This orientation in India's foreign policy has since been carried forward.

The Bandung Conference, of which India was one of the chief sponsors, became a rally for Asian solidarity and against colonialism and dealt another blow to the war plans of imperialism.

The friendship between Indian and Soviet peoples has been further strengthened by the visit of the Indian Prime Minister to the USSR. The joint statement issued by Jawaharlal Nehru and N. A. Bulganin is a document of profound international significance, a powerful contribution to the cause of peace and friendship between nations. The evaluation of the international situation made in the statement, the principles it formulates, further isolate the instigators of war and have been welcomed by the whole of peace-loving mankind.

6. With this orientation in its foreign policy, India has been playing a great role in the world-wide battle for the preservation of peace—a role that has heightened India's international prestige and evoked in every patriotic Indian a sense of national pride.

The Communist Party which has been fighting for a consistent policy of peace welcomes and supports this orientation and will strive to further strengthen it.

7. In India and throughout Asia the struggle for peace is getting linked with the struggle for defence of Asian freedom and the building of Asian unity against the imperialist warmongers and the colonial powers who have banded themselves together in war pacts like the SEATO. The struggle for peace is tremendously strengthening the struggle against the whole imperialist camp. Further, the coming together of masses of different parties in the common struggle

for defence of peace and freedom and for Asian unity has strengthened the mass democratic movement and extended its sweep. The growth of mass struggles in defence of the immediate demands of the people, growth of mass organisations and the strengthening of the general democratic movement have given added strength to the movement for peace. Life has shown how the struggles for peace, for defence and strengthening of national freedom, for democratic rights and vital interests of the masses are inseparably linked and strengthen each other.

8. Inasmuch as the Indian bourgeoisie does not want war and wants to preserve its independence, the present foreign policy is broadly in conformity with its class interests. At the same time, it is necessary to recognise that in initiating the progressive shift in the Government's foreign policy, in imparting to it a pronouncedly democratic, anti-imperialist and Asian unity content, the personal role of Prime Minister Nehru has been an important factor. Powerful forces in the ruling class, with their close economic links with the imperialists, as well as influential men in the Government, are getting apprehensive about the radical and democratic implications of such a policy and desire its reversal, or, at least, modification in a reactionary direction. The Party has to expose these sections, isolate them and help to strengthen the broad mass movement of people of all parties and from all walks of life for the Five Principles and their consistent application, for Asian unity, for still closer relationship with socialist and democratic states, for banning of atomic weapons. The extension and further strengthening of the mass movement for peace, the drawing

into the movement of the masses of workers, peasants and other classes are imperative tasks. Governmental declarations alone are not enough to enable India play her rightful role in the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party will campaign for pacts of friendship and co-operation between India and all other peace-loving countries; it will campaign for the Indian Government taking a firm stand against colonial wars waged by imperialists, particularly British imperialists, in Asia and Africa; it will mobilise mass support for more trade and greater cultural and social exchanges between India and the socialist countries and for an all-round strengthening of Asian solidarity against imperialist powers. It will simultaneously demand the removal of pro-American and pro-British elements from key positions in the Indian Government and administration.

In these tasks, the Communist Party will strive to secure the co-operation of all parties, organisations and individuals.

The Party will systematically combat the false propaganda about "two Power blocs," about the "menace of international Communism," and explain to the masses the consistent peace policy pursued by the USSR ever since its formation.

9. The cause of freedom, of Asian unity and peace demands the strengthening of the struggle for break with the British Commonwealth and severance of the political and military relations which Commonwealth membership involves. Membership of the Commonwealth headed by Britain, which is one of the chief enemies of world peace and of Asian peoples, is inconsistent with India's present role in world politics, with

her policy of resistance to war and of building Asian solidarity. Also Commonwealth membership subjects our foreign policy to British imperialist influence.

10. The existence of the powerful socialist and democratic camp and of the parallel socialist world market, the resurgence of the freedom movement in Asia, the growth of the democratic and peace movements inside the country, a relative improvement in certain aspects of Indian economy, the deepening contradictions in the imperialist camp resulting in its constant weakening and the growing conflict between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism—all these have made it possible for the Government of India to assert increasingly India's sovereignty and independence. By defending her independence, by opposing the war-drive of imperialism, by taking steps to build Asian unity and to establish closer relations with socialist and democratic states, India has strengthened her own sovereignty and freedom. The policies that the Government of India pursues today in its relation with other countries are essentially independent and are not under the decisive influence of any foreign power. The emergence of India as a sovereign and independent republic upholding the cause of peace and freedom is a factor of profound significance in the present-day world.

II. RESULTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICIES

1. However, India's freedom rests on an insecure foundation. Due to the strong position of British capital in the country and the remnants of feudalism,

India's economy remains weak, backward and, in many respects, dependent. The breaking of the power of British capital by its confiscation and nationalisation and the complete abolition of feudalism alone can place Indian freedom on a firm basis, remove the threat to her sovereignty and create conditions which will make freedom itself real in terms of economic advance and prosperity for the people. These anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks have yet to be completed. And since the Government of India, led by the big bourgeoisie, refuses to carry out these tasks and, on the contrary, protects, compromises with and makes concessions to foreign capital and landlordism, the mass movement for the completion of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks has to develop in opposition to the Government's general internal policies.

2. Conceived within the existing socio-economic framework and making no attempt to change the pattern of Indian economy, the First Five Year Plan did not lay the basis for a strong and prosperous economy. At the same time, the Plan, aided considerably by favourable climatic and other factors, did achieve certain results. The increase in food production, the increase in production of jute and cotton, the improvement in India's balance of payment position, the reduction of the drain on India's sterling balances caused by heavy trade deficits and the arresting of inflation—have resulted in partial improvement of certain aspects of Indian economy, as compared to earlier years, and have strengthened the position of the Indian bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the actual achievements of the Plan are extremely meagre, despite the

huge sums that have been spent. Even many of the modest targets of the Plan have not been attained.

3. The increase in the production of foodgrains (due largely to good monsoons) and of certain industrial goods has not meant an all-round strengthening of national economy and general improvement in the condition of the people. All the economic features of a backward country continue. The building of certain power and irrigation projects, though in themselves useful, has been accompanied by heavy enhancement of water rates and other taxes while such measures as Community Projects and National Extension Service have conferred only limited benefits, mainly on the richer sections of the peasantry. The standard of life of the vast majority of people remains as low as before.

4. Our economy has not been freed from the grip of British capital. Industrialisation has hardly registered any progress, despite huge profits made by monopoly capital, Indian as well as foreign. Our agrarian economy faces a serious situation due to catastrophic fall in prices of agricultural goods, mounting burden of debts, heavy taxes, eviction offensive of the landlords, decline of rural industries, pauperisation of the mass of peasantry. In large-scale industries, increase in production has not meant increase of employment or improvement in the condition of workers.

On the contrary, mass unemployment has assumed menacing proportions all over the country—among workers, as well as middle classes and artisans, in cities as well as in villages. The working class has been subjected to increased work-load and rationalisation,

denial of bonus and retrenchment. No wonder, under these conditions, our internal market remains narrow and many of our industries work below capacity, which is symptomatic of the basic crisis from which our economy suffers.

5. These results are not accidental. The main direction of the Government's economic policies has been towards the development of capitalism. But since this attempt is being made in the period of general crisis of capitalism, without basic agrarian reforms which alone could create an expanding internal market, and on the basis of collaboration of Indian monopoly capital with British capital, no significant advance has taken place towards industrialisation. Monopoly capital has, of course, strengthened its position in national economy as a whole but it has utilised its power to amass wealth at the cost of the people.

In agriculture, Government policies have resulted to a limited extent in curbing feudal landlordism, transformation of a number of feudal and semi-feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and some concessions to the upper strata of peasants. But, despite these reforms, the conditions of the majority of the peasantry and agricultural workers have registered little improvement. On the contrary, their conditions are deteriorating due to the steep decline in agricultural prices, growth of debt burdens and taxes, evictions and increase in rural unemployment. Such have been the concrete results of the policies of the Government which sought to strengthen national economy without smashing the grip of foreign capital, without wiping out feudalism and by reliance on profit motives of monopoly capital.

6. Such policies could not be carried out without giving rise to mass opposition—struggles of workers against retrenchment and intensification of work-load; struggles of peasants against evictions, new taxes, low prices for their goods; struggles of agricultural workers for living wage; struggles of middle-class employees for human conditions of life; struggles of students against rising educational fees and for academic rights; struggles of citizens of all classes for civil liberties. These struggles have, in many cases, brought together masses following different parties, helped the growth of common mass organisations, evoked wide popular sympathy and have been supported by solidarity actions. They have heightened the consciousness of the people, ranged them against the attack of vested interests and the anti-popular policies of the Government, halted in many places the offensive of monopolists and landlords and won important concessions.

7. The general attitude of the Government towards the demands and struggles of the people has been one of unconcealed hostility and of full support to the vested interests. Wherever the masses have fought against worsening conditions of life, the attempt of the Government has been to suppress them with a heavy hand. The policies of the Government have thus meant attack on the standard of life of the people and their democratic rights, interruption in production, increase in police expenditure, intensification of strife and conflict all over the country.

8. It is evident, therefore, that the limited gains made by the First Five Year Plan rest on a precarious

economic and political basis. Conditions have not been created yet for steady and continuous advance, for full utilisation of the productive forces of our country and its vast man power, for popular participation in an effective manner in the work of national reconstruction. These conditions have yet to be created.

III. PLAN-FRAME OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. The experience of the First Five Year Plan in India, as contrasted with rapid all-round development in People's China in the same period, proves that a backward and undeveloped country like ours can rapidly advance to happiness and prosperity only if it puts an end to exploitation of foreign capital, abolishes feudalism in all forms, distributes land to agricultural workers and poor peasants and takes to the path of People's Democracy which creates conditions for the transition to socialism. This is the objective which the Communist Party placed before the country in its Programme and this is the objective for which it continues to fight.

2. At the same time, the Party is conscious of the fact that with the existence of a powerful world socialist market and the existing correlation of class forces in our country, where there is an intense urge for national reconstruction on the part of the people, it is possible even today for the democratic movement to secure a limited advance in the direction of economic development of the country. Such development will be realised mainly in the measure that the positions occupied by imperialist, feudal and monopolistic inte-

rests in the economy of the country are weakened and undermined, the standard of life of the masses is raised, creating an expanding internal market and the democratic rights and liberties of the people are extended.

It is from this point of view that the Communist Party views the proposals regarding the Second Five Year Plan.

3. While the leaders of the Government are never tired of emphasising the great achievements of their plans and projects, they are quite conscious that these "achievements" have not satisfied the people, have not overcome the basic weakness of India's economy, have not fulfilled even their own modest expectations. No wonder the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries in its memorandum on the Second Five Year Plan says that the First Five Year Plan has only touched the fringe of the problem. The leaders of the Indian Government can no longer ignore the lessons of the First Five Year Plan. They have had their bitter disappointment in the expectations that imperialists would pour in capital to help them build up industries and thus make speedy capitalist expansion possible. Not only have these hopes been belied, but Indian capitalists are now faced with fierce competition from imperialist quarters, both here in India and in the export market outside. Feudal remnants in agriculture prevent the expansion of the internal market.

In fact, the contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the needs of Indian economy on the other, are sharpening every day.

4. Faced with such realities and guided by their urge for capitalist development, the Indian ruling class and its planners have begun re-formulating their approach and have already given some indication of a new orientation. The Government's agreement with the Soviet Union for the building of a steel plant in the state sector, for example, represents a significant departure from the earlier abject dependence on the British and American imperialists for capital goods and technical know-how.

5. The plan-frame that has been recently published proposes rapid industrialisation of the country with particular emphasis on the development of basic industries which would be mainly in the public sector. For meeting consumer goods demands, it proposes fuller utilisation of existing capacity and encouragement and development of small-scale and cottage industries.

The proposals to build basic industries, if implemented, would reduce the dependence of India on foreign countries in respect of capital goods, strengthen the relative position of industry inside India and strengthen our economic position and national independence. The Party, therefore, supports these proposals and also the proposal that these industries should be mainly developed in the public sector. It supports the proposal that the demand for consumer goods should be met, as far as possible, by better utilisation of the existing capacity and by development of small-scale and cottage industries so that jobs are provided for an increasing number of people and maximum possible resources are available for the development of basic industries. The Party not only supports these

proposals but will expose and combat those who want them to be modified in a reactionary direction.

6. The attempted industrial development and expansion, if pursued, will bring the Indian bourgeoisie into growing conflict with the powerful positions of British capital in India and with the feudal and semi-feudal relations in agriculture. It will sharpen the conflict between various sections of the bourgeoisie themselves facilitating the weakening and isolation of the most reactionary elements. In the context of growing mass democratic movements in India, this growing conflict can result in the adoption of limited measures by the Government against imperialist, feudal and reactionary monopolist interests.

7. We are not only interested in all such developments but it shall also be our endeavour to carry them forward by mass mobilisation. Every step that is taken against the interests of foreign capital, against feudal and semi-feudal agrarian relations, for curbing monopoly capital will receive our most energetic and unstinted support.

8. The proposals made in the plan-frame will not, however, automatically bring about all this. Those proposals, despite their relatively bolder targets and professed objectives, do not constitute the basis for a democratic plan, a real national plan. They are totally inadequate. Some of them are even reactionary.

The plan-frame does not propose any check or control on the operation of British capital in India, even in relation to remittance of profits abroad—let alone the taking over of British concerns. There are no indications that the Government intends to restrict

the profits of monopoly capital and give decisive importance to the question of radical agrarian reforms. No effective proposals have been made for liberating the peasant masses from the grip of landlords and moneylenders. On questions of labour-management relations, living wage, popular rights, the planners have nothing new to propose.

The Plan is mainly linked with the world capitalist market which is crisis-ridden. This will adversely affect the stability of prices in India and result in continuation of unequal exchange in our foreign trade.

The policy of the Government in the past has been to make the common people bear the burden of its plans, while giving free rein to the rich to amass profits. The plan-frame makes it clear that in this respect no basic change is contemplated. Finances are proposed to be raised by increasing the burden on the common people—increased taxation in various forms, forced saving, deficit-financing. All this will be accompanied by a powerful propaganda drive calculated to create the illusion that if people cheerfully bear the burden now, they will be laying the foundation for a happy and prosperous future.

IV. GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR A NATIONAL PLAN

1. These reactionary features and the significant omissions are not fortuitous or due to oversight. They follow from the class character of the Government and its basic policies. They are the product of the outlook which refuses to recognise that for all-round streng-

thening of national economy it is necessary to take bold action against British capital and landlordism, curb monopoly capital, improve the condition of the people, carry out democratic measures.

These reactionary features are essentially due to the fact that although the contradiction between the needs of India's industrial development and the interests of imperialism, feudalism and reactionary monopoly capital has grown in the last few years, yet the Government is not prepared to attack them. Even when seeking to curb them, under the growing pressure of the masses and due to its own needs, the Government proceeds by way of compromise, by way of heavy concessions and compensation which seriously jeopardise the very objective of economic advance.

2. The Communist Party opposes the main trend of the Taxation Enquiry Commission's recommendations, which envisages not reduction but increase of tax burdens on the common people and which the authors of the plan-frame have accepted. We are determinedly opposed to such policies. No additional tax burdens on the masses on any account until and unless, on the one hand, the classes that are in a position to pay and other resources have been fully tapped; and on the other, the living conditions of our people have been improved.

3. In these circumstances, the Communist Party while giving support to every step that the Government may take to strengthen national economy, will put forward concrete proposals which it wants to be adopted as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan.

A full-fledged people's plan can only be based on confiscation of British capital and transfer of land to the tiller without compensation.

Even in the existing circumstances, a patriotic plan must make decisive inroads into the position of foreign capital in India and also of landlordism. It must weaken the position of monopoly capital in our national economy. It must reduce the burden on the peasant masses. It must raise the standard of life of the people, constantly and continuously, and create an expanding internal market. It must be based on an equitable system of taxation, raising the necessary resources primarily from those who can bear the burden—the foreign capitalists, the landlords and princes, the big bourgeoisie. It must strive to create a stable price structure. It must make possible all-round advance—in the sphere of health, housing, culture, etc. It must mean the adoption of progressive labour laws, the ensuring of popular co-operation and the unleashing of popular initiative through extension of democratic rights and civil liberties.

Unless these things are done, the problems facing our country will not be solved.

V. FOR OVERCOMING THE DIVISION AMONG DEMOCRATIC FORCES

1. The proposals of the Communist Party, in relation to the Second Five Year Plan, will be guided by the above principles. The Communist Party holds that these principles are not merely correct, not merely do they conform to the interests of the masses, they are also principles whose implementation would streng-

then national economy as a whole. They should therefore be supported by every patriotic Indian, no matter to which party he owes allegiance.

The Communist Party will strive to bring about the broadest unity on the basis of these proposals and create mass sanction behind them. The Party will immediately launch a mass campaign to popularise these proposals on a nation-wide scale.

2. An essential part of such a campaign is the struggle against the reactionary policies of the Government and the defence of the vital interests of the masses.

The task of organising mass resistance against the attacks on the standard of life of the people, solidarity actions, struggles for civil liberties acquires exceptional significance. By conducting such struggles we defend the immediate interests of the masses, consolidate their organisations and forge their unity and also help the strengthening of those forces inside the Congress that desire to develop our economy by attacking the position of British capital, landlordism and monopoly capital.

3. These mass struggles will also bring to the forefront the question of governmental policies—agrarian, labour, civil liberties, taxation, etc. They will strengthen the movement against the reactionary policies of the Government and forge mass unity for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies. They will thus be a powerful weapon to build the United Front of the people.

4. These partial struggles have to be combined with (i) broadening of the mass movement for peace and

Asian unity; (ii) sustained and continuous mass campaign for the concrete alternative policies proposed by the Party; (iii) correct united front tactics to overcome the division in the mass movement; (iv) correct tactics to forge unity of different classes and organisations that constitute the Democratic Front; (v) sustained mass activity in all spheres which includes participation in, and securing for the people maximum benefit from Government projects and schemes; (vi) extension and strengthening of the mass organisations; and (vii) building a mass Communist Party. Only if *all* these tasks are carried out simultaneously and mass struggles waged in the context and as an integral part of such activity will it be possible to extend and strengthen the Democratic Front continuously, to co-ordinate partial struggles and transform them into a mass political movement on a national scale—powerful enough to defeat the anti-people policies of the Government and force the adoption of progressive policies. Failure to carry out these tasks will mean the partial struggles remaining on a local and sectional plane, evoking sympathy and even admiration when fought heroically, winning some demands, but unable to create a strong impact on the democratic movement as a whole, strengthen and broaden it.

5. For overcoming the disunity of the democratic forces and for adopting correct methods to develop the mass movement, a correct appraisal of certain important features of the present political situation is essential.

The Congress is trying to consolidate its position by utilising the democratic, anti-imperialist sentiments of the people, as well as their urge for national

reconstruction and also by forging unity with such landlord and other reactionary elements as were opposing it in the past. It has attained a measure of success in this. The limited economic gains under the First Five Year Plan, the easing of the food situation, the proposal for industrialisation under the next plan, and the talk of a socialistic pattern of society have given rise to hopes and illusions. These, together with the prestige that India has acquired as a result of her foreign policy, are utilised by the Congress leaders for the consolidation of the position of the Congress.

Voting figures of the Andhra and Travancore-Cochin elections, of bye-elections to Parliament and the State Assemblies, as well as of district boards, municipalities and panchayats reveal that, broadly speaking, the gain of the Congress has been at the cost of independents and of parties of feudal and communal reaction, many of whose leaders have joined and are joining the Congress. As regards the parties that oppose the Congress from the Left, of whom the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party are the most important, they have secured a higher percentage of votes than in the General Elections. The votes polled by the Communist Party in bye-elections to State Assemblies up to the end of December 1954 rose to 12.2 per cent from 6.8 per cent in the General Elections. In several areas the Communist Party has strengthened its position to a considerable extent.

However, it must be admitted that the gain of the Congress has been greater than the gain of the Left parties. In relation to the democratic opposition as a whole, the Congress is stronger today than it was some years ago. This is not due to objective factors

alone. The prevailing disunity among the opposition parties and, above all, the failure of the Communist Party to mobilise the masses on a big scale for intervention on national-political issues have also contributed to this strengthening of the Congress.

6. The building of the Democratic Front demands the establishment of mass unity in action. In carrying out this task, the fact must be taken into account that a vast number of democratic elements are inside and under the influence of the Congress. The division between the masses following the Congress and the masses following the parties of the democratic opposition is the main division among the democratic forces—a division that manifests itself in every class in Indian society. Nevertheless the possibility of achieving greater and greater degree of unity for progressive measures and policies exists and is growing.

7. It is an important fact of our present-day political life that the masses under the influence of the Congress, as also sections of Congressmen, are becoming increasingly critical of the anti-people policies of the Government. In a number of places many of them come forward to oppose the repressive measures of the Government and to support the working-class and peasant struggles. Both in the State legislatures and Parliament, as well as outside, many Congressmen are voicing opposition to the undemocratic features of Government policies and demanding that the Government should speedily carry out reforms to give relief to the people. Our Party naturally welcomes this development. It will strive to organise common activity with Congressmen and masses under Congress

influence. Such common activity will go a long way in overcoming the division that exists between Congress and non-Congress masses.

8. Of great importance also is the task of establishment of unity of action with units, members and supporters of the Praja Socialist Party which, apart from the Communist Party, is the most important all-India party in the country with a mass Left following.

The crisis that has developed in the PSP is the result of the policies which the dominant leadership of the party pursued—policies against the movement for world peace, Asian solidarity, friendly relations with the USSR and China, policies of disruption of democratic unity (as in Travancore-Cochin), policies of refusal to build mass unity in action.

The errors of these policies are becoming evident to increasing number of PSP members. The realisation is growing that continued dissensions among opposition forces help only the Government and the Congress Party and weaken the democratic movement. On the other hand, unity among opposition parties, helping the extension and strengthening of the democratic movement, strengthens each of these parties. The urge for unity has found concrete expression in a number of united workers' struggles and in the movement for the liberation of Goa. Our Party will make every endeavour to consolidate and carry forward this process.

9. Our Party will strive to build a United Front with other democratic and Left parties that have a mass following and with progressive individuals and organise common activity with them on every issue.

10. In relation to parties of communal reaction, parties that divide the masses on religious basis (Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Rama Rajya Parishad, Muslim League and the Akali Party) the attitude of the Communist Party is one of uncompromising opposition, ruthless exposure and combating of their disruptive slogans and tactics, determined struggle against their ideology. The Party will not have united front with them in any elections. At the same time, the Party will strive to draw the masses and individuals following these parties into common struggle and common activity.

11. The tasks of the democratic movement in relation to the present Government have to be determined on the basis of the actual practice of the Government, on the basis of a concrete assessment of its policies and measures as they affect the life of the masses of the people. Although the foreign policy of the Government of India has undergone a radical change in recent years in a progressive direction and must therefore be supported and although some of the declarations and proposals made in the plan-frame of the Second Five Year Plan are to be welcomed, the internal policies of the Government, taken as a whole, continue to be reactionary and undemocratic in practice—despite talks about a socialistic pattern of society.

They are policies of serious compromise with and protection of foreign capital, heavy concessions to landlordism, support to the monopolists in their attacks on the working people, imposition of fresh burdens on the masses, suppression of democratic rights and civil liberties. They are policies that seek to weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute

defenders of peace and national freedom while making concessions to reactionary anti-national classes in our economy and political life.

Hence the mass movement has to develop in opposition to these policies, with a view to defeat and reverse them, and to secure relief for the people, improve their condition and position. The immediate task is to establish the broadest unity in action, of masses following all parties including the Congress, to win the demands of the people and to create mass sanction for the adoption and implementation of progressive policies.

VI. THE BASIC OBJECTIVE—PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

1. While laying utmost emphasis on the task of building the broadest mass unity for immediate demands and for progressive policies, the Communist Party will also strive to make the masses realise, through their own experience, the necessity of bringing about basic transformations in our economy, in our social and state structure and the necessity of establishing a new government which can carry out these transformations.
2. In the course of its general propaganda and ideological-political activity among the masses, the Party will systematically, concretely and constantly popularise the fundamental slogans of the Programme and emphasise the necessity of establishment of a Government of People's Democracy.
3. The attainment of political freedom by India and the leading position of the big bourgeoisie in the Indian

state do not alter the basic objective and basic strategy of the Indian Revolution. Allied with landlords and compromising with imperialism, the Indian bourgeoisie cannot complete the bourgeois-democratic tasks that our country has to fulfil in its present stage. Only the establishment of a Government of People's Democracy—which includes all the democratic classes, including the national bourgeoisie, but is led by the working class—can fulfil these tasks speedily and effectively. The People's Democratic revolution will not only carry out these tasks but also put the country on the path to socialism—the only correct path, in the present epoch, for the advance of every country.

4. The possibilities of advance along the capitalist path in the present epoch of the general crisis of capitalism, in the existing conditions in India where British capital holds a powerful position and outmoded feudal and landlord agrarian relations continue, are limited and even these possibilities cannot be realised without infliction of misery on the people, leading in its turn to market difficulties which would repeatedly slow down advance and would, at times, paralyse it, giving rise to crisis and anarchy. Therefore, while resolutely fighting for every progress that can be made under the present conditions, the Communist Party will carry on mass propaganda in favour of People's Democracy and Socialism.

VII. FOR STRENGTHENING AND EXTENSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1. The struggle for the immediate demands of the masses continues to be the most important task before

the Party and the most important means for forging popular unity. It is through these struggles that the masses of different parties come together, become conscious of the need for unity and win concessions. It is through these struggles that their morale is heightened, popular support evoked and the attack of the vested interests and Government repulsed. It is through these struggles that conditions are created for the building of united organisations which are of vital importance for the extension of the democratic movement and the strengthening of the Democratic Front.

It is necessary that wherever possible such mass struggles are conducted through broad united committees representing the unity of the fighting masses.

2. A serious weakness of the Democratic Front is the disunity among industrial workers who are split in rival and parallel trade unions. The growth of working-class struggles against rationalisation and retrenchment and for adequate wage and bonus has helped to forge working-class unity and has also led to the formation of united unions in a number of places and industries. This process has to be carried forward.

An equally serious weakness, a weakness which keeps the whole democratic movement at a low level, is the inability of the Party to inculcate political consciousness even among workers who are under its influence and move them into action on a big scale on such broad democratic issues as peace, civil liberties, support to the demands of the peasants and other classes. The overcoming of this weakness is one of the most important tasks before the Party.

3. The development of peasant struggles against evictions, heavy taxes and for adequate prices as well as struggles of agricultural workers for minimum wage have made significant headway in recent period and registered several victories. With the rapid deterioration in the condition of the mass of peasantry, due to factors already enumerated, these struggles assume great importance throughout the country. Special stress has to be given to the task of further extension and strengthening of the Kisan Sabhas and agricultural workers' unions.

Middle-class employees (teachers, clerks and others) face many problems similar to the working class—inadequate wages, retrenchment, menace of unemployment and starvation. We have to defend their interests and help to strengthen their organisations.

4. The building of the Democratic Front, in the present situation in the country, is a complex task. The policies of the Government have, on the one hand, intensified the misery of the people, on the other hand, some of the measures of the Government, backed by a powerful propaganda drive, have given rise to hopes and illusions. They have, on the one hand, imposed heavy burdens on the people, on the other, conferred some limited benefits on certain sections. All these factors have to be taken into consideration when working out concrete tactics.

5. At the same time, it has to be remembered that all these do not prevent the masses, even now, from coming together in defence of their demands and rights. The discontent is deep, the urge for unity strong, all the objective conditions for building mass unity in

action continue and are growing. With a sober and realistic appraisal of the situation, with correct slogans and forms of struggles and activity, with sustained mass work, in all spheres, it is possible not merely to develop united mass actions in defence of the immediate demands of the people, but also build a powerful mass movement. This has been adequately proved by the events of recent months.

6. The Party has to defend resolutely the interests of the most oppressed masses—the working class, the agricultural labourers, the poor and middle peasants, the artisans and urban middle classes, who are the worst sufferers under Congress rule, who form the majority of our people and who must constitute the firm basis and the main force of the democratic movement at all stages of its development. The Party must simultaneously champion the demands of the rich peasants, of the national bourgeoisie, of the small manufacturers and businessmen and initiate such campaigns and struggles as can unite all sections of the people such as opposition to tax burdens on the poor, for civil liberties, for protection to national industries against foreign competition, for concrete proposals regarding plans and projects, for implementation of schemes in the interest of the people. The Party has to fight for equal rights of women and against the evils of untouchability in all its forms. It has to pay serious attention to the problems facing the students. It has to unfold activity on the widest scale, in co-operation with all sections and elements, to fight the menace of flood and famine, to combat unemployment and poverty, disease and illiteracy, making use of all measures of the Government and existing laws. It has to

constantly strengthen the mass movement for peace and draw into it all patriotic and peace-loving Indians belonging to all parties.

The tendency to keep away from schemes and projects sponsored or run by the Government must be given up. We have to participate in them, actively and effectively, combat corruption, inefficiency and bureaucratic practices, help to implement and run them in such a way that maximum benefit is secured for the people. This must become an important part of the activity of the Party and of mass organisations where we work.

It is only through such sustained and all-sided activity combined with ideological-political work that the mass organisations can be strengthened and the most militant and self-sacrificing elements drawn into the Party making possible its growth into a mass Party—essential for the development of the Democratic Front.

7. Ideological-political work among the broad masses is an essential weapon for the forging of mass unity. Importance of ideological struggle has increased because of the growth of democratic and socialist sentiment among the masses on the one hand and the intensified propaganda carried on by the Government and communal reactionaries on the other.

The Government and the ruling party, the Congress, no longer able to deny the necessity for radical reforms, preach that these reforms can be brought about without mass struggles and the strengthening of the mass movement. They denounce class struggle as something alien to Indian traditions while supporting the vested interests in their offensive against the

people. They foster belief in changes being brought about, from top, through Governmental action alone, slowly, with the "consent of all." They denounce all militant action, all popular resistance, as anarchy.

The communal reactionaries raise false issues, fan hatred and disrupt the unity of the people with such slogans as ban on cow-slaughter.

Patient, sustained ideological work, carried on not merely through the press and platform but by each Party member, each militant in day-to-day contact with non-Party masses has to be undertaken in all parts of the country and by every Party unit. This task is an integral part of the task of building the Democratic Front.

8. The carrying out of all these tasks, the growth of the mass movement and of the consciousness and fighting unity of the masses can help to bring about in States, where the democratic forces are strong, such conditions as make it possible to raise as a practical slogan, the replacement of the present State Government by a Government of Democratic Unity. Where the democratic movement and the Party attain sufficient strength, it will be particularly necessary to bring forward this as the major slogan in the General Elections.

Representing a coalition of democratic parties and elements, such a government, wherever formed, will defend the interests and rights of the people, carry out maximum possible reforms under the given conditions, inspire and help to carry forward the democratic movement and strengthen the fight for peace. In States where it is not possible to conduct election battles on the slogan of the Government of Democratic

Unity, the Party will strive for strengthening the democratic opposition inside the legislatures through such elections as an essential task for carrying forward the democratic movement. The strengthening of the democratic opposition inside Parliament and the State legislatures requires that our Party secures a strong position as a constituent of the democratic opposition.

9. The objectives that the Communist Party puts forward and the policies and measures it advocates correspond to the interest of our country and our people. The Party, therefore, will do its utmost to unite the masses of all political parties and all sections of our people for support to these policies and measures and for the realisation of this objective. The Party is confident that in this truly national task it will secure the co-operation of all patriotic and revolutionary forces inside the country.

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