

## THE PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

1. The achievement of national independence by India on August 15, 1947, opened a new epoch in the history of our people. This historic event was the result of long, arduous struggles by our people. From the first days of the advent of the British power in India, the Indian people challenged it through countless struggles, peasant revolts and uprisings in different parts of the country. These early beginnings of our freedom fight found expression in the first historic war of independence of 1857 that shook the very foundations of British rule in India. Although this mighty rebellion was suppressed, the freedom fight, however, continued in myriad forms. This was witnessed in the armed actions and struggles of the young revolutionaries such as those belonging to the Ghadar Party and revolutionary secret societies of Bengal, the non-cooperation movement of 1921, the civil disobedience of 1930-34, marked by the heroic uprisings in Peshawar and Sholapur and other places, the mass working-class and peasant actions, the "Quit India" movement, the struggle of the INA and, finally, the unprecedented post-war upsurge with its glorious uprisings of the naval ratings and militant working-class actions. Such heroic struggles and actions of our people spanning over the entire period of the British rule stand as shining landmarks in our people's march to freedom.

2. The achievement of Indian independence was a historic event not only for our own people but for all mankind. The vast millions of our people, whose labour, wealth and freedom had been subjected to long years of foreign domination and plunder, were now free to remake their future in the midst of a new world that was rising at the end of the Second World War.

3. The mass upheaval of our national revolution, on the eve of our attaining independence, was a part of the upsurge of

democratic struggles in Europe and national-liberation battles in South-East Asia, which broke out when the Second World War ended with the historic victory of the anti-fascist front headed by the Soviet Union over the forces of fascism. The general crisis of capitalism, which began with the end of the First World War and the victorious socialist revolution in Russia, was entering a new and advanced stage. Eight countries of Eastern Europe were taking the road to socialism. Korea was liberated. China stood on the eve of its great revolution. In Vietnam, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, national-liberation struggles were raging. The colonial system had begun to collapse and crumble. Viewing the Indian national upheaval against this background, the British imperialists read the writing on the wall and decided to compromise and stage a strategic retreat with the intention of returning to the attack again.

Following the post-world war upsurge and the movement for *Swaraj* that came in its wake, the platform of the national movement led by the Congress failed to provide a firm and clear ideological basis of complete national independence, secularism and social progress. This facilitated the manoeuvres of the British imperialist rulers to disrupt and divide the forces of the national movement.

4. Taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim division which they always fomented into a communal frenzy to disrupt the nation's independence movement, the British imperialists partitioned the country into two states of India and Pakistan. They conferred independence on both, with the design to keep them at loggerheads so as to weaken the independence of both and compel them to depend on their former masters for "peace" as well as "aid". Imperialism calculated to make the independence of India a "formal" affair and keep her as a satellite state in the imperialist-capitalist orbit and hamper her independent economic development.

5. The Indian National Congress, which was leading the national movement, formed the first government of independent India. The platform of the National Congress was to achieve an independent Indian state. As for the country's future, the

platform was one of developing an independent national economy—a platform that promised land reforms for the peasantry, certain fundamental rights and well-being for the working people, and a parliamentary democracy.

The British imperialists knew that a consistent working-out of such a platform would foil their game of reducing India's independence to a formality. They could not but see that if India's independence were consolidated and this second biggest country in the world, took the path of establishing a real anti-imperialist democracy, it would have a profound impact on Asia and Africa.

6. Thus, when the imperialists were making a great show of "voluntarily conferring" freedom on India, they were at the same time conspiring to weaken her independence, taking advantage of the vacillations and compromises of the national bourgeoisie. The prospect that the national-liberation movement might go out of the control of the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the possibilities of consolidating its class positions on the basis of the state power on the other, contributed to the acceptance by the bourgeoisie of the terms of the settlement, some of which were patently aimed at serving imperialist interests and weakening independence.

The partition of the country and the movement of millions of refugee populations from one state to another led to communal massacres. The invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistani forces was calculated to provide a pretext for the retention of British forces in India. Some feudal princes were instigated to refuse to accede to India and to carve out kingdoms of their own in the old feudal way. Imperialists and reactionaries hoped that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi would sow confusion and weaken and disarray the forces of national liberation.

7. The new Indian government and the people, however, fought back and defeated these onslaughts and manoeuvres of imperialists and reactionaries. Invasion of Kashmir was foiled by the prompt intervention of the Indian Army and the patriotic resistance of the people of Kashmir. But the Kashmir issue, having been taken to the UN, remained a weapon in the hands of the

imperialists to create tension between the two states from time to time and prevent a peaceful settlement.

The mass movements for the abolition of princely states, such as those in Hyderabad, Travancore and Kashmir reached great heights. This was exemplified in the struggles of Punnapra and Vayalar on the eve of independence, and later in the Telengana upsurge against the Nizam of Hyderabad. The heroic struggles of the people of these princely states led to the abolition of these strongholds of imperialist influence and intrigue. The Communist Party of India played a leading role in these struggles. In the other great struggles, led by the All-India States' People's Conference during this crucial period, the Communist Party's part was important and significant. The princely states were abolished and integrated with the Indian Union, though the privy purses and individual estates of the princes remained a drag on the national economy and served as vantage points for right reaction to hide and grow in the country's politics and economy. The armed services were brought under Indian command and the British Civil Services were pensioned off.

Despite the vacillating and compromising attitude of the Government of India, the liberation struggle of the people of former French territories in India which went on for over eight years, under the leadership of the Communist Party, became victorious, ending another foreign imperialist rule of over three centuries in India.

A Constitution based on the parliamentary form of democracy was adopted and India was declared a sovereign Republic on January 26, 1950. Elections were held on the basis of adult franchise to give an elected government to the country.

8. The formation of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union began with the establishment of people's democracies in Eastern Europe and advanced further with the success of the historic Chinese revolution in the biggest country of the world, which tilted the balance of forces in favour of socialism. This brought forth a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism. It heightened the struggles of the working class in capitalist countries and raised the national-liberation struggles to a new level with the result that the world colonial

system began to crumble fast. All this has ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of transition to socialism and of national liberation. Now it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism that determine the main content, main trend and features of the historical development of society.

9. It was in this background that India took the path of independent development. One stage of India's revolution was over with the attainment of national independence from imperialism. Our people were now called upon to carry forward the revolution to a new stage—the stage of the completion of the unfinished anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks, of rejuvenating and building a prosperous national economy, of ensuring better living standards for our people and enlarging and enriching the field of democracy, so as to open the road to socialism for them.

On this issue a conflict developed between the left forces in the national-liberation movement and the dominant leadership of the Congress. This expressed itself in a mass upsurge of the struggles of workers, peasants and the democratic masses, who demanded immediate measures to improve their living standards and to carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to completion. But the dominant leadership of the ruling party pursued the path of independent capitalist development and a policy of compromise. Further it sought to consolidate its dominant position by driving out radical elements from the Congress and causing splits in it as well as in the All-India Trade Union Congress which was the central united organisation of the working class.

## II

### TOWARDS INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

10. During the British rule, Indian economy had remained backward; it was dependent and colonial in character. But, in comparison with other colonial and semi-colonial countries, there had been a greater measure of capitalist development. India had

given birth to an industrial bourgeoisie and by the end of the Second World War there was considerable concentration of capital, increase in production in industry and growth in banking, giving rise to influential monopoly groups in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie.

11. During the Second World War, the national bourgeoisie had strengthened its positions in relation to the British monopoly capital; a number of undertakings belonging to the latter were bought out by the national bourgeoisie from the profits made from war supplies to Britain. The Indian railway system, which had belonged to private British investors and which the British government had already taken over, came into the hands of the Government of India after independence in return for a part of the large sterling reserves that had accumulated to the credit of India. Nationalised railways became the first item to mark the beginning of the state sector in independent India.

12. During the days of the national-liberation movement, democratic elements inside the Congress, including farsighted representatives of the national bourgeoisie as well as leaders of the working-class and the Communist movement, had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of India.

This idea was clearly recorded, for example, in the report of the National Planning Committee headed by Jawaharlal Nehru in 1938.

The opportunity to implement such a policy came with the formation in August 1947 of the national government of independent India by the National Congress. The aim of the Indian bourgeoisie, after getting and consolidating state power, was dictated by its own class interests of building an independent economy on a capitalist basis.

Of course, India's independent economic growth and establishment of basic industries even by the capitalists went against the interests of imperialism and was, therefore, anti-imperialist in content. It also harmed the interests of the landlords and princely houses and was, therefore, anti-feudal in its direction. In order to mobilise capital resources and to expand the internal market, the bourgeoisie was itself vitally interested in a certain

measure of land reforms and restriction of feudal relations in agriculture.

13. Nevertheless, in the early post-independence years, the country's economic progress and all-round development was markedly retarded by the vacillation and compromising policies of the national bourgeoisie, which on certain vital issues signified a retreat from the accepted programmes of the national-liberation movement. This was expressed in its continued concessions to the landlords and to foreign, especially British, capital.

Further, the national bourgeoisie at the outset tempted by the offers of "aid" made by the British and US monopolists through schemes like the Colombo Plan, etc., had sought to rely mainly on such western offers for building its economy. Through these schemes and offers, the imperialists still hoped to keep India's economy tied up to imperialist finance and market.

All this explains why the First Five-Year Plan was orientated towards development of agriculture, irrigation etc., only and had no perspective of building heavy industry.

The weakness and shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, the growth of the democratic movement, the mass urge for economic advance, disillusionment with the early Anglo-US promises of "aid" and the growing influence and attraction of the socialist world with its tremendous achievements led the national bourgeoisie to establish firmer contacts with the socialist countries and to formulate the Second Plan with its emphasis on heavy industries, development of the public sector and need for land reforms.

14. Measures, like the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 which reserved all the strategic industries for the state sector, the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1949, the nationalisation of the airlines and of the Imperial Bank in 1953, nationalisation of life insurance companies and gold fields in 1956, did not accord with the policy of the imperialists, as these measures sought to mobilise the internal resources for planning growth and gave the government a grip over finance and initiated the establishment of a state sector in industry. These measures were also not to the liking of the top monopoly groups of Indian capitalists, who wanted the state sector of independent India

to be restricted to defence industries, transport and public utilities, leaving the whole field of industry free for the private sector (The Tata-Birla Plan, 1944).

15. The Second and Third Five-Year Plans took measures to establish in the state sector heavy and machine-building industry along with other lines of production, such as, iron and steel, machine-tools, power, mining, oil and gas, chemicals and fertilisers, which were so long only in the private sector. The state sector developed not only in these industries but also in finance and to a certain extent in trade. Thus the state sector becomes an instrument of building independent national economy and of weakening the grip of foreign monopoly capital and to a certain extent the Indian monopolies.

16. The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, refused to give "aid" for building heavy industry, especially in the state sector. They were not so much averse to lending aid for irrigation, power and such other items which helped to produce more food or industrial raw materials for export.

The Indian government, however, sought the so-called "aid" from imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, and many agreements, contrary to our national interests, were entered into with imperialist circles. Moreover, foreign private capital was invited and encouraged to make new investments in our economy. This enabled imperialists to exercise a retarding and otherwise harmful influence on the development of the national economy.

The sabotage of India's plans for building heavy and basic industries at the hands of the imperialist monopolies did not meet with success. When India approached the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for aid in building heavy industry, it was readily given. Socialist aid was without any strings, was efficient and cheaper and the know-how and technical training were given to our workers without reservation. India succeeded in laying the foundations of a heavy machine-building industry, and in considerably expanding iron and steel, machine-tools, coal mining and oil industries.

Socialist aid is distributed over vital sectors of our national economy and helps to fulfil many basic needs in the same. New

branches of industry and projects which emerged as a result of socialist aid, go a long way to eliminate the legacy of the colonial past and reduce India's dependence on capitalist world market for trained manpower, materials and machinery. The giant industrial complexes now taking shape or expanding as at Bhilai, Barauni, Ranchi, Hardwar, Hyderabad, Neyveli and other places, stand as milestones on our road to economic self-sufficiency and independence.

17. In these years, apart from the growth of the state sector and the emergence of basic industries, significant progress was registered generally in the field of industrial development. In 1950-51 capital investments stood at Rs. 800 crores in the private sector and Rs. 922.6 crores in the public sector. In 1960-61 aggregate paid-up capital in the private sector was Rs. 1269.7 crores and in the public sector it was Rs. 2961 crores. There can be no doubt that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy within semi-colonial bounds has received a rebuff. India, no longer linked and dependent solely on the world capitalist market, has been able to advance along the road of independent industrial growth. If India had remained dependent on and linked, as before, only to the world capitalist market, she would have never been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy.

Despite her link and unequal relations with the world capitalist economy, India has been helped so much and enabled to go forward even by her partial and limited economic relations with the world socialist economy. One can imagine how rapid would have been the country's progress, if the government policies were not compromising or guided by the narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Development has been a slow halting process, extremely painful for the masses in terms of their sufferings and resulting in a miserably low rate of economic growth which compares unfavourably with that of many other underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa which gained their independence after India won hers. The obstacles that stand in the way of India's achieving full economic independence and national prosperity cannot

be swept aside precisely because of the compromising and reactionary features of the capitalist path.

### III

#### CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PATH OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

18. The outstanding and dangerous characteristic of the situation that must not escape attention is that all this is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations in industry and remnants of semi-feudal relations in agriculture. Despite the loud talk of socialism, what is developing under the leadership of the Congress party and the government, is capitalism—private capitalism in the private sector and state capitalism in the state sector.

It means that this development suffers from all inherent and inevitable contradictions, crises and serious limitations of the capitalist system and its basic laws.

19. The bourgeoisie draws the resources for industrial and economic development of India by laying increasing burdens on the common people, mainly in the form of growing indirect taxation, inflation and fleecing the peasantry through the capitalist market. Exploitation of wage-labour is being intensified in order to expand the investable surplus. Therefore, there is increasing contradiction between the growing industry and the impoverishment of the people. This impedes the development of industry itself and prevents the full utilisation of the productive capacity of industry and the manpower of the country. The rate of economic development lags seriously behind even the plan targets and recently has failed to keep pace with growth of population.

In particular, the failure to unleash the initiative of the peasant masses for an upsurge in agricultural production through radical land reforms, is one of the major factors contributing to the low rate of growth of national economy. The tardy implementation of the five-year plans resulted in serious shortfalls in many sectors of our economy. This also accounts for a low rate of increase in both national and per capita incomes.

The economy as a whole is beset with inflation, rising prices, growing grip of profiteers and speculators over the market, artificial scarcity of commodities caused by hoarders and black-marketeers and corruption on a huge scale.

This state of affairs is the inevitable outcome of Congress government's policy of relying heavily on foreign monopoly capital, of pursuing a policy of taxation and deficit financing which imposes heavy burdens on the common people and bolsters up private monopolists.

20. The national bourgeoisie in India, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists which control our foreign trade and some vital lines of production as in tea, jute, oil, etc. On the contrary, it tries to expand by inviting foreign private monopoly capital in partnership with itself.

21. Foreign private investments have trebled since independence. This is due not only to investment of retained profits and to inflation of book values to demand higher compensation in case of nationalisation and repatriation, but also due to growing collaboration with Indian monopoly capital.

The non-banking foreign private investments have now reached the figure of nearly Rs. 800 crores as compared with Rs. 256 crores in mid-1948. This foreign private capital is mostly entrenched in old and established undertakings like tea, jute, coal, etc. But many new ones are in vital industries such as oil, aluminium etc.

India's external trade is tied up with the world capitalist market and a very substantial share of her exports and imports goes to the foreign monopolies. As a result, every year many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, royalties, allowances, freight charges, interest payments, repatriation of inflated capital and under various other visible and invisible heads. This plunder considerably diminishes capital accumulation for our economy. It is through the collaboration agreements that foreign monopoly capital seeks to penetrate and dominate India's national economy, including the state sector.

22. The conditions on which so-called economic aid from the imperialist powers is secured hit our national interests and serve

the interests of imperialism. The economic aid from the west goes largely to meet balance of payment deficits resulting largely from India's unequal trade with the west. Owing to one-sided foreign trade, wherein about 90 per cent of the exports still go to the imperialist countries, our share of exports is continuously decreasing and we suffer a colossal loss owing to unequal exchange. Well over 50 per cent of the US aid has been used for importing foodgrains at high prices, compared to their internal cost of production, and the "aid", instead of helping us, hits our peasantry and development of our agriculture.

The huge rupee account accruing from the sale of the imported foodgrains from the USA under PL 480 is operated in a manner which is a menace to our independent development, as huge sums are left to be used by the US embassy as it pleases, and while still larger sums and channelled by "agreement" into private sector as foreign investments and for collaboration deals.

23. So long as foreign private monopolists are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given more concessions, India cannot develop fully a self-reliant national economy. Nor can the country's political life be made safe from the pressures, interference and blackmail by the imperialists who function closely linked with the reactionary circles within the country.

24. One of the most striking results of this path of capitalist development is the concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the broader sections of the national bourgeoisie to the detriment of the country's national economic independence.

It has been noted that in the capital assets of the corporate private sector, amounting to Rs. 3,000 crores, two monopoly houses (Tata and Birla) alone control Rs. 600 crores, i.e., one-fifth of the entire private sector in India.

The concentration of banking capital has proceeded to such lengths that on a paid-up capital of Rs. 39.97 crores, it gathers and utilises public deposits of around Rs. 1850 crores (excluding deposits with the State Bank of India). And it uses these to finance the industries of its own directors and related houses.

It advances credits for hoarding and speculation and holds society to ransom by enabling hoarders to create a crisis of supplies and prices.

Five big banks dominate the credit structure of the country. The top bosses of these banks and those of the giant industrial and business monopolies are the same set of millionaires. A study of 4,174 directorships showed that 44 persons held 2,000 of them and 520 persons held the remaining 2,174.

Despite the growth of the state sector, concentration of economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists has grown. They have not only a firm grip over industries but have also established a dominant position in banking and wholesale trade. In fact, these monopolies, representing a combination of industrial, banking and marketing companies have grown under the plan of economic development and are now threatening the very future of that planning through price racketeering, hoarding and blackmarketing in an unprecedented way.

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. Thus the big monopolists not only hold strong positions in their own private sector, but infiltrate into the state sector and companies and banks and use "public money" for their own personal aggrandisement and profit. Together with foreign monopolists, they work for various types of collaboration with the public sector in order to secure a firmer foothold there. The government's method of running the state sector, its attitude towards the workers and towards criticism from the public, lead to waste and inefficiency, intensify strife and conflict and give rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by the enemies of the state sector. Further, the public sector being under bureaucratic management and devoid of democratic control is all the more vulnerable to the pressure of the monopoly groups.

Hence differentiation is growing within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie which is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. This is most sharply expressed in the emergence of these monopoly groups. Their growing grip over

the economic and political life of the country is coming in conflict with the vital interests of the masses, harming the interests of broad sections of the national bourgeoisie and endangering India's march towards economic independence itself. In the economic sphere, they seek to annul the dominant role of the public sector, so essential for the development of national economy; they facilitate the penetration of foreign monopoly capital through anti-national collaboration agreements. They aggravate the economic crisis by fostering price-rise, corruption, hoarding and blackmarketing through their hold over the banking system and close ties with mercantile capital.

In the political sphere they seek to consolidate the right reactionary forces in the country to bolster up the right-wing in the ruling party, they unleash an offensive against all progressive and national policies and organise an anti-communist offensive to defeat and disrupt the democratic forces.

They seek to subvert the foreign policy of nonalignment and peace and give it a pro-imperialist orientation.

Such are the contradictions and crises which the capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling national bourgeoisie engenders, proving every day its bankruptcy to the masses.

#### IV

#### CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

25. The condition of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially as most of the increasing wealth is being concentrated in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen are hit by the policies of the government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

26. Not only total production, but also the productivity of the worker has increased. Yet his share in the increasing wealth has fallen, while that of his employer has risen. The rise in price

depresses the real wages of the worker. When he fights and succeeds in getting a wage rise, it proves to be unstable due to rising prices of essential goods.

During these last few years, the working class has succeeded in forcing the employers and government to introduce some order and standard in the anarchy of wages prevailing in the capitalist system by means of wage boards, commissions, tribunals, tripartite conventions and collective bargaining. Sickness insurance, provident fund schemes, holidays with pay have been secured in organised industries. A well-defined national minimum wage has been accepted in principle. The organised strength of the trade unions and the striking power of the working class have increased.

Yet, for securing the implementation of all these gains, the worker has had to pay a high price in sacrifices and struggles. The right of recognition to trade unions and collective bargaining can still be denied by the employers (both in public and private sectors). While the worker is forced to accept his obligations to production, the employer can deny his with impunity. While employment has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment is growing faster, thus depressing the living standards of families of the working people. The perpetual slums and the slogans about their clearance are a standing commentary on the housing conditions of the workers while there is no dearth in the number of the palaces of the bourgeoisie. Trade-union rights which are the essence of democracy have no sanctity and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. The result is that industrial peace is disturbed and workers have to resort to strikes and other forms of action to protect their interests.

27. Millions of our peasants live in appalling poverty and backwardness. Despite the acts abolishing landlordism, three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. Legal limitation on rents, provision of credits and loans, development of irrigation and other facilities have brought some relief to a certain stratum of the peasantry. But the high



taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or a living and in many backward areas they are treated no better than serfs.

The middle classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living and declining living standards are their lot too. In recent years, the number of middle-class unemployed has grown considerably. The middle-class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, newspapers, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of life as the industrial workers.

28. The large mass of the urban and rural intelligentsia, especially the youth, is suffering from growing high cost and the inadequacy of higher educational and cultural facilities in science, technology and arts. And not all those who are lucky in getting such necessary education get jobs due to low rate of industrial and economic growth. The problem of educated unemployed is serious and is leading to frustration and other moods in this very important class.

29. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers. Allocation of raw materials, transport facilities, import-export and capital issue licences are made by the government and bureaucrats in such a way that the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of the big business. Many small and medium industries are adversely hit and those engaged in smallscale village industries live in a permanent crisis.

## V

### AGRARIAN QUESTION

30. Agriculture constitutes the major sector of our national economy, accounting for 46.8 per cent of the national income. As much as 69.5 per cent of the total population derives its

livelihood from agriculture, which covers 324 million acres of cultivated land while 60 million acres of cultivable land are lying fallow.

31. Independent India inherited from British rule a backward and decaying agrarian system which, despite the growth of commodity production and money economy that took place during the British regime, remained under the domination of feudal landlordism and a variety of other semi-feudal vested interests. The main features of this agrarian system were—(i) a rack-rented, pauperised and resourceless peasantry which was the victim of triple exploitation of heavy rents and taxes, usurious rates of interest and a price mechanism which fleeced it both as a producer and consumer, (ii) creation of intermediaries in land by dispossessing peasant producers, (iii) primitive methods of cultivation with an extremely low level of yield per acre, (iv) very poorly developed means of irrigation and the almost complete dependence of crops on the monsoon and other seasonal vagaries, (v) total absence of modern credit facilities and the subjection of the mass of peasantry to the usurious exactions of moneylenders, (vi) total absence of any direct state aid to the peasantry for developing agricultural production, and (vii) concentration of land in a few hands. It is patent that such a system, which imposed heavy shackles on the forces of agricultural production, brought about a continuous fall in the purchasing power of the peasantry and thereby seriously curtailed and restricted the home market, could not serve as a base for the economic development of the country after independence.

32. The national bourgeoisie, having secured state power, set itself the task of putting the country on the path of independent capitalist development. This development could not take place without the initial reorganisation of agriculture, which had to be lifted out of its age-long backwardness and freed from the shackles of feudal vested interests if the needs of a growing industrial economy in respect of food and raw materials had to be met.

33. The main aim of Congress agrarian legislation has been to replace semi-feudal relations and forms of production in agriculture by capitalist relations and capitalist forms of production.

In pursuance of this general aim the Congress governments have substantially curbed feudal vested interests through various legislative measures; they have enacted laws for tenancy reforms, for imposing ceilings on landownership, for the consolidation of land holdings, for minimum wages to agricultural labourers, etc. The enactment of these anti-feudal measures has gone hand in hand with conscious efforts to develop and foster a class of rich peasants and capitalist landlords who could become the backbone of the new capitalist-agrarian set-up and who, with state aid, could expand production, adopt modern technique, develop money crops as raw material for industries, build and sustain cooperative credit institutions, etc. But it is important to note that the ruling national bourgeoisie, being itself an exploiting class, did not pursue these aims on the basis of an all-out offensive against the semi-feudal vested interests, but through a process of compromise with and concessions to the latter. Hence, Congress agrarian reforms did not bring about a radical transformation of the agrarian set-up in the interests of the mass of the peasantry. On the other hand, while effecting certain changes in the old order, they left a considerable scope for the semi-feudal exploiting interests to maintain and rehabilitate themselves under various legal and other devices. In most cases, the positive aspects of the legislation were counteracted by negative developments arising out of certain loopholes left in the legislative measures themselves. No wonder that in the totality the gains of agrarian legislation under Congress rule have been partial and limited, being confined mainly to the upper strata of the rural population, while a large section of the toiling peasantry still lives in conditions of gross poverty and subject to multifarious forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

34. The policy of compromise with semi-feudal interests has naturally given birth to certain glaring contradictions in the agrarian set up under Congress rule. Take, for example, the abolition of statutory landlordism in the so-called zamindari areas. There is no doubt that the various legislative measures seeking to abolish zamindaries, jagirdaries, inam and such other systems of semi-feudal landlordism have affected the lives of millions of peasants and agricultural labourers over large parts of the coun-

try. Because of these measures, proprietary rights of the semi-feudal intermediaries over tens of millions of acres of cultivated land under peasant occupation and over large areas of forest, pasture and wastelands have been extinguished. The position of peasants who have thus acquired ownership or permanent occupancy rights has undoubtedly been strengthened inasmuch as they have been relieved of feudal harassments, illegal feudal levies and arbitrary evictions by landlords under legal and economic pressures.

But since agrarian legislation in this respect was based essentially on compromise with semi-feudal vested interests, millions of peasants were allowed to be evicted either forcibly on the basis of wrong land records or under various legal devices provided for in the Zamindari Abolition Acts themselves. This happened particularly in the name of resumption by landlords for self-cultivation of *sir*, *khudkasht* or *bakasht* lands, which come to about 64 million acres. Thus a big section of the peasantry got uprooted from the soil during the very process of zamindari abolition and the great bulk of them either joined the ranks of agricultural workers or again became tenants-at-will of their former feudal or semi-feudal exploiters. Apart from this, the entire burden of compensation amounting to Rs. 641 crores fell on the shoulders of the peasantry of these areas. This amount is still being realised from the peasantry by the state either directly or in the form of enhanced rents or indirectly in the form of taxes.

35. Despite the legal abolition of statutory landlordism, some of the worst forms of semi-feudal exploitation, such as subletting or leasing at exorbitant rents and share-cropping are still widely prevalent in the erstwhile statutory zamindari areas. Though self-cultivation by all categories of landholders has expanded, yet subletting and share-cropping still continue to occupy a significant place in the rural economy of these areas.

The *batai* system which forces the tiller to part with as much as 50 per cent or even more of his produce to the landlord prevails in open and disguised forms. West Bengal has been and is still, even after the abolition of statutory landlordism, a classical example of this type of semi-feudal exploitation. There a big

section of the peasantry is still the victim of a most iniquitous and oppressive system of share-cropping.

36. In the ryotwari areas, as is well known, a class of landlords had already developed under the British regime. These landlords, though they came under the legal terminology of raiyats, nonetheless enjoyed complete ownership rights and exploited a vast number of tenants-at-will through rack-renting. Tenancy reforms carried out in these areas provide for certain security of tenure and reduction of rent to the tenants: simultaneously, they provide for the right of resumption to the landlords. This right, however, became a weapon in the hands of landlords for evicting their tenants on a mass scale. A very small percentage of the tenants actually benefited by these laws. On the other hand, the landlords carried out the eviction of the maximum number of tenants, sold parts of their holdings, began self-cultivation on certain other parts or after eviction leased out their holdings again to the same tenants under various disguises.

37. The ceiling laws have similarly defeated their own purpose. There were so many loopholes in these laws for the landlords to escape that the entire ceiling legislation has turned out to be almost a farce. Big landholders sold out parts of their holdings before the imposition of ceilings, the remaining land they successfully divided up among their own family members and relations, while some land was saved by falsely declaring it as orchard land. The net result was that in no state did the landless peasantry get any land on account of ceiling legislation. The utter ineffectiveness of this legislation is seen from the fact that, despite it, a high degree of land concentration in the hands of the upper strata of rural society still persists. It is noteworthy that in the country as a whole 2.43 per cent of total rural households, each owning more than 30 acres, hold between them 28.5 per cent of the total land, whereas at the other end 82.5 per cent own between them only 27.43 per cent of the total land.

38. Despite the oft-repeated declarations of the Congress governments to curb usury and establish modern credit institutions, the vast mass of peasantry still continues to be in the grip of usurious semi-feudal vested interests. The fact is that from 1951-52 to 1961-62, the proportion of credit supplied by coopera-

tive credit societies has increased from 3.1 per cent to 8 per cent only. The rest of the 92 per cent of the credit is still supplied by professional moneylenders at usurious rates of interest. During this very period, the indebtedness of cultivators has increased from Rs. 954 crores to Rs. 1,332 crores. It is obvious that nothing short of compulsory and substantial scaling down of all rural debts, cancellation of the indebtedness of agricultural labourers, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions and supply of adequate long-term credit at cheap rates to the peasants could break the stranglehold of usurious vested interests over agriculture and enable the productive forces to expand.

39. The cooperative movement has a vital role to play in the development of the rural economy of our country. The organisation and democratisation of cooperatives of various types on a big scale can provide the mass of the peasantry with a weapon not only to fight against the grip of moneylenders, traders and hoarders, but also to make an important contribution to the strengthening of national economy by increasing food and raw material production and improving the lot of the rural population. To ensure this, all provisions of the Cooperative Acts which hinder such a development will have to be amended.

40. The failure of the Congress agrarian legislation to protect the actual tiller of the soil from exploitation of the upper classes of landholders is seen most strikingly in the conditions of life and labour of the agricultural workers who constitute not less than one-fourth of the rural population with regional variation going up to 40 per cent. This disinherited section of the population has been the worst victim of semi-feudal exploitation and the present agrarian set-up holds out for it no promise of relief or rehabilitation. Even the so-called minimum wage legislation for agricultural workers has remained only on paper. About one-half of them do not own any piece of land. More than three-fourths of them are casual workers who are employed for less than six months a year. The general level of their wage rates is very low and they receive a part of the wage in kind. The incidence of indebtedness amongst them is very high and a large number of them work under conditions of bond slavery. Most of them, coming as they do from the lowest stratum of society,

are still subject to multifarious forms of medieval social oppression. In recent years, agricultural workers in large numbers have taken recourse to struggle for the distribution of waste and surplus land to the landless, for free housing sites, higher wages, employment, education and for social equality. Any system of agrarian reforms which does not take fully into account the interests of this vital massive section of the rural population cannot possibly regenerate rural life. The utter failure of the Congress agrarian reforms in this respect stands out in bold relief.

41. The Congress governments have poured out vast amounts of money, approximately Rs. 2,000 crores, in the rural areas for irrigation projects, community development projects and national extension schemes for bringing about an increase in agricultural production. With the same aim, they have developed and expanded credit cooperatives and promoted such technological measures as the use of fertilisers, improved implements, better seeds, etc. Though all these measures have helped to develop production to some extent, the main benefits flowing from them have been reaped by the upper strata of the rural population, particularly the rich peasants and the bigger landholders who dominate the village panchayats, credit societies and the block development organisations.

42. To sum up, the social consequences of the agrarian measures of the government have been as follows:

a. Feudal land relations have been curbed: Statutory semi-feudal landlordism has been abolished in the erstwhile zamindari areas. The major part of the area under cultivation is within the category of self-operated ownership holdings while the area under lease, which constituted the major area before land reform, is now confined to a small area. The curbing of the semi-feudal land relations together with independent capitalist development of the national economy has given an impetus to the growing commercialisation of agriculture, production for the market and increasing replacement of tenants-at-will by wage-labour.

b. In spite of these changes, strong survivals of semi-feudal land-relations continue to prevail. Semi-feudal subletting in the form of share-cropping and various other concealed forms of leasing such as joint partnership cultivation, etc., continue to

exist in a sizeable proportion of the land. Usury constitutes a strong survival of the semi-feudal mode of exploitation and is still predominant.

c. Capitalist relations of production have made significant inroads into the agrarian set-up. Cultivation by employing wage-labour on the part of landowners who do not themselves take part in the labour process has, of course, grown. Many semi-feudal landlords, as well as a section of rich peasants, have thus become capitalist farmers.

d. Interpenetration of the strong survivals of feudalism and growing capitalist relations of production is the dominant character of socio-economic life in India's countryside. Concentration of land in a few hands (10 per cent of the agricultural families possessing 58 per cent of land under cultivation) is a peculiar product of this interpenetration. Land so concentrated is partly cultivated by wage-labour with improved techniques and partly sublet in disguised form. The majority of the tillers of the soil are without any landownership (agricultural workers and share-croppers, etc.).

e. The economy of the bulk of the self-cultivating peasantry has not improved and continues to be a deficit economy on account of the continuation of semi-feudal burdens and the exploitation of the producers through the market.

f. The number of agricultural labourers has grown as a result of mass evictions in the course of the agrarian reforms introduced by the Congress and the general impoverishment of the peasantry.

g. The survivals of semi-feudal modes of exploitation combined with the growth of commercialisation of agriculture has produced a new set of reactionary vested interests. Landlords, usurers and wholesale dealers, often combined in the same person, constitute the modern parasites holding up the progress of agriculture and supporting right reaction.

Though the abovementioned effects of Congress agrarian legislation are common to the country as a whole, the degree of their intensity varies not only from state to state, but also from region to region within a state.

43. The stranglehold of commercial and financial interests

over the rural market during the last several years has been tightened enormously. The price mechanism and market manipulations deprive the peasants of whatever little benefits they secure on account of land reforms and technological development. The peasant is fleeced by commercial capital, both as a producer and as a consumer. Utter instability of agricultural prices makes agricultural operations a gamble in which the producer invariably loses to big business. Violent fluctuations in the prices of commercial crops often bring ruin to millions of cultivators. The producers of cash crops which are exported are often ruined on account of sharp and sudden fall of prices, due to price manipulations by monopoly interests in the world capitalist market. Hence the question of remunerative and stable prices of agricultural produce has assumed great importance for all sections of the peasantry. It is in this context that the question of state trading in foodgrains has assumed urgency. The failure of the Congress governments to introduce state trading in agricultural commodities has not only strengthened big speculators and hoarders but has thrown the mass of the peasantry to the tender mercies of commercial and financial sharks.

44. The agrarian policies of the national bourgeoisie are now in a state of crisis. All its vacillations, weaknesses and compromises in favour of the rural and urban propertied classes are now coming home to roost. After registering an initial release of some productive forces and expansion of agricultural output, the agrarian economy has started stagnating and agricultural production is not growing. In fact, the rate of growth in agriculture has lagged far behind the rate of growth in other sectors of economy and national planning is facing a critical situation on this account. Chronic food deficits and a precarious reliance on foreign food imports have become the order of the day. In the countryside, the impoverishment of the mass of the toiling peasantry is growing. Landlessness is on the increase. To the traditional exploitation of the peasants by the remnants of semi-feudal vested interests has been added a more intensified fleecing of the peasantry through the market by big trading interests, speculators and hoarders.

45. The solution of the agrarian problem, which directly

affects the interests of the vast majority of our population, is of the utmost importance for national regeneration of India. Without radical agrarian reforms and a conscious movement to increase productivity in agriculture, it is impossible to solve the food problem and accelerate the economic growth of the country. Hence a clean break has to be made with the past by reorganising our vast agricultural sector. In order to achieve this aim, the following measures must be carried out:

*First*, elimination of all feudal and semi-feudal survivals by breaking the concentration of land through the imposition of real ceilings and the distribution of surplus land to the landless and land-hungry peasants;

*Second*, abundant state aid to the peasants for (i) expanding producers' and consumers' cooperatives, and for (ii) using modern technique for the speedy development of production;

*Third*, nationalisation of banks and other credit institutions to ensure the supply of cheap long-term credit to the tillers;

*Fourth*, nationalisation of wholesale trade in agricultural produce and the introduction of policy of price-support to ensure stable and remunerative prices for the peasant-producers and the supply of all essential commodities to them at fair price; state-trading in foodgrains by taking over the wholesale trade;

*Fifth*, adequate living wage to the agricultural workers.

The Communist Party, the Party of the working class, will bend all its energies for bringing about these radical transformations in the agrarian life of the country. Basing itself on the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry and uniting all sections of the peasantry in their struggles, the Communist Party will leave no stone unturned in thus putting the toiling millions of our countryside on the high road to a new life of prosperity and freedom.

## VI

### BOURGEOISIE AND THE STATE

46. The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, which upholds and develops

capitalism and capitalist relations of production, distribution and exchange in the national economy of India.

In the formation and exercise of governmental power, the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence.

The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admits them in the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state levels, which allows them to hamper the adoption and implementation of laws and measures of land reform and further enables them to secure concessions at the cost of the peasantry.

In spite of the bourgeois class character of the state, the ushering in of the bourgeois democratic state was a historic advance over the imperialist-bureaucratic rule over our country.

47. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and certain fundamental rights for the people and directive principles for the state.

It must, however, be noted that although the Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, the people can exercise them only to a limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state in favour of the exploiting classes. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people by putting them under Section 144, even for months and years, under the plea of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. The Preventive Detention Act and DIR are used against democratic forces. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly brutal against the workers, peasants and other toiling and common people when they act in defence of their rights and demands in a resolute manner. These anti-democratic tendencies were further demonstrated when the elected communist-led ministry in Kerala was removed by using the arbitrary dictatorial powers of the President.

Even with these limitations, the existence of these rights in the Constitution can be made the platform and instrument of struggles of the people for enlarging democracy and defending their interests.

48. Although a form of class rule, India's present parliamentary democracy has enabled the people to a certain extent to fight the distortion of that class rule in the direction of autocracy in the service of reactionary monopoly and landlord interests. India's Parliament has provided a forum for the people to intervene in the affairs of the state in a measure and to voice the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, to counter imperialist conspiracies and for demanding social transformations in favour of the people such as land reforms, working-class rights, curb on monopolies, etc.

49. Within the national bourgeoisie itself, as the top monopolist groups get more and more differentiated from the rest of the bourgeoisie, a struggle grows among the various sections to get hold of the parliamentary machine in order to wield power over the budget and other economic measures, laws and policies and to shape them in their own particular group interests.

The influence of foreign monopoly interests is also felt in these developments, in which they generally support those monopoly groups and princely feudal circles who demand measures that facilitate the entry of foreign capital in the country, who demand curtailment of the state sector and the abandonment of nonalignment.

50. The monopolist groups and feudal circles represent the main anti-democratic forces of reaction in the country. Their constant effort is to exercise pressure to shift Parliament and government policies to the right. Hence they oppose extension of democracy, support restrictions on parliamentary democracy and promote bureaucratic authoritarianism.

Hence the democratic and socialist forces back the strengthening of the state sector and its democratic control, and parliamentary democracy.

51. Since there is no right to recall, the masses have no means to intervene immediately when their elected representatives are found going against their interests, except through the five-yearly elections. The elections under the capitalist regime, however free they may be, are intrinsically loaded against the toiling masses as the press and other means of propaganda are control-

led by monopoly interests, and as the ruling party is influenced by the millionaires who donate to the election funds.

Under such conditions, extra-parliamentary mass struggles become the effective vehicle of influencing and changing the course of parliamentary policies in favour of the masses and against the monopolists, which in effect means the defence of democracy and Parliament itself.

52. One of the most important problems which Indian democracy had to face on the attainment of national independence was the re-fashioning of the state structure in a manner which would ensure democracy and opportunities of economic and political development in equal measure to all the constituent units of the Indian nation—units distinguished by their well-defined territories, developed languages, history and cultural features. It was faced with the problem of eliminating casteism and religious communalism, of eradicating the curse of untouchability and caste discrimination, of ensuring rapid development of and equality to the tribal and backward people.

The imperialist rulers had divided India into feudal states and into arbitrarily carved provinces in order to prevent India growing into a united democratic nation, to prevent its various language groups from flourishing and prospering in a united India and to divide and weaken the national-liberation struggle.

Imperialism used casteism and communalism, especially Hindu-Muslim antagonism, to disrupt the freedom struggle, to split the country into two states of India and Pakistan, to weaken the independence of both.

53. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of Republican India on the basis of linguistic principle, granting full autonomy to the states so formed. The national bourgeoisie abolished the princely states and merged them in the Indian Union. But, under the influence of the shortsighted and reactionary monopolist groups, it refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis and re-draw their boundaries on the basis of contiguity and taking the village as the unit. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the

democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

54. The Communist Party has always stood for the formation of linguistic states, for regional autonomy for the tribal people in their majority areas, ensuring equal opportunity for development and democracy to all the constituent units of the Indian Union. The Communist Party stands for the complete eradication of untouchability and caste discrimination against the so-called scheduled castes by eliminating remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression, by securing land to these people and by taking effective measures for the rapid liquidation of their cultural backwardness.

55. Although our state structure is a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the central government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy limited autonomy and power. This restricts their rapid economic and cultural growth.

56. In such a situation, contradictions develop between the central government and the states. The uneven development of capitalism in the British period has led to some states being industrially advanced and some being backward. This unevenness has not been overcome by the five-year plans, despite the spread of investments, due to the influence of the big bourgeoisie, which tries to draw all new capital to the centres of its old investments. Instead of seeking a democratic solution to these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to chauvinism and provincialism and other disruptive influences which impede the progress of each state and the country as a whole.

57. There are certain areas of the country which are centrally administered. Some of these are governed exclusively by officers appointed by the central government, while some have elected legislative bodies having limited powers. The central government exercises overall control over these areas and their heads of administration are vested with wide powers to overrule the local councils of ministers. In some areas the people have been given the right to elect representatives to Parliament but not the right to elect a local legislature.

In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by tribal people who have their own distinct language, culture and tradition of independent tribal states. These Adivasi people are undergoing rapid transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness which finds no expression for growth in their present conditions of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union with whom they cannot get easily assimilated. They demand regional autonomy under their own guidance and control to advance their interests. In some cases they demand statehood for their region where their numbers and geographical lay-out permit such a possibility.

But the national bourgeoisie, for whom these tribals become good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who, because of their tribal conditions which are fast breaking down, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or by some concessions to their top layers. As a result, some of these areas become a hunting ground for imperialist intrigues.

Although the Constitution is based on principles of secularism and guarantees equal rights and opportunities for the minorities, these rights are however often distorted, whittled down and even disregarded when it comes to their implementation. The minorities, especially the Muslim minority, suffer from discriminatory practices in administrative, cultural, economic and other spheres of public life. During communal riots, their life and property are not given the due protection as has been witnessed time and again.

Funds allocated for the uplift and well-being of the backward communities are not being properly used. Even the law for the abolition of untouchability remains yet to be enforced to ensure the complete eradication of this evil.

58. The administrative system being based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interest of the exploiting classes. As these classes in their competition utilise their power

of money to influence the administrative organs for their private gain, corruption permeates the highest circles of authority, including officials from top to bottom, with the result that corruption has become a serious danger to public life.

Local organs of self-government, which are supposed to draw the masses into direct administration of local affairs and development and thereby provide a democratic correction to bureaucratic centralisation and which can be utilised to a certain extent in favour of the people by forging broad democratic unity, are themselves made subject to the dictates of high officials with their control over revenues, advances and loans for the work of the panchayats and their constructive activities. The powers to remove and supersede elected bodies of local self-government are used at will in order to suppress the growth of democratic forces. The so-called panchayati raj of the people thus becomes an instrument of the bourgeoisie seeking to consolidate its power in the countryside.

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

60. The limitations of parliamentary democracy that exist arise from the class role of the bourgeoisie. With the growth of monopoly and right reaction, a new threat arises aimed at undermining even the existing democratic liberties and parliamentary democracy as a whole.

It is the right reactionary forces which undermine the parliamentary system, both from within and without, by making it an instrument to advance their narrow class interests and to repress the toiling masses. The Communist Party defends the parliamentary and democratic institutions and strives to preserve and develop them further, to make democracy full and real for all.



## VII FOREIGN POLICY

61. The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism. It conforms to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, meets the needs of India's economic development and reflects the sentiments of the mass of people of India. It is sometimes vitiated by lapses and compromises, but as a whole the main character of the policy has been generally preserved.

In the earlier years, India's foreign policy suffered from the imprint of British pressures, an inheritance from previous dependence. But soon it underwent significant change.

62. Disillusionment with Anglo-American imperialist policy with regard to India and other South-East Asian countries, the growing contradictions between the consolidation of independence and independent development of national economies of young countries and the neo-colonialist ambitions of imperialists, the self-confidence and strength born out of the consolidation of the Indian state structure, the rising tempo of the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa, the weakening and retreat of imperialism and the mounting strength of the socialist world, and the strong peace-loving and anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people brought about a new turn in India's foreign policy. The policy of nonalignment was positively formulated. There were the famous Panchsheel Pact with the People's Republic of China in 1954, and the Bandung Conference in 1955. Friendship with the socialist countries began to be developed and economic cooperation with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit followed. The policy of anti-colonialism was demonstrated in the forthright condemnation of the imperialist invasion of Egypt and unequivocal support given in the UN to the resolution on anti-colonialism and the liberation of all colonial countries. The government voiced support for peace and peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament, for the banning of atomic weapons and for Afro-Asian solidarity.

63. The policy of nonalignment and anti-colonialism was

strengthened further when India took military action in December 1961 to liberate and recover her territory of Goa, Daman and Diu from the four-hundred-year-old occupation of the Portuguese imperialists, who refused to yield to negotiations. The Anglo-American imperialists disapproved of this action of India, while the socialist camp and newly-liberated countries supported the government and people of India in their just action. The policy that was pursued strengthened the forces of peace and anti-colonialism and earned for India a high place in the peace-loving countries of the world.

64. The imperialist disapproval of India's policy is also seen in their encouragement to Pakistan in its aggressive attitude towards Kashmir and its claim to that state of the Indian Union. The imperialists support the policy of creating a hotbed of tension in Kashmir by befriending Pakistan in the Security Council. As a result, Pakistan refuses to agree to India's repeated proposal for a pact of friendship, non-aggression and peace.

65. The Chinese invasion of October 1962 gave a rude shock to the Indian people. The anger of the people was sought to be used by extreme right reaction to attack India's policy of nonalignment and Panchsheel, the leadership of Nehru himself was assailed and his resignation demanded since he was the main architect of this policy. Immense pressure was put on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy of nonalignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists.

66. Thanks to the firm stand taken in defence of the policy of nonalignment by Nehru backed by the Indian people, the correct positions taken by the Communist Party of India in regard to national defence, the settlement of Cuban crisis which averted a world war, the friendly attitude of the USSR and other socialist countries towards India and the ceasefire by the Chinese after a short-lived advance, India's foreign policy survived the severest crisis it ever faced.

67. But the Chinese aggression had so strengthened the political onslaught of right reaction that for some time they were able to weaken the policy of nonalignment and anti-colonialism. The VOA deal episode, government's hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically against the extension of the operation of

the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, or rather the evasion of the issue, the joint air-exercises, etc., are instances.

68. That the policy of nonalignment has been preserved in the main is borne out not only by formal declarations but also by the fact that in the midst of the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right reaction, the Government of India supported the sovereignty of Cuba during the Caribbean crisis, continued to back the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the UN, endorsed the nuclear test-ban treaty, yielded to the popular demand to cancel the Voice of America deal, and rejected the imperialist offer of an Air-Umbrella against China.

69. The main opponents of India's foreign policy are monopoly capitalist circles having strong links with Anglo-American capital and the remnants of the feudal princely order who go with them. The parties which oppose India's policy of nonalignment generally draw their main support from these classes.

These circles get support from the rightwing inside the Congress. Thus they are in a position to attack it, both from within and outside the Congress, and exert pressure on government for a shift towards a close alliance with the Anglo-American bloc.

There are often serious vacillations on the part of the Congress government, which are not in conformity with India's general foreign policy. For example, the Government of India has not so far given formal diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic. There are marked failures in taking a consistent and firm stand against neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of imperialists (e.g., on Congo, South Vietnam, Malaysia). This tarnishes India's anti-imperialist anti-colonialist image in the eyes of the African and Asian nations. Therefore, the democratic forces must exercise vigilance and mobilise the masses in broad peace and solidarity movements to counteract these pressures and to prevent these weaknesses and vacillations in India's foreign policy.

The policy of nonalignment, peace and anti-colonialism has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction. The policy of nonalignment is a positive

and progressive policy for all non-socialist newly-liberated countries and its main strength is derived from the existence and support of the socialist camp in the new epoch, when socialism is becoming the decisive trend in world history and when imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to subvert independence attained by its former colonies.

Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.

## VIII

### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE PATH FORWARD

70. Which path should India take in order to complete the national democratic revolution, wipe out all legacies of the former imperialist rule, develop industry and agriculture rapidly, abolish unemployment, raise the incomes and standards of living of the masses, help their cultural advancement, democratise social life and take the country forward to a bright happy future?

Life itself teaches our people that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger, along the path of capitalist development which India is following at present.

71. The people's urges for rapid progress and for a better life are seen in the tremendous popularity of the ideas of socialism. Socialism goes on influencing and radicalising the minds of our people chiefly by its economic and other achievements. No wonder, even bourgeois politicians today are constrained to use socialist slogans. The ruling Congress party has even proclaimed the establishment of a "socialist state" as its goal.

72. The example of the socialist countries in successfully solving problems similar to the ones we are facing, the possibility of drawing on the varied and increasing assistance from socialist countries for India's rapid industrialisation and development, the general discrediting of capitalism and our people's own painful experience of it, the growing force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses, the advance of the democratic movement

and the increasing role of the working class in the political life of the nation—all this shows that as a result of both external and internal factors our people are wanting to break with the capitalist path of development and are seeking an alternative path. Already vast sections of our people have rallied to resolute struggles for eliminating the power of foreign monopolists, for curbing their Indian counterparts and for radical agrarian reforms, for radical changes in our social and political life.

73. The Communist Party believes that real socialist reconstruction of society, which is free from capitalist crisis, can be undertaken only by applying the scientific and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to Indian conditions.

The basic requisites of socialism are the social ownership, control and management of the main means of production, exchange and distribution, and the establishment of a state of workers, peasants and the middle classes headed by the working class. The Communist Party of India declares that this is the goal of India's future economic and political development. It leads the working people to the establishment of a proletarian statehood, a real, genuine democracy for carrying out socialist transformation.

74. In order to embark on the socialist road and begin the construction of a socialist society, India has, however, to go through the stage of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. The main tasks to be carried out by the national-democratic revolution are set forth in detail in a subsequent section.

75. But the present government, which represents the national bourgeoisie and is pursuing the path of building independent national economy along the path of capitalist development, is incapable of implementing this programme.

The conflicts and contradictions of the path of capitalist development—which we have outlined in the previous sections, condemn our country to a low rate of economic growth, to stagnating agriculture, to growing inequalities of income, to continuing low standards of living of the broad masses. They also lead to the growing power of monopoly groups which, in alliance with feudal elements and in collaboration with foreign

monopoly capital, are presenting an increasing threat to India's independent economic development itself.

That is exactly the reason why an ever-growing number of our patriotic people is asking the question: Must India travel the capitalist path? Is there no other path? The programme we have put forward is such an alternative path of development.

76. This alternative path will mean first and foremost the reversal of the present process of development of capitalism with the disastrous consequences outlined above, though it would not mean the immediate liquidation of all capitalist relations.

*First* and foremost, the grip of foreign monopoly capital on our economy will be completely eliminated.

*Second*, a state sector, independent of foreign monopolies and functioning on a democratic basis, will be expanded and strengthened as a powerful lever for building a self-reliant national industry and economy.

*Third*, Indian monopoly combines who have concentrated in their hands economic power in industry, commerce, banking, etc. will be broken up, and any tendency to development of monopoly will be effectively checked.

*Fourth*, the power of landlord and feudal remnants will be completely eliminated; radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry will be carried out and the grip of usurious, trading and bank capital on our agriculture will be removed.

This will open up for our people a path of development which, through far-reaching reforms, unshackles the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensures rapid economic growth, rising living standards of the masses and their active participation in production. The intervening stage can be described as the stage of non-capitalist path of development. In this stage the main direction of the economy will be on such lines and the growth of capitalism will be progressively restricted and the prerequisites created for putting our country on the road to socialism.

77. Which are the classes interested in carrying through this programme?

*First* and foremost, the working class, which stands for the

complete and consistent carrying out of this programme and which has already begun to rise in countrywide mass actions, demanding the implementation of some of the items of the same.

*Second*, the broad masses of the cultivating peasants, including the rich peasants and the agricultural labourers. The completion of the radical agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry, as well as other democratic reforms given in the programme will unshackle the productive forces of the cultivating peasantry and enable fuller employment of the labour power of the landless peasants and agricultural workers, ensuring steady rise of agricultural production and of the living standards of the rural masses.

*Third*, the rising class of urban and rural intelligentsia which is suffering from unemployment, impoverishment and inadequate facilities for educational and cultural development under the present dispensation.

*Finally*, the national bourgeoisie, excluding its monopoly section, which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, without which it knows truly independent national economy cannot be built, nor backwardness and impoverishment eradicated. But this class is also an exploiting class in the present society and as such has a dual nature. While it strives to eliminate the imperialist grip and the feudal remnants from our economy in its own interests, it vacillates and is inclined to compromise with these elements and pursues anti-people policies.

In this connection, it is important to note, as pointed out earlier, that capitalist development has resulted in a certain differentiation in the national bourgeoisie, powerful monopolist groups have arisen, which in alliance with reactionary parties outside the ruling Congress party, as well as with rightwing elements within it are seeking to subvert national policies and bring about changes which will harm the interests of the bulk of the national bourgeoisie.

78. Thus, in order to create the instrument for implementing the programme we will have to build a National Democratic Front, bringing together all the patriotic forces of the country, viz., the working class, the entire peasantry, including the rich

peasants and agricultural labourers, the intelligentsia and the non-monopolist bourgeoisie. The worker-peasant alliance will be the basis and pivot of the front.

Such a front is not in existence today because a section of the democratic masses still support the ruling Congress party, while another section of these very democratic masses is fighting the anti-people policies of the ruling party. The National Democratic Front will arise and take shape in overcoming the main rift among the democratic masses and uniting them. It will be forged in the course of countrywide national mass movements, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles, which are aimed at isolating and defeating the forces of right reaction, and strive to bring about radical changes in the policies and the set-up of the government, necessary for the implementation of the above programme.

79. The working class, forging the unity of its class organisations, will have to take the initiative in launching this national mass movement. Its struggle for the defence and betterment of its living standards, for democratic measures like the nationalisation of banks, oil monopolies and foreign trade, and for the expansion and democratisation of the state sector will form a vital part of this national movement.

This national movement will attain its countrywide sweep and striking force when it embraces the broad masses of peasantry and the agricultural labourers in the vast rural areas. The struggles of the broad masses of the cultivating peasantry, for consistent and thorough completion of agrarian reforms eliminating feudal survivals, for putting peasant economy on a sound footing, for ensuring protection from the exploitation by trading and usury capital, for the expansion of credit facilities and the increasing use of the modern technique; as well as the struggles of the landless peasants and agricultural labourers for fallow and surplus land, for minimum living wage, for setting up state farms and other rehabilitation schemes for scheduled caste and Adivasi landless—all these struggles of the broad rural masses have a national significance. Their struggles for these demands are not only for raising their living conditions but also for the raising of the country's agricultural production, for eliminating

the recurring food crises and for creating a reliable base for our expanding industrialisation.

On the working class in the cities and urban areas rests the responsibility to assist the peasants and the agricultural workers to build their mass organisations and to develop their struggles as a part of the national campaign. This will bring into being the worker-peasant alliance, which, together with the mobilisation of the middle classes and the intelligentsia will be the main driving force behind the National Democratic Front.

The National Democratic Front will concentrate its attacks against the group of right reactionary forces not only in the economic and political spheres but also in the cultural sphere. The struggle on the ideological front assumes great importance in view of the fact that the outmoded feudal and imperialist ideologies continue to exert their reactionary influence among vast sections of our people. Casteism, communalism, religious obscurantism and all sorts of reactionary ideas, including those coming from western imperialist sources are being utilised and propagated to disrupt class unity, unity of the democratic forces and national integration and to undermine our people's faith in a secular, democratic and socialist future. An essential condition of the growth of the National Democratic Front is that our progressive middle-class intelligentsia, our patriotic writers, artists, teachers, journalists, etc., struggle for a cultural regeneration in an organised manner. They have not only to prevent the pollution of young minds with reactionary ideological poison, but also to inspire the fighting masses with optimism and an unshakable faith in a bright future.

The national movement will, of course, embrace the broad-based campaign for strengthening India's independent foreign policy of nonalignment, peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, for establishing relationship of friendship and cooperation with all countries, and especially socialist countries, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, for defending India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, for solving outstanding disputes with neighbours like Pakistan and China through peaceful negotiations and without interference of imperialism.

Developing out of the joint actions of the mass organisations

of workers, peasants, employees and agricultural workers, as well as of the Communist Party and other left and socialist parties, the National Democratic Front will draw into its ranks not only the masses following the Congress but also its progressive sections.

80. As the National Democratic Front becomes ever more broad-based, militant and powerful in the course of the rising tempo of the mass movement, it defeats the forces of reaction inside and outside the ruling party and comes to the position of taking governmental power into its own hands.

As the National Democratic Front is born out of struggles, mainly led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the revolutionary middle classes, along with whom the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie will also play a positive role and become its component part, the front on assuming power will eliminate the grip of foreign monopoly and break Indian monopoly combines, carry out fully all the necessary land reforms and establish national democracy.

The state will no longer be the organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie developing capitalist economy accompanied by its inherent contradictions and crises to the detriment of national interests and the interests of the common people. The monopoly of power of the bourgeoisie will be ended.

The national democratic state in the hands of the National Democratic Front will be a transitional stage, in which power will be jointly exercised by all those classes which are interested in eradicating imperialist interests, routing the semi-feudal elements and breaking the power of the monopolies. In this class alliance, the exclusive leadership of the working class is not yet established, though the exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie no longer exists.

As the government of the National Democratic Front and the class alliance it represents, will be based on the worker-peasant alliance as its pivot, the working class will increasingly come to occupy the leading position in the alliance, as it is this class which is the conscious initiator and builder of the National Democratic Front.

As a result of our experience of the last ten years of democra-

tic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly-independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present government and of its role in building independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of nonalignment and peace, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy. Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks, even crises in the economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance with feudal elements and foreign monopoly, are seeking to subvert national policies and set back of the clock of progress.

This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working-class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups, to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful National Democratic Front, to defeat reaction and to take the country away from the present bankrupt path of capitalist development to the alternative path of completing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and to break the power of the monopoly groups?

81. Objective conditions are most favourable for building up a national mass movement as described above and to forge a National Democratic Front in the course of it. It is possible to achieve this by utilising to the fullest the democratic rights and liberties that exist today and by pursuing steadfastly the policy of struggle against and uniting with the patriotic national bourgeoisie. In order to achieve this end, a ceaseless ideological struggle against anti-communism is also an essential task to be carried out.

The slogan of setting up the National Democratic Front and

later the government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilising force. That is why we make it the central slogan of this period.

82. Such a state including patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie acting under the constant pressure of the national mass movement from below, will be forced to act unitedly and implement the programme of national development in a non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, breaking Indian monopoly combines, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy to ensure the active participation of the working class in the economic and political life of the country. In this process the balance continuously shifts in favour of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, paving the way for the leadership of the working class in the state, thereby creating the conditions for transition to socialism.

## IX

### POLITICAL PARTIES

83. The Indian National Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, is the ruling party today. The role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Pandit Nehru's leadership has given it a big mass base, which extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class, peasantry, artisans, intellectuals and others.

The influence of the Congress, though much less than what it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is still vast and extensive. Thus the Congress has been and is still a very important factor in the political life of the country.

The division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow the democratic opposition is the most important division in our democratic forces today.

84. The bourgeoisie not being a homogeneous class, its contradictions reflect themselves within the Congress and in government policies also. Furthermore, the contradictions between

the anti-people policies of the Congress governments and the interests of the masses, expressed in mass discontent and struggles—accentuate the political divisions inside the Congress.

As a result, differences on policies and governmental measures are growing inside the Congress. For instance, there are differences on such vital issues as foreign policy, aid from socialist countries, conditions for the import of foreign monopoly capital, nationalisation of banks, price control, state-trading in food-grains and the implementation of land reforms.

85. Centring around these differences, progressive and reactionary trends inside the Congress are in the process of formation. The formation of the National Democratic Front does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or entering into a formal alliance with the Congress. Nevertheless, no National Democratic Front would be real unless the vast mass following of the Congress and the progressive sections of the Congress at various levels take their place in it. It is the task of the Communist Party to make ceaseless efforts to forge unity with the progressive forces within the Congress, directly and through common mass movements, to bring about a leftward shift in the policies of the government, to fight for the realisation of the demands of the National Democratic Front.

86. Among the parties of the left, other than the Communist Party, there are progressive and socialist elements and forces rallied under different parties, some of them having an all-India character. Sections of the leadership of some of these parties often opportunistically ally with right reaction and nurse anti-communism. It will be the constant endeavour of the Communist Party to win these elements, groups and parties for the National Democratic Front.

87. As against these parties, there are parties of right reaction.

The Swatantra Party is the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes, though these classes have not yet withdrawn their support from the Congress. They are trying to capture the leadership of the Congress through the extreme right within the Congress, and simultaneously they have set up the Swatantra Party in opposition to the Congress and other democratic parties. Their aim is to reverse the policies of the Congress in reactionary

directions. The Swatantra Party tries to unify all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policy and acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies. It is growing in the wake of the growth of the monopolies and the compromises of the Congress government with imperialism and feudalism.

The Jana Sangh and the RSS are not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organisations wedded to Hindu revivalism. They foment communal fanaticism against the minority community and organise communal rioting. The RSS is moreover, organised along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements.

The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal party. The Jamait-e-Islami, a reactionary revivalist Muslim organisation is also becoming more active in various parts of the country.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a party in the south, reflecting separatist tendencies allying itself with the Swatantra Party and the Muslim League on key political questions, but indulging in left demagogy, is a party that aims to divert and disrupt the democratic movement in the south.

The Akali Party is a communal party which has split into two groups with differences on important issues.

88. The reactionary organisations exercise a pull over a section of the masses by utilising their elementary discontent against the anti-people policies of the government, and playing upon backward, feudal and semi-feudal sentiments and prejudices. Very often the chauvinism and communalism of the rightist elements within the ruling party and the government bring grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary, communal, chauvinist leadership of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence.

89. The National Democratic Front will grow in strength and volume in the measure that it unleashes the struggle for the programme of national regeneration and the well-being of the masses and mobilises and consolidates the forces of democracy,

unity and national advance, as against the dark forces of communalism, separatism and reaction.

## X

### PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

90. The victorious National Democratic Front will form a national democratic government which will implement the following programme with a view to transforming the existing social-political order and lay the foundations for building of socialism.

#### 91. *International Relations:*

The national democratic government will defend and strengthen India's independent foreign policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism and firmly counteract all efforts to weaken or paralyse it.

a. It will strengthen the camp of peace by participating in common initiatives of peace-loving countries and all other peace forces for the reduction of international tension. It would fight for universal and complete disarmament, for banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all foreign military bases.

b. It will build solidarity with Afro-Asian and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism. It will give moral and material support to all countries which are struggling for national freedom. It will build close political, economic and cultural relations with newly-independent underdeveloped countries. It will accomplish India's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.

c. It will work for peaceful settlement of all differences and disputes with neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, China, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon and will establish friendly relations with them on the basis of Panchsheel.

d. It will develop relations of close cooperation with the socialist countries.

#### 92. *State Structure:*

The national democratic government will pursue policies and adopt measures which will strengthen national independence, territorial integrity of the country and the sovereignty of the people. It will safeguard and strengthen the secular character of the state and take all steps to cement India's national unity and the internal cohesion of our national political life.

#### *Strengthening Democracy:*

a. The national democratic government will put an end to the present bureaucratic set-up and will reorganise the administration and the services in such a way as to make them subordinate and responsible to popularly-elected state organs at all levels.

b. It will concretely enforce the directive principles of the Constitution through appropriate legislative and administrative measures, particularly the right to work, living wage, free education, social security, etc.

c. It will ensure inviolability of person and domicile, unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly and organisation, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

d. It will guarantee equal rights to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality; equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex.

e. It will abolish social disabilities from which women suffer. Women will be given opportunities to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to educational institutions, professions and services.

Special protection for mother and child, both in rural and urban areas, special services such as creches and child-care institutions, facilities to minimise domestic drudgery shall be provided to enable women to participate in nation-building activities. Vocational training shall also be given to women.

f. It will abolish social and economic oppression of one caste by another, as also all social and personal bans and prohibitions



imposed by the so-called upper castes on lower castes, especially the scheduled castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion. Such oppression shall be made punishable by law. It will pursue a policy of giving financial and other assistance for the educational and cultural advancement of the people belonging to scheduled and socially oppressed castes, to eradicate these inequalities.

g. It will ensure that effective steps are taken to settle all problems of displaced persons.

h. It will strengthen the secular basis of the state, ensure that any religious or communal institutions as such are not assisted from state funds. It will ensure that the interference by religious institutions in the affairs of the state is not given the protection of any rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Functions of a secular state will not be associated with religious ceremonies.

i. It will grant universal and equal suffrage to all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in the elections to Parliament, legislative assemblies and local bodies, through secret ballot. The principle of proportional representation will be adopted in all elections and the right to recall of elected representatives by the majority of electors will be established.

j. It will abolish the second chambers and such reactionary, outdated institutions and practices as the post of state governors, rule by ordinances, detention without trial and privy purses and other privileges of the princes.

k. It will establish the elected legislatures with full powers and responsible governments in centrally administered areas such as Delhi, Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, on par with the other states.

l. It will extend and strengthen elected local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities.

m. In order to ensure the independence of the judiciary, it will take steps to bring about complete separation of the judiciary from the executive. It will ensure simpler, cheaper and speedier justice, which will be within the reach of the common

man. The poorer sections of the population will be provided free legal aid by the state.

#### *National Integration:*

a. The national democratic government will complete the process of the formation of linguistic states and work out solution to the problem of inter-state boundaries by the application of the twin principles of contiguity and accepting village as the unit in the demarcation.

b. At the state level, it will ensure wider powers and greater financial resources to the various states comprising the Indian Union in the interest of their rapid economic and cultural development.

c. It will ensure that English as the medium of administration and instruction is replaced by Indian languages. Every state shall use its own language for its internal administrative purposes in all government departments, public institutions and in the law courts. It will also be the medium of instruction at all levels.

English will be gradually replaced by Hindi as the medium of communication between different state governments and between the centre and the state governments.

In Parliament and state legislatures, a member will have the right to use his mother-tongue. Simultaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings will be provided for in all state languages.

Urdu language and script will be protected in states and areas where it has been in traditional use. Sindhi language shall be included in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution. Provision will be made for large linguistic minorities in different states to receive education in their mother-tongue. All competitive examinations for all-India services will be conducted in all languages listed in Schedule VIII of the Constitution.

#### *Government Servants and the Army:*

a. The national democratic government will ensure to the employees of the government at all levels adequate salaries and DA, social insurance benefits, provident fund and pension or

gratuity, housing and other facilities. It will eliminate corruption, nepotism and such other evils that have engulfed government administrative apparatus. It will implement the just demands of government employees regarding appointments, promotions and conditions of service. These employees shall be assured of all democratic and trade-union rights, as well as the right to stand for election to all elected bodies.

b. It will ensure decent living standards for members of the armed forces, including the police, in the matter of salaries, housing, education of children, etc. It will take care of the families of members of the armed forces who are killed or disabled and will provide them with means for decent living.

c. It will ensure them all democratic rights which the citizens of our country enjoy, including the right to stand for election, consistent with the needs for maintaining the armed forces as a disciplined and efficient body in the discharge of their duty.

It will educate and infuse the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism, democracy and love for the people of our country.

### 93. *Industry and Commerce:*

a. The national democratic government will take effective steps to stop further entry of foreign private capital into the country. It will further adopt all necessary measures to bring about the total elimination of the existing foreign private capital from Indian national economy.

b. It will institute an enquiry into the anti-national and anti-people practices of the concerns of the Indian monopolists and will introduce measures to break the monopoly combines and thus eliminate their power in the life of the country. It will nationalise banks and other big credit institutions of the country. It will impose a ceiling on profits. In the case of existing large-scale industries producing cotton and jute manufactures, sugar, cement, etc., it will impose control over prices, raw materials and rate of profit.

c. It will rapidly expand the scope of the state sector and make it the dominant sector in our national economy, by vigorously developing the key and heavy industries in the state sector

and also by extending the sphere of nationalisation to banks, general insurance, foreign trade, oil, coal and other mines, and plantations.

It will take over industries and establishments where the industrial control measures prove inadequate to prevent mismanagement, corruption and profiteering by the capitalists and to protect the interests of the people and national economy.

It will reform and democratise the management of the state-sector undertakings by removing inefficient and corrupt bureaucrats and all persons connected with monopolists and take steps to ensure the participation of the elected representatives of the workers in their management.

d. It will give facilities to all non-monopolistic private-sector enterprises and small-scale industries by providing them with raw materials at reasonable prices, credit and marketing facilities, and allowing them reasonable profits. Special attention shall be given to help the developing industries in the backward regions.

e. It will help the organisation of handicraftsmen into their respective cooperatives and will provide them with all possible help like cheap raw materials, cheap credit, remunerative prices and marketing facilities.

f. It will abolish the present unjust taxation system where the main burden falls on the common man and will introduce a taxation system based on the principle of capacity to bear the burden. It will introduce a ceiling on profits and incomes and a graded tax system in industry, trade and agriculture.

g. It will introduce state-trading in essential commodities like foodgrains, cloth, etc., and supply them to the people at reasonable prices.

h. It will promote the formation and development of the cooperative sector in small-scale industry and distribution.

### *Workers' Cooperation:*

a. The national democratic government will ensure the implementation of the rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will guarantee a national minimum wage based on the needs

of the employees as decided by the tripartite conventions. It will also fix a sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay.

It will ensure the progressive reduction of hours of work.

b. It will enlarge and liberalise social security measures, such as provision against unemployment, ill health, and old age. It will also provide housing facilities at cheap rent.

c. It will guarantee the employees full trade-union and democratic rights such as compulsory recognition of trade unions on the basis of the secret ballot of workers, collective bargaining and the right to strike and workers' participation in management.

d. All steps will be taken to ensure that workers' initiative is fully utilised in innovations and to increase labour productivity while the interests of the workers are guaranteed in regard to workload etc.

#### 94. *Agriculture:*

The national democratic government will take the following effective measures for the radical reorganisation of agrarian economy and the solution of peasant problems:

a. Concentration of land will be broken by abolishing all forms of landlordism, by imposing effective ceilings on landholdings and by distributing surplus land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants free of cost. The interests of the small landholders will be fully protected.

b. All types of fallow lands, other than those required for common village purposes, in the hands of the state will be distributed to agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Long-term development loans will be advanced for the reclamation of fallow lands.

c. All land reform measures will be implemented with the help of popular committees composed of accredited representatives of peasants and agricultural labourers. Financial and technical aid will be distributed similarly.

d. The still remaining unpaid portion of compensation to big zamindars and jagirdars will be stopped.

All oppressive debts which the peasants and agricultural labourers owe to the landlords and usurers will be cancelled.

e. The present iniquitous system of land revenue shall be abolished and a new system of graded land tax based on income shall be introduced, exempting all uneconomic holdings from taxation.

f. All facilities will be provided to the cultivators of land so as to encourage them to produce enough food for people and raw materials for industries.

Multipurpose cooperatives shall be organised which will provide cheap credit, seed, manure, pesticides, etc., to the peasants, and remunerative prices assured for their products. Care shall be taken to prevent these cooperatives becoming the instruments for the enrichment of the rich peasants and landlords.

Cheap irrigation facilities will be provided through the construction of irrigation dams and through providing cheap electricity on a wide scale.

Agro-industries and cold storages for the processing and preservation of such food products as milk, fruit, eggs, fish, potatoes, etc., will be started so that the income of the cultivators is increased through these subsidiary occupations.

The cultivators will be assured of remunerative prices for their products.

g. Adequate wages and living conditions will be ensured to the agricultural labourers.

Wage Boards will be set up with representatives of agricultural labourers in order to implement relevant laws and settle disputes.

They will be encouraged and helped to set up, with necessary state aid, cooperative farming societies vested with government land.

They will be provided with free house sites and financial help to build houses.

The problem of under-employment of the agricultural labourers will be solved by starting rural industries and providing them with alternative jobs in the off-seasons.

h. State farms run on mechanised and modern lines like the Suratgarh Farm in Rajasthan will be started where vast tracts

of land are available as models to the cultivators on how modern collective agriculture will increase incomes while reducing the load of hard labour from the backs of the cultivators.

The cultivators will be encouraged to form cooperative farming societies on a voluntary basis and carry on cultivation through the aid of machinery and other modern methods.

Effective measures of flood control will be undertaken.

#### 95. *Religious Minorities:*

The national democratic government will take all measures necessary to safeguard fully the religious and cultural rights of all religious minorities.

It will take effective steps to end all discriminatory practices against them in the economic, administrative and other spheres of life.

It will ban all propaganda which incites communal or religious hatred.

#### 96. *The Tribal Problem:*

It is common knowledge that vast tracts of tribal areas are spread throughout the length and breadth of our country; that the people living in those areas are most backward politically, economically, socially and culturally; and that they are now becoming conscious of their wretched state of affairs and want them to be improved. Unless an all-sided improvement takes place in their position, the advancement of our country suffers greatly and hence the national democratic government will take measures for radically improving the status of the tribal people.

a. The tribal areas inhabited by the tribal people will be given regional autonomy as parts of the present states comprising the Indian Union or the status of states as component units of the Indian Union like Nagaland, depending on the stage of development, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas.

b. Liberal financial and technical assistance will be given to the people of these areas to help them to discard the system of shifting cultivation and take to settled cultivation. Sufficient

land will be provided to them for this purpose.

Industries and communications will be developed in these areas to provide tribal people with other venues of living.

c. Full protection from the exploiters will be given to the tribal people. The occupation of the lands of the tribal people by outside vested interests will be prohibited.

d. The tribal people will be allowed to utilise forest produce freely.

e. Trading cooperatives of the tribal people will be organised to save them from the loot of the rapacious traders. These cooperatives will provide the tribal people with necessities of life like cloth, kerosene, sugar, etc., at cheap prices and ensure them reasonable prices for the produce they want to sell.

f. The tribal people will be assisted to develop their culture and language. They will be provided with free education and medical facilities, with a view to improve their cultural and health conditions.

#### 97. *Education and Health Services:*

a. The national democratic government will introduce free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage to all children of both sexes.

It will ensure the eradication of illiteracy by making arrangements for adult education.

b. It will reorganise our entire system of education; since rapid industrialisation of our country is the objective, the pattern of education will be made to conform to this aim. There will be rapid expansion of facilities for training courses for workers for the various industries and trades; and an extension of facilities for higher technical and scientific education; a coordination between the output of training, educational and technical scientific institutes and the needs of public sector and private sector industries, trade and transport and services by a system of forward-looking manpower planning.

c. It will ensure academic and democratic rights for students and teachers.

d. It will provide adequate salaries to teaching staff at all levels as well as to research workers and scientists.

e. It will put the minimum medical facilities within easy reach of the common people through the establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity services. It will take special care in the eradication of epidemics like cholera, small-pox, malaria, etc.

f. It will provide all facilities required for the organisation of mass participation in sports and other forms of physical culture.

### 98. *Literature, Art and Culture:*

The national democratic government will assist literature, art and culture of every nationality, including tribal groups, to develop in their own way. At the same time, efforts will be made to develop their democratic content and bring them in unison with the common aspirations of the country and the democratic masses of toiling humanity.

Literature, art and culture, while eschewing the trends of violence and hatred between man and man, of subordination and oppression, must reflect the creative labour of man, the heroic struggles for independence and freedom, for better life and living for all. It must help people to overcome hostile feelings of caste and communal divisions, without interfering in anyone's religious beliefs. It must foster love of peace and hatred of war between nation and nation and abhor the exploitation of man by man.

All creators and workers of art must get special care and assistance from the state as they are among the most important builders of new society and its values.

## XI

### STRUGGLE FOR PEACEFUL PATH AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

99. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of national democracy and create conditions for the advance to the goal of establishment of socialism by peaceful

means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority in Parliament, backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform Parliament from an instrument serving the bourgeoisie into a genuine instrument of the people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the economic, social and state structure.

100. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

101. The form of transition depends on the international situation and on specific internal conditions, mainly on the latter. The Communist Party and the working class work for creating and strengthening necessary conditions for the peaceful path to socialism by developing broad-based popular struggles for the strengthening and extension of democracy; by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them; by giving a resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements; by ceaselessly developing class struggles of the workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction.

102. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes will not relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to suppress it by lawless and violent methods. It is therefore necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twists and turns in the political life of the country.

103. Marxism-Leninism is a great revolutionary science, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of the great battle for peace, freedom and a better life; for the establishment of the most just society—communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-

Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist Party can be effectively accomplished.

104. In our time, when communism is the most advanced ideology guiding the existing socialist system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Party, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxism and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a distorted light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic forces and organisations.

105. To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experience and achievements of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

106. Communism assures people freedom from the fear of

war, from every form of oppression and exploration, from unemployment and poverty, from economic crises, from tyranny of moneybags over the individual; by guaranteeing lasting peace, full democracy, general well-being and a high standard of living, a rapid growth of productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, all round spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in our country.

## XII

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

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

109. The Communist Party of India devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—the great task of building a mighty National Democratic Front for the realisation of the Programme.

In all its activities and struggles the Communist Party of India is guided by the scientific method and principles of creative Marxism-Leninism. Its constant endeavour to apply this great science to the concrete realities of India and the practice of the Indian revolution as the only way to charting the advance of the Indian people to end the exploitation of man by man and to their

complete emancipation. In the struggle for the realisation of the tasks of the present epoch the Communist Party of India abides by the collectively worked-out general line of the world communist movement as in 1957 and 1960.

110. Carrying forward the revolutionary, fighting traditions of our people, the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and takes its place in the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Party unites in its ranks the most advanced, the most active and the most selfless sons and daughters of the working people, imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and revolutionary patriotism. The Communist Party of India has no interest apart from the interest of the working class and the working people of our country.

The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country will find our Programme a correct guide and a reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course to the victory of the National Democratic Front and the establishment of national democracy.