

Draft Resolution on the Party Programme and the Current Political Situation in the Country*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

[I am one of the four members of the National Council who remained neutral when votes were taken as to which of the two draft political resolutions should be taken as the basis for discussion in the Council. After the voting, I got the permission of the National Council to move a third draft if I find it necessary after studying the majority and minority drafts in their final form. Subsequently when the Kerala State Council heard a report on the meeting of the National Council and discussed the resolution adopted by the National Council by a majority (the alternate draft in its revised form had not yet reached us when the State Council was meeting), comrades supporting both the drafts expressed their feeling that the manner in which the drafts came to be written was unfortunate. After a round of discussion in the State Council, the Council unanimously decided that an effort should be made to make a third draft which will try to bring about the maximum possible degree of political unification in the Party, without concealing or patching up serious ideological differences. To this end, the Council authorised Comrades M. N. Damodaran, Achuta Menon and myself to try to make a draft.]

Since we were all engaged in some work or other, we could not have full meetings of this committee. But, we had several discussions both before the draft was made, as well as on the draft when it was made. The comrades who participated in these discussions are Comrades A. K. Gopalan, Unniraja, M. N. Damodaran, Achuta Menon and myself. But neither Comrade M. N. nor Unniraja could see the full draft when it was ready (they

*Placed for discussion before the 6th Congress of the CPI held at Tumumba Nagar Vijaywada 7-16 April 1961 and circulated to all Delegates in the 6th Congress.

had seen the first half of it and made their comments). Comrades Gopalan, Damodaran and Achuta Menon saw the full draft and made their comments and suggestions.

The draft was changed in the light of these comments and suggestions. They, however, have not been able to see and approve the draft as finally amended. Nevertheless, all of us agreed that it would be worthwhile to place the draft in this form for discussion in the Party Congress, even though some of us may have their reservations on it. I am, therefore, taking personal responsibility for the draft in its present form and propose to move it at the Party Congress as a combined alternative to the political resolution and the Party Programme.—EMS].

The National Council, at its February session, adopted by majority a draft political resolution for discussion by the Party units and for final adoption by the Party Congress with necessary amendments. 21 members of the National Council who did not agree with the stand taken in this resolution prepared an alternate draft resolution. This was also circulated among the Party units for their discussion.

The National Council further decided to circulate two drafts for the Party Programme—drafts made by the majority and the minority in the Commission appointed by the National Council at the December meeting. The drafts, however, were not discussed in the National Council which, therefore, did not adopt either of them, but thought it worthwhile to have both the drafts discussed in the Party.

All these documents have been before the Party for the last several days. They have been subjected to criticism from various angles in the Party units.

These discussions in the Party have revealed that, while there is a fundamental unity of outlook in the Party, there are serious divergences of approach to some basic problems of ideology and divergent assessments of the current political situation in the country. It has, therefore, become necessary for the Party to seriously apply its collective thought to these differences in approach with a view to forging a unity of outlook, approach and action.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India is convinced that this task can be fulfilled only by making earnest efforts to assimilate, digest, concretely apply to Indian conditions and further elaborate the profound conclusions arrived at in the statement adopted by the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, held in Moscow in November last. The Congress is confident that, if the entire Party starts with firm determination to make an objective study of the basic problems of Indian economy, politics and culture, as well as the everchanging economic and political situation in the country, on the basis of the fundamental principles laid down in the Moscow statement, and if it continuously reviews the work of the Party from time to time with a view to drawing lessons from them, the differences can be resolved and a unity of outlook, approach and action forged.

The Congress notes that, in the discussions that have taken place in the National Council and in the other units of the Party, questions connected with the fundamental programme of the Party for the present stage of the revolution and questions connected with the assessment of the current situation and the tactics to be pursued have got mixed up to a certain extent. This is inevitable in view of the fact that the concrete problems posed by the movement are connected with both the main direction in which India's economy, politics and culture are developing, as well as with the several concrete problems, arising out of temporary shifts in the policies of various classes in the country. It has, therefore, become necessary to bring together at one place the various major issues that have cropped up in the court of these discussions find solutions for these problems and then leave it to the leading bodies of the Party to further elaborate and concretise the ideas thus evolved, with a view to the working out of a fundamental Party programme and resolutions on current political situation.

II

The Moscow statement has given to humanity a new perspective. It has given to the working peoples of the whole

world, to the progressive sections in all countries and all classes of society, supreme confidence that this is a "time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and Communism on a world scale Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society".

Analysing the changes that are taking place in the world as a whole, the Statement comes to the conclusion that "*A New stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive sections, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism*".

As a result of such a change in the balance of forces in favour of democracy, national liberation and socialism, the Statement concludes "the time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed".

This assessment of the world situation as a whole is of profound importance for the Communist Party of India in elaborating the fundamental programme of the Party. It points out to us the possibility of drawing increasingly larger numbers of people in the struggle against imperialism.

Even in advanced capitalist countries, it is pointed out, it is possible to draw the "middle urban bourgeoisie", along with the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie, in the struggle "*for abolition of monopoly domination*". As for the colonial, dependant and under-developed countries, it outlines the task of "*waging a determined struggle against imperialism and feudalism*", for which it lays down "*the national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and*

should unite" Around such a programme of "national rebirth" are to be united not only the working class and the peasantry who together constitute "the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress", not only the intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie and other sections of the working people and intermediate strata, but also the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles and all the patriotic forces, all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence against imperialism. The statement lays before us the perspective of uniting "all the patriotic forces" of the nation in a "single national Democratic Front".

While warning against the unstable character of the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles, its 'inclination to compromise with imperialism', the statement underlines the possibility of drawing these sections of national bourgeoisie into the struggle for the realisation of the programme of national rebirth. The steady weakening of the imperialist camp and the slow-but-sure strengthening of the socialist camp make it possible for the national bourgeoisie, unconnected with imperialist circles, to fight the machinations of imperialism, and to this end, depend on the assistance and cooperation of the socialist camp.

Out of this assessment of the world situation in general and of the situation in colonial, dependant and underdeveloped countries in particular has emerged the idea that it is possible under favourable circumstances, to establish states of national democracy.

The tasks in the struggle for national democracy include consolidation of political independence, enactment of agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry and the abolition of the remnants of feudalism, eradication of foreign economic domination, restriction and ejection of foreign monopolies from the economy, promotion of national industry, improvement in the living standards of the people, democratisation of public life, pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy and the development of the economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries and other friendly countries. These are general

democratic tasks and hence the overwhelming majority of the people can and should be united to fulfil them.

The states of national democracy will be based on the unity of all patriotic forces of the nation and pledged to carry out the programme of national rebirth. This is not a programme of building socialism; it is a programme of building an independent national economy which does not go out of the framework of the laws of capitalism but which prevents the development of monopoly capital. It is a programme of building a democratic state within the framework of a bourgeois parliamentary constitution, but of preventing its actual functioning as the organ of bourgeois dictatorship over the working people. It is, therefore, a social and state system in which the mass of the working people share power with the national bourgeoisie on the basis of a consistent application of the principles of anti-imperialism and democracy for the people, thus opening the prospect for the non-capitalist path of development.

The struggle for the establishment of such stage of national democracy and their functioning after they are established involved (a) the struggle of the entire nation, including the national bourgeoisie, against imperialism and feudalism in order to build a state and social system based on the programme of national rebirth; and (b) a struggle between the national bourgeoisie and the democratic masses because the former wants to utilise the democratic front and the state of national democracy to build a capitalist economy and a state of bourgeois dictatorship, while the latter are interested in so developing the activities of the front and of the state of the national democracy that national development goes along the non-capitalist path. It is to the extent to which the unity of the working class and the broad peasant masses is built up and becomes the most important force in the struggle for carrying out of the programme of national rebirth that the compromising tendency of the national bourgeoisie can be effectively combated and the nation is enabled to rapidly carry out of the tasks of democratic revolution and lay the basis for its transition to socialism.

The concept of the non-capitalist path of development is not new. It is as old as the Second Congress of the Communist

International when Lenin pointed out that "The Communist International must lay down and give the theoretical grounds for the proposition that, with the aid of the proletariat of the most advanced countries, the backward countries may pass to the Soviet system, and after passing through a definite stage of development, to Communism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development." It was included in the document of the 6th Congress of the Communist International on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies which took account of "the presence of the objective possibility of a non-capitalist path of the development for the backward colonies, the possibility of the 'growing over' of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the leading colonies into proletarian socialist revolution with the aid of the victorious proletarian dictatorship in the other countries. Under favourable conditions, this possibility is converted into reality."

The significance of the Moscow statement consists in the fact that the adoption of the non-capitalist path is not a mere theoretical possibility as it was then. No more is it possible for the imperialist powers to intimidate, and use force against, the newly liberated peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial and under-developed countries who are carrying on their struggle to overcome their backwardness and liquidate the remnants of imperialist and feudal exploitation. No more is it possible for imperialism to "export counter-revolution" and suppress the development of independent national democracies, if the working class and peasantry, together with all the patriotic forces of the nation and in alliance with the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles, undertake to carry out the tasks of national rebirth. Under these circumstances, conditions are far more favourable in several countries to transform the possibility, theoretically envisaged by Lenin and the Communist International a few decades ago, into a realisable practical objective.

The strengthening of the socialist camp has made it difficult for imperialism to intervene and prevent the efforts of the newly liberated peoples to advance their national economies and achieve economic independence. It helps the under-developed

countries not only to overcome their backwardness and strengthen their position in the international arena, but also to create favourable conditions to unite all patriotic forces for the establishment of national democracies and march forward along the non-capitalist path. For, the tremendous advance registered by the countries that have taken the path of socialist development in all fields of human endeavour is attracting to itself over larger numbers of adherents all over the world.

Particularly attractive is this system to the overwhelming majority of patriotic peoples in the colonial, dependant and under-developed countries who have to liquidate the remnants and heritages of centuries-old feudal oppression, as well as decades-old imperialist exploitation and national humiliation. Under these conditions, the statement points out, "after winning political independence, the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing the national independence. . . . People begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development"

The statement, however, points out that successful advance along the non-capitalist path of development, is by no means, easy. For "as social contradictions, grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism". This tendency of the national bourgeoisie, i.e., that section of the bourgeoisie which is "unconnected with imperialist circles" and is, therefore, the objectively interested in the accomplishment of the tasks of anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolution", together with the treacherous role played by that section of the bourgeoisie which is completely connected with imperialist circles and by the feudal elements, create difficulties for the common people in their advance along the non-capitalist path of development.

The working class and its party, therefore, have to mobilise the broad peasant masses and other sections of working people and intermediate strata against the vacillations and the compromising tendencies manifested by the section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal

tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. They have, however, to concentrate their main fire against (i) the intrigues of imperialism; (ii) that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles and is, therefore, exhibiting its treacherous tendencies; and (iii) the feudal elements who are averse to the free and full development of democracy. It is to the extent to which the unity of the working class and the broad masses of peasants are mobilised against imperialism and internal reaction that the compromising tendency of the national bourgeoisie can be checked and broad national unity built.

The Moscow Statement is thus an effective weapon in the struggle against revisionist as well as dogmatic-sectarian distortions of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of building the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal unity of the nation, drawing the national bourgeoisie into the front and of enabling the working class and the broad peasant masses to play the leading part in the unity of the National Democratic Front.

It is a powerful weapon against dogmatic-sectarian underestimation of the role of the national bourgeoisie in the country's transition from the underdeveloped to the developed state of our nation. Equally does it enable us to effectively fight the revisionist ideas and practices of centering the whole democratic movement around the bourgeoisie and failing to make the working class and the broad peasant masses the basis of the Party's activity.

It enables us to effectively combat the over-simplified sectarian understanding that, after the attainment of independence, the national bourgeoisie will go on making compromise after compromise with imperialism, thus denying the possibility of halting and reversing the inherent tendency of the bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism, provided the alliance of the working class and the broad peasant masses is built up. Equally does it enable us to effectively combat the revisionist over-simplification of the inherently anti-imperialist and democratic character of the national bourgeoisie, thus denying the reality that the national bourgeoisie will be naturally inclined towards compromise with imperialism as social contradictions grow in the post-independence years.

It enables us to effectively combat the dogmatic-sectarian idea that, once political independence is won and the bourgeoisie installed in power, the task of the working class and the broad peasant masses is to fight the bourgeoisie for the establishment of the socialist society, thus virtually denying the role that the national bourgeoisie, unconnected with imperialist circles can play in the task of overcoming the economic, political and cultural backwardness of the nation. Equally does it enable us to combat revisionist under-estimation of the enormous harm done to the cause of national reconstruction by the class character of the policies pursued by the bourgeoisie; under-estimation of the role which the working class and the broad peasant masses, together with the other sections of the working people and intermediate strata have to play in checkmating the games of the national bourgeoisie which, while objectively interested in the development of an independent national economy, pursues policies not only contrary to the interests of the working people, but also create difficulties for the free and rapid development of the national economy.

Rejecting both the dogmatic-sectarian concept of the inter-twining of the bourgeois democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, as well as the revisionist concept of a prolonged period of capitalist development, the Statement gives us the perspective of our national reconstruction taking the stages of (a) liquidating the remnants and heritages of the continued domination of imperialism and feudalism; (b) laying the basis for a relatively rapid-transition from the phase of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle to the phase of the struggle for building socialism; and (c) initiating the process of building of the socialist society. While the character of the basic tasks to be fulfilled at each stage is fundamentally different from one another, the world-wide victory of the socialist camp and its ever-growing superiority over the capitalist system lay the basis for a quickening of the tempo and a shortening of the period for the transition from one stage to the other.

III

Such a profound analysis of the class forces operating in the world in general and in the colonial, dependant and under-

developed countries in particular, and the grand strategy flowing from it are valuable contributions to the understanding of our country's developments in the economic, political and cultural fields during the last 14 years.

When power was transferred to India in 1947, it went into the hands of the bourgeoisie as a whole without a strict demarcation as between its two sections. While that section of the class which was connected with imperialist circles had kept away from the freedom movement and was, therefore, opposed to the Congress in those days, the approach of independence and particularly the transfer of power brought that section of the bourgeoisie too into the Congress. Furthermore, large sections of the feudal classes too had to and did renounce their old pre-British positions and joined or supported the Congress.

It was in this manner that the Congress began to represent all sections of the ruling classes (The Congress, however, is essentially the political party of that section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in the carrying out of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks.) Its policies and practices, therefore, did not fully meet the requirements of the other sections of the ruling classes. The basic approach of the Congress Party and its Government towards imperialism and feudalism being one of compromises with, rather than surrender to, imperialism and feudalism, they took measures which amounted to putting serious curbs on the feudal classes as well as resisting imperialist pressure. This therefore, led to the emergence of differences between the feudal and bourgeois sections of the ruling classes, as well as between the two sections of the bourgeoisie itself—these connected and unconnected with imperialist circles.

These differences within the ruling classes expressed themselves in different attitudes to and different policies on the issues to be tackled by the Government. Those who adopted these different attitudes and advocated these different policies began to pull the ruling party and Government in different directions, while the most far-seeing representatives of the class tried to unify them all on the basis of a common class approach to

international as well as national, economic as well as political questions. Whether to participate in the cold war or to adopt a really independent foreign policy; whether to eliminate the remnants of princely rule in the political life of the country and feudal landlordism in its economic life; whether the development of national economy should be planned by the State and the people of the country, whether it is to be left to the sweet will of the private property-holders; whether the basic direction of national economic development is to be along the path of rapid industrialisation with heavy industry as its basis, or whether the industrial backwardness of the country should be allowed to continue; whether the political and cultural life of the country should be dominated by religious obscurantism and superstitious social practices, or whether it should take the direction of secularism and democracy—these and other questions posed themselves as development proceeded in the various fields of public activity.

It was these conflicts in relation to basic approach and concrete policies that have led to a differentiation between various forms and shades of right reaction on the one hand and the dominant leadership of such avowedly communal political organisations like the R.S.S., Jan Sangha, Hindu Mahasabha, etc. It was again this that recently led to the emergence of a non-communal political party of right reaction —the Swatantra Party. The foreign as well as domestic policies of these parties of the right are avowedly reactionary and serve the interests of feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles. The working class and its political party, therefore, cannot have anything to do with these avowedly reactionary parties and their programmes. They should, on the other hand, strive to unite all the progressive and democratic forces in the country in order to isolate and finally smash these forces of right reaction.

Compared to these parties of communal and right reaction, the Congress has taken, and is even now taking, a more progressive, a more democratic stand. It should, at the same time, be noted that the Congress itself is not free from the powerful influence of

those sections of the ruling class which are notorious for their treachery towards national interests. This is reflected in the fact that, while forces of communal and right reaction from outside the Congress launch their offensive on all that is progressive and democratic in the Congress, many Congress leaders themselves act as their agents within. The two sections of the bourgeoisie—those who are connected and those who are unconnected with imperialist circles—have not, as a matter of fact, demarcated themselves as between those who are in the Congress and those who are in the parties of communal and right reaction. Nor have the bourgeoisie and feudal elements taken their position in favour of this or that party. Actual reality is that the feudal elements and the two sections of the bourgeoisie are all of them divided as between the Congress and the various parties of communal and right reaction.

This reality, together with the fact that even that section of the bourgeoisie which is unconnected with imperialist circles is exhibiting various forms and shades of its tendency to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, has led to a situation in which, while the bulk of the policies declared and many of the practical steps taken by the ruling party are relatively progressive and democratic, many of the practical steps taken by it are in conformity with the demands of, or involve compromises with feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles.

It should, at the same time, be noted that the bulk of the followers of the Congress and a section of its middle leadership represent either a section of the working class, or the bulk of the peasantry, or large chunks of intellectuals and small-property-holders in urban areas. The ideas and aspirations of these sections of the working people find reflection in some of the policy statements and declarations of the Congress Party and the Government, such as the declaration of socialism as the national objective, planning for industrialisation with emphasis on heavy industries, public sector, the Nagpur resolution on land reforms, *state trading, decentralisation and democratisation of administration, etc.* These and other declarations of the organisation and

Government are, of course, utilised by the bourgeoisie in its own class interests. But, to the extent to which they got reflected in the policies and practices of the organisation and Government, the possibility arises of sharpening and accentuating conflicts between the ideas and aspirations of the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles and those who are connected with them and feudal elements. It is, therefore, the task of the political party of the working class to rally the democratic elements in the Congress for united action and thus help the process through which the ideas and aspirations of the democratic classes and sections of society rallied behind Congress increasingly find expressed in the policies and practices of the ruling party.

This requires a fraternal attitude between the Communist Party and the democratic elements inside the Congress. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the warning given by the 4th Party Congress against all tendencies to look upon the united front as an anti-Congress front is borne in mind in our day-to-day work. On the other hand, sincere efforts should be made to forge relations of unity and develop united action on as many issues as and on as wide a scale as possible between the Communist Party and other progressive non-Congress parties on the one hand and the mass of Congressmen including the units of the Congress organisation itself wherever this is possible. Efforts should also be made to develop joint campaigns and joint struggles launched by the progressive and democratic elements inside and outside the Congress with a view to defeating the forces of communal and right reaction.

While it is dominated by that section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in carrying out the tasks of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the Congress leadership represents to a limited extent the class interests of all sections of the ruling class. Therefore, even the democratic and progressive declarations of policy made by the Congress party and the Government led by it are mostly sabotaged in actual practice. Furthermore, the basic policy of the dominant leadership of the Congress being one of compromises with imperialism and

feudalism, the declared policies themselves are totally inadequate for the free, uninterrupted and rapid development of the national economy. Under these circumstances, the question cannot arise of a general united front with the Congress as a whole as it is constituted today. The common interests of the mass of Congressmen and the democratic and progressive elements outside the Congress demand that they put up a common struggle for defeating the efforts of the dominant leadership of the Congress to sabotage the implementation of the progressive declared policies; a common struggle for the overcoming of the inadequacies, shortcomings and the harmful features of the policies themselves; in short, a common struggle for bringing about major leftward shifts in the policies and practices of the ruling party and of the Government.

It is through these struggles for (a) defending the interests of the working people in their day-to-day life against the anti-people policies of the Government; (b) defending whatever is progressive and democratic in Congress policies against the right reaction's attacks, and (c) bringing about major leftward shifts in the policies and practices of the Congress that are to be established new relations between the Congress as a ruling party and the parties of democratic opposition including the Communist Party—relations of struggle as well as of unity—struggle to the extent to which it represents the interests of feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles and to the extent to which the other section of the national bourgeoisie compromises with imperialism; unity to the extent to which the policies and practices of the organisation conform to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the democratic masses and to the extent to which the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles fights for the elimination of imperialist influences and liquidate the remnants of feudalism.

IV

The task of simultaneously uniting with and struggling against the Congress requires a sober and objective assessment of the

policies pursued by its leadership and the Government led by it during the post-independence years. It also requires an objective analysis of the forces which are opposing the Congress and Government policies from the right and seeking to turn them into reactionary lines. The aim of such an analysis of the policies pursued by the Congress leadership as well as by those who are seeking to drag the Congress policies towards the right is, on the one hand, to defend whatever is progressive and democratic in the policies of the Congress and its Government against the attacks of right reaction and, on the other hand, to seek to overcome the basic weaknesses of the declared policies of the Congress leadership itself.

In the field of foreign policy, the Congress leadership and the Government formed by it in 1947 initially pursued a policy of compromise with imperialism and of relative hostility to the socialist camp. This phase, however, was over in a few years after which the Government started pursuing a broadly anti-imperialist policy. It was in this phase that India, together with Indonesia, Burma and Egypt, collaborated with the people of China in order to create what is known as the Bandung spirit. The role played by India in this matter raised her prestige high among the peace-loving countries throughout the world, and particularly among the anti-imperialist peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. India's relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist world began to grow. This resulted in the increasing ability of our Government to resist imperialist pressure and to start developing the national economy independent of imperialist influences.

Such a development of India's relations with the socialist world, such resistance on her part to imperialist pressure, was not to the liking of reactionary elements in the ruling class. They were also opposed by such political parties as the PSP and Jan Sangh. As against this policy of resistance to imperialism, they demanded the policy of economic and military agreements with imperialist powers as was adopted by Pakistan. Proposals were also made that the Kashmir and other Indo-Pakistan disputes should be settled with a view to forging a treaty of joint Indo-Pakistan defence against China.

While successfully resisting these moves made by the forces opposed to the policy of anti-colonialism and friendship with the socialist countries, while maintaining relations of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries even after India-China relations got strained, India failed to continue in the position which she acquired among the countries of the peace zone. The reason for this lies in the fact that, while she still continues to remain within the peace zone and raises her voice against colonial oppression, she has not kept pace with the rapidly growing number of newly liberated African countries and with such Latin American countries as Cuba. These newly liberated nations are not inhibited by the talk of two blocks in world politics as India does. They do not hesitate to take full advantage of the strength of the socialist camp to deal blow after blow against imperialism. India however hesitates and thus lags behind.

This is seen not only in the difference in the strength of feeling expressed by India and other Bandung powers on the one hand and newly liberated African and Latin American countries on the other but also in the concrete policies which they pursued in the United Nations and other international organisations. On a number of issues that came up in the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, including that of Congo, India lagged behind the newly liberated African and Latin American countries in the attitude of struggle against colonialism.

It will therefore be the endeavour of our Party on the one hand to defend the Government's policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism against the attacks of right reaction and on the other hand to fight for such a reorientation of the foreign policy as to make India keep pace with the deeply felt anti-imperialist sentiments and corresponding policies of the newly liberated African peoples.

V

In the field of internal economic development, the Congress Party and the Government led by it have been pursuing a policy of overcoming the heritages and remnants of feudal domination

social and cultural backwardness, colonial exploitation and economic underdevelopment. In doing this, however, they have been careful to see that it is not the initiative and productive enthusiasm of the mass of the working people that are released but the profit motive of the private capitalists. Its ambition is to develop Indian economy along independent capitalist lines.

The net effect of all land reform legislations adopted by the Congress Governments has been to foster the development of capitalist farming. Facilities have been given to rent-receiving landlords to transform themselves into those who exploit wage labour and extract profits out of the capitalist mode of cultivation. Well-to-do tenants have also been enabled to acquire the rights of ownership and to become owners of capitalistically cultivated farms employing wage labour. Owners of such capitalistically cultivated farms—whether they were originally owner-cultivators, or rent-receiving landlords or rent-paying tenants—have been enabled to get a dominant voice in the formulation and implementation of all the plans and projects of rural development through which they were able to get a firm grip over the economic and political life of the countryside.

As opposed to this facilities for the rural gentry to acquire greater power and property rights, the mass of the rural people are being subjected to new and heavier burdens; ever more and more suffering and misery are heaped on them. The eviction offensive launched by the landlords has pauperised tens of thousands of poor tenants and sent them into the ranks of landless wage labourers. The same fate has fallen on the mass of poor owner-cultivators, who, because of increasing difficulties of living and of growing debt burdens, are losing their lands and swelling the ranks of landless wage labourers. The heavier and heavier burdens of taxation imposed on the poor and middle peasants, together with the fluctuations in the prices of crops as well as consumption goods, making the lives of all the working people in the rural areas more and more difficult. Above all is the political grip of the new class of the rural gentry composed of landlords, owners of capitalist farms, money lenders and other exploiters, who are able to make use of the administrative machinery through

their 'contacts' in the ruling party and the bureaucracy in their own interests

In the industrial sector too, the policy has been one of fostering independent capitalist development. It was to this end that the Government negotiated with the socialist countries and secured agreements with them for the establishment of heavy industries. At the same time, it negotiated with other Governments, semi-official organisations and private capitalists in the non-socialist countries as well. It was through these conscious efforts that the Government has been able to bring about considerable industrial development and the strengthening of the economic base of the country.

One of the methods adopted by the Government for bringing about the industrialisation of the economy has been the policy of expanding the public sector or reserving some of the major industries for the public sector. This policy can, if properly implemented and slowly extended into more and more industries, prevent the worst features of the development of capitalism. However, the way in which it is carrying out the policy of building public sector enterprises has not weakened the private sector. For, together with the growth of public sector enterprises in such key industries as steel, power, oil, etc., private sector industries are also growing very fast. Furthermore, the encouragement given to the private capitalists to earn more and more profits leads to the emergence of the forces of monopoly capital. This, in its turn, vitiates the way in which even public sector enterprises are managed, since it becomes possible for the big private capitalists to exercise their influence over the personnel with which public sector enterprises are manned. The pull of the big private capitalists is seen also in the taxation, labour and other measures of the Central and State Governments which are manipulated in the interests of big capital. The result of all this is seen in the fact that while the productivity of the workers as well as the profits of the capitalists are going higher and higher, the real wages of the workers do not record any appreciable increase, the workers have to fight hard strike battles in order to maintain the levels of real wages.

In other words, the benefits of all the developmental activities launched by the Government under the inspiration and leadership of the Congress Party go to a narrow stratum of capitalist

elements in the rural and urban areas. The mass of poor and middle classes have to continue in their old miserable conditions of living, and many of them have their standard of living actually curtailed. It is highly significant that, despite all the development that has taken place under the First two Five Year Plans as well as the development that is expected to take place in the Third Plan, the extent of unemployment is growing as each five year plan is completed. Significant too, is the fact that indirect taxes on consumer goods are growing at an alarmingly rapid rate, thus leading to depression in the living standards of the common people.

It is these difficulties of the common people as the five year plans advance that are taken advantage of by the forces of right reaction to launch their campaign against the very idea of planned economic development, particularly against the programme of industrialising the country. They would have the people abandon themselves to the fate of an underdeveloped country on the plea that rapid industrialisation is beyond the resources of a poor country like ours.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that whatever development has so far taken place in the rural and urban areas is progressive in comparison with the present under-developed State of our country. It has led to a considerable weakening of the feudal and other pre-capitalist elements. It enables the nation as a whole to resist the pressures of imperialist monopoly capital and to start building an independent national economy. The development of the public sector is a step in the right direction and should be further extended both to facilitate industrial development as well as to prevent the growth of monopoly capital. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these programmes of development are defended against attacks from the forces of right reaction who would want the policy of planned economic development reverted.

While noting these progressive features of the internal economic policy, and while defending them against the attacks of right reaction, it is necessary for the progressive forces to realise that it has not enabled the nation to solve its basic problems. Food

scarcity remains as acute as ever, imports in the Third Plan period being at about the same level as in the pre-Plan years. The strengthening of the industrial base has not yet been adequate to make the economy self-expanding. The growth of national income and savings has not been on an adequate scale nor properly utilised in order to get the right amount of investment in the right sectors. Difficulties of balance of payments, budget deficits, growth of internal and external debt, etc., are mounting.

These negative features of the internal economy arise out of the class (bourgeois) character of the Government and the economic policies pursued by it. Industrialisation with adequate emphasis on the building of heavy industries, modernisation of agriculture and other measures for the development of national economy require a planned and coordinated utilisation of all the resources in men and material which the nation has at its disposal. This means on the one hand, that the properties of those who own the means of production and of distribution in a concentrated manner—big landlords, bankers, insurance companies, dealers in stock exchange and big owners of factories, mills, mines, plantations, etc.—are put at the disposal of and properly utilised by the Government. It means on the other hand that the vast quantity of unutilised labour power that lies with the mass of rural and urban labourers is pooled together in order to create more and more wealth. Such a policy of utilising the material and human resources of the nation to its best advantage would mean that increasing inroads are made into the property rights of the richest sections of society. It is, however, this that is resisted by the bourgeois, since that is contrary to their narrow class interests.

Failure to do this has led to serious consequences in several respects. It has led to inadequate financial resources being mobilised for the implementation of the plan. It has forced the Government to increasingly resort to deficit financing and other measures which released inflationary forces in the economy. This in its turn has led to a steady rise in price levels, upsetting all the calculations originally made with regard to the plan. All these difficulties with respect to the financial and price policies of the Government together with the acute difficulty in the imple-

mentation of the Plan—difficulties which, at some stage or other have reached the proportions of a temporary crisis in the plan.

The result of all this is that, while industrialisation has taken place to a far greater degree than at any time before, while this has led to a considerable strengthening of the economy, our economy is far from becoming that self-reliant and self-generating economy which it is the aim of planning to build up. The need for foreign assistance is not decreasing but increasing. Here lies the danger that if the democratic forces of the nation with the alliance of the working class and the broad peasant masses as its basis are not sufficiently strong, the compromising tendencies of the ruling class may assert themselves and take the country along the path of slowing down and halting progress along the path of independent development.

The Communist Party, therefore, is of opinion that the policy of planned economic development should be further strengthened, rather than reversed as demanded by right reaction. What is required is that the policy of raising the financial resources needed for development be reorientated in the direction of putting heavier burdens on the rich, of putting restrictions on the profits which they earn, of mobilising the surplus money that is available with them in the interests of the nation, etc., rather than putting heavier and heavier burdens on the poor. What is required, furthermore, is to so reorient the labour, land reform and taxation policies that the mass of the working people in the urban and rural areas are to enjoy the fruits of their labour, rather than be made the victims of the exploitation of a growing capitalist class. Such a reorientation of policy will enthuse the mass of our people for that self-sacrificing work for national development which is required if our economy is to rapidly outgrow its present under-developed stage.

VI

Corresponding to capitalism in the economic field, bourgeois parliamentary political institutions are being built up. A Republican Constitution was adopted in 1950 with elected organs of legislative and administrative control at the Centre and in the

States. Two general elections have taken place on the basis of adult suffrage. The process has started of establishing elected Panchayats and other organs of local self-government.

The fact that the Communist Party was allowed not only to contest the elections and become the major opposition group in parliament and in a few State legislatures as early as in 1952, but also to form a State Government in Kerala in 1957 is pointed out by the leaders of the Congress as irrefutable proof of the truly democratic character of the regime established by them. But the machinations to which they resorted in 1952 and in 1954 in the State of Travancore-Cochin, as well as in the then composite State of Madras in 1952, to instal Congress ministries, even though their party was a minority in the legislature, clearly indicated that the Congress would do all it can possibly do to keep itself in power, even when rejected by the electorate. As for the example of the formation of the Communist Government in Kerala, the manner in which the Congress and its allies organised a patently unconstitutional agitation against that Government, followed by the dismissal of that Government by the Centre on the plea that there was a 'mass upsurge' in Kerala, indicated how the Congress had no scruples even in violating the Constitution in letter as well as in spirit, in order to prevent the smooth functioning of a Government formed by another party, particularly the Communist Party.

Furthermore, the marriages and divorces of convenience which the Congress entered into with the Akalis in the Punjab and with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa cry aloud that it is not true democracy that the Congress Party is after, but perpetuation of its own rule.

This craze for power is exhibited not only by the Congress as an organisation in relation to other parties but by different groups and individuals in the Congress leadership in relation to one another. Formation of groups within the Congress, each of them centred round one individual or formed by combinations of individuals, each jockeying itself for position of power; interminable quarrels between these groups resulting in ministerial changes involving no change of policy at all—such

has been the fate of almost every State since independence. Such a patently faction-ridden state of affairs has so far been avoided in the Centre only because of the dominating personality of the Prime Minister. But there too, signs are not wanting that factionalism is slowly but surely raising its head.

Together with such group rivalries and squabbles inside the Congress are indications that fissiparous tendencies are growing in the country as a whole and reflect themselves inside the Congress. Forces of casteism, communalism, provincialism, regional rivalries, linguistic prejudices, etc., are growing at an alarming rate and giving rise to tragic incidents, such as clashes on the issue of state borders, perpetual tension between States with regard to division of waters and location of project sites, the place of Hindi and other regional languages in the educational and administrative life of the country, and above all, such tragic developments as the Assam riots in July last and the recent communal carnage in Madhya Pradesh.

The growth of these fissiparous tendencies would cause concern to every Indian patriot. It shows that all the the positive gains of the freedom movement are being dissipated under the Congress regime. The Prime Minister himself had to indicate his helplessness at such a state of affairs with his exclamation in utter despair that he would be prepared to "sacrifice even national planning" to save national unity.

These developments in the political life of the nation in general, and of the ruling party in particular, are a serious danger to the healthy democratic growth of our nation. Unless halted and reversed in time, they may well lead to anti-democratic tendencies such as those that enveloped Pakistan in military dictatorship. Signs are not wanting that forces similar to those in Pakistan are raising their heads in India—the Thimiah episode, the demand for greater powers to the President, the slogans of indirect elections in preference to direct elections, etc. Nor are political leaders lacking who look eagerly towards the "basic democracies" of Pakistan as a way out. All these are bound to grow stronger as long as the forces of national disruption in the country and factional squabbles inside the ruling party are

allowed to have their way. For, it is out of sheer disgust at the way the ruling party is acting within itself and tackling national problems that the people get into a mood in which they prefer even the abandonment of democratic political life.

The Communist Party, therefore, appeals to all the patriotic and democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals to shed mutual prejudices in a supreme effort to carry forward the traditions; of national unity built in the days of freedom struggle. Particularly does it appeal to the mass of Congressmen who cherish the sacred memories of the united struggle which they and many of those who are today in the ranks of the Communist Party and other opposition parties had waged in the days of freedom struggle and to realise the spirit of that unity is all the more necessary today in order to arrest the growth of fissiparous tendencies which are endangering the progress of our nation along the path of planned development.

VII

While thus calling for concerted efforts on the part of all the patriots of the country belonging to the various political parties for the preservation and strengthening of national unity, the Communist Party desire to point out that the major share of the responsibility for such a state of affairs rests on the shoulders of the Congress and its Government. For, the background against which these fissiparous tendencies grow in the life of the nation are, in the opinion of the Communist Party, the following:

- (a) Absence of any clearly-expressed and inspiring goal towards which the nation is marching. It was the presence of such an inspiring national objective—that of securing economic and political freedom—that had helped the forging of national unity in the days of freedom struggle. With the attainment of independence, it was necessary to place before the nation an equally clear and equally inspiring objective; the Congress, however, miserably failed in this respect. After toying with some confused ideas like

Ram Raj and Cooperative Commonwealth, the Congress did, at last, come to the slogan of socialist society which could have inspired the nation if only it were seriously meant and clearly explained. This, however, was not only not done but the term 'socialist society' was so interpreted as to make it devoid of all inspiring content. As for the concrete policies of the Government which followed the declaration of the socialist objective, they were all calculated to make the rich still richer and the poor still poorer. The slogan of socialism formulated and implemented in such a way naturally failed to rouse the enthusiasm of the mass of the people—enthusiasm which should become the basis and starting point of forging national unity.

- (b) After the first flush of enthusiasm on the attainment of independence, the mass of our common people began to feel the pinch of the Congress regime. Behind some of the noble sentiments expressed by the foremost leaders of the Congress Party and its Government were hard realities which the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes had to face. The terrific offensive of evictions launched by the landlords; the steady rise in the cost of living of industrial workers and salaried middle class employees; the growing burdens of taxation, particularly indirect taxation, falling on the majority of our people; the steady growth of unemployment in the rural as well as urban areas running ahead of all the new employment opportunities that have been created under the Five Year Plans; the growth of bureaucracy which leads, on the one hand, to inefficiency and, on the other, harassment of the people—all those have become the lot of the common people during the less than 14 years of the Congress regime. On the other hand the growth of profits of capitalists, increasing opportunities for a small stratum of the upper classes to secure fat-salaried jobs, facilities for a section of the upper middle classes to enrich themselves through their contacts with the ruling party, etc., are adding to the dissatisfaction of the common people.

- (c) This disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the common people are, in the absence of a strong democratic movement, sought to be diverted by the forces of national disruption. Ideologies and organisations based on caste religious community, linguistic and regional rivalries, etc. are growing and dinning into the ears of backward sections of the people that the root of the trouble lies not in the anti-people class policies of the Government but in the fact that the leaders of a particular caste or community or linguistic or regional group are dominating the administrative system at Centre and in the States. They thus seek to disrupt the unity of the democratic movement, the unity of the exploited classes as against their exploiters, and try to build the unity of a particular caste, religious community or linguistic group as against other castes, religious communities, linguistic or regional groups etc. It is the existence of such disruptive ideologies and organisations, the inability of non-sectarian national organisations including the Communist Party and the Congress to effectively combat these disruptive ideologies and organisations that have given a mass basis for such slogans as Hindu Dharma (Jan Sangh) emancipation of the South from the North (D. K. and D.M.K.) etc. It is again because of the weaknesses of the democratic movement that such an avowedly reactionary ideology as that represented by the Swatantra Party is able to make demagogic use of a call for struggle against the corruption and "contract-licence regime" of the Congress.
- (d) Not only has the Congress failed to effectively combat the growth of these fissiparous tendencies, but the existence of different groups and factions among its leaders has given a positive fillip to the growth of these tendencies. Different groups inside the Congress make use of all the fissiparous tendencies in the country in order to successfully carry out their mutual intrigues as well as in their unprincipled struggle against the opposition parties. It is notorious that some of the factions inside the Congress are formed on caste lines. It is also admitted that internal squabbles in the

Congress had a great deal to do with the Assam riots. It is, of course, well-known that, in its struggle to maintain itself in power in all those states where it was reduced to a minority, the Congress unscrupulously allied itself with such elements as the Akalis, Ganatantra Parishad, the Muslim League and the Catholic Church.

VIII

Communist Party is, therefore, of opinion that the struggle against fissiparous tendencies cannot be divorced from the struggle for a radical reorientation in the policies of the Congress and its Government.

- (A) For a clear definition of the goal to which the nation has to march—the goal of so planning the development of national economy as to rapidly overcome its backwardness as well as to prevent the emergence of monopoly forces, so that the nation may, step by step, march towards the final objective of a socialist society.
- (B) For basic changes in the day-to-day economic and political policies pursued by the Government in such a way that the working and middle classes will be convinced that the misery and sufferings to which they have been subjected for several decades are being slowly remedied and that the major share of the economic burden of developing the national economy is being put on the shoulders of the rich who can afford to bear it.
- (C) For a concerted ideological and political offensive against the forces of casteism, communalism, linguistic and regional rivalries, etc. and, together with it, for a policy of positively helping the backward castes, communities, linguistic groups, states and regions to catch up with the advanced; for a policy of fuller protection to religious minorities, regarding their faith and practice.

The Communist Party expects the democratic and patriotic elements inside the Congress to fight for such a reorientation of the policies pursued by their leaders and the Government headed

by them. It expects the democratic and patriotic elements in other parties also to join the Communist Party in a concerted drive among the people of India for the adoption and sincere implementation of such a programme as will unite the entire nation for the democratic reconstitution of our economy, politics and culture.

To this end, the Communist Party offers to the people of India, particularly, to its brother parties of the democratic opposition as well as to the democratic and patriotic elements inside the Congress, the following programme.

(Programme given as Appendix to Palghat Resolution with necessary modifications.)

It is with this programme that the Communist Party will approach the electorate at the forthcoming general elections. We will do our utmost to utilise the elections to strengthen national unity for implementing the common tasks facing the nation, to weaken the parties of right reaction and to bring about a leftward shift in the policies of the Government. It will be the task of the Communist Party and other progressive and democratic elements not only to concentrate fire against the anti-national aims of the parties of right reaction, but to turn the election campaign into a campaign against the anti-people policies of the Government. Without this, a shift to the left will not be possible.

While thus striving to turn the forthcoming general election campaign, as well as of other political campaigns, for building the unity of all those democratic and patriotic elements in the country (including those inside the Congress) who stand for the above programme of bringing about a leftward shift in the policies and practices of the Government, the Communist Party wants to make it clear that it would be prepared to work together with any of them even on the one single issue. For, it is quite confident that, if the democratic and patriotic elements in the country shed their mutual prejudices and start working, on however limited a scale, to secure even one single limited objective the unity forged on such a limited scale, on such a single issue, would pave the way for the forging of that broader unity which alone can effectively smash the forces of national disruption.

The Party calls upon all its members, sympathisers and units to plunge themselves into an energetic campaign for building the unity of all the democratic and patriotic elements (including members, sympathisers and units of the Congress) to build unity in action on any one or more issues and slogans included in the above programme. It calls on them, at the same time, to carry on a powerful nation-wide political campaign among the members, sympathisers and units of other parties and organisations in the country for the adoption of the above programme as the common programme of the democratic and patriotic elements in the country to form the basis of forming a single national democratic front

The Party wants its members, sympathisers and units to realise that the struggle for building such a unity of action on single issue, as well as for the formation of the general national democratic front on the basis of the above common programme, is the surest way of defeating the forces of right reaction both inside and outside the Congress. It is the surest way of foiling the game of those sections of the national bourgeoisie who want to wage a simultaneous, two-sided struggle—against imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and against the working people on the other—and to enable the working class and peasant masses to play their leading role in the national democratic front. It is the surest way of ensuring that, in the inevitable struggle between the capitalist path sought to be pursued by the bourgeoisie and the non-capitalist path sought to be pursued by the common people, the latter shall prevail and our country quickly pass from the stage of completing the democratic revolution to the stage of initiating the socialist revolution.