

Per
**mass detention of
political opponents
without trial—**

THIS IS CONGRESS DEMOCRACY!

"There is a startling degree of disbelief in the case Mr. Nanda put forward to justify the countrywide arrests of the Left Communists. This is so even in circles openly hostile to communism. The prevalent theory is that the government has acted primarily to divert attention from the worsening food and prices situation, and secondly, to avert the imminent Congress debacle in the elections in Kerala."

THESE are the words neither of a champion of civil liberties nor of a progressive democrat. They come from the pen of an inveterate anti-Communist, a dyed-in-the-wool spokesman for imperialism and reaction, writing in Birla's HINDUSTAN TIMES (January 6) in his column titled National Affairs.

The rest of the article is a plea for more stringent action against all Communists, and especially against the Communist Party of India—but these opening words of the article quoted above reveal, surprisingly enough, the truth (painful and unpleasant as the reality is to the reactionary penpusher who is forced to admit it). Despite the resonant verbiage used by Home Minister Nanda, no honest person in the country is prepared to accept the government's "charges" against the arrest-

the Government of India in carrying out these mass arrests and detention without trial of nearly 800 leaders and members of the rival party.

It is not our business to reply to the charges made against another party. That party will do so as it thinks best; and already those of its leaders who are not arrested have categorically repudiated the charges.

But it is our business—as it is the business of all who stand for democratic rights—to protest against the use of the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules by the Government of India to imprison its political opponents, without trial.

The government has been at pains to point out that its action is not an indication of what is termed "anti-communism". For, every democrat and progressive knows well that anti-communism is the first step

Party of India and accuses its members of being "far more openly Russia's agents than the left Communists are China's!"

This is typical of the comments of the parties of right reaction, of imperialist and pro-imperialist comments.

Naturally, they see the Communist Party of India as their main enemy, not only because of its obviously greater strength in the country—but also because of its resolute opposition to the parties of right reaction (in contrast with the rival Communist Party's hobnobbing with communal and reactionary parties, under the mask

of a so-called anti-Congress front).

Inevitably, it will not only be the imperialists and the right reactionaries who will view the widespread arrests as an attack on the Communist movement as a whole; progressive opinion all over the world will also see the arrests in the same light.

The dictatorial character of the action—the reprehensible detentions without trial, without any concrete evidence—will also only serve to give credence to this view among progressive circles abroad.

Government has sought desperately to build up a case of a tremendous threat to

India's security from the activities of the rival Communist Party. To say the least, this is to exaggerate its influence, and few will believe this story.

Repeated demands for facts and evidence appear to fall on deaf ears. And the opinion is growing even in circles which are prejudiced in favour of the government, that there is no concrete evidence in the hands of the Home Ministry.

A large section of congressmen are themselves anxious to have further information. Reports from Durgapur indicate that the arrests are who have arrived, as the Congress sessions are about to open.

If Home Minister Nanda only repeats his resonant AIR broadcast at Durgapur,

*** ON BACK PAGE**

Editorial Article

ed leaders of the rival Communist Party, unless tangible proof of a substantial character is placed before them, preferably through a court of law.

The differences which the Communist Party of India has with the arrested leaders are well known. They are sharp and fundamental; differences on matters of policy, of ideology, of programme, of organisational methods.

The recent Seventh Congress of the CPI has categorically placed before the country a complete and detailed outline of the path, which it believes the nation must take to march towards the goal of socialism.

This path clearly is, totally different from the path outlined by the rival Communist Party at its founding congress in Calcutta last October.

But the Congress High Command lives in a fool's paradise if it thinks that these differences—great and basic though they are—will prevent the Communist Party of India from raising its voice with all its strength in condemnation of the flagrant misuse of power by

towards fascism and reactionary dictatorship.

Such assurances by government spokesmen, though not to be rejected as necessarily false, are of little comfort in the face of the hosannas being sung by the parties of right reaction.

The Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh and the RSS are cheering themselves hoarse at government's action; and it is no accident that all of them demand similar action against the Communist Party of India.

They have interpreted the detention without trial of the leaders of the rival Communist Party as a blow against the Communist movement; they are only sorry that the action is not wide enough to embrace the Communist Party of India.

It is also no surprise that the most rabid Communist baiters openly say that the "more dangerous" (to reaction) of the Communist Parties is the Communist Party of India (described by them as the Right).

SM of HINDUSTAN TIMES condemns government for "shielding" the Communist

I T will be three years on January 13 since the death of Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India from 1951 to the last day of his life.

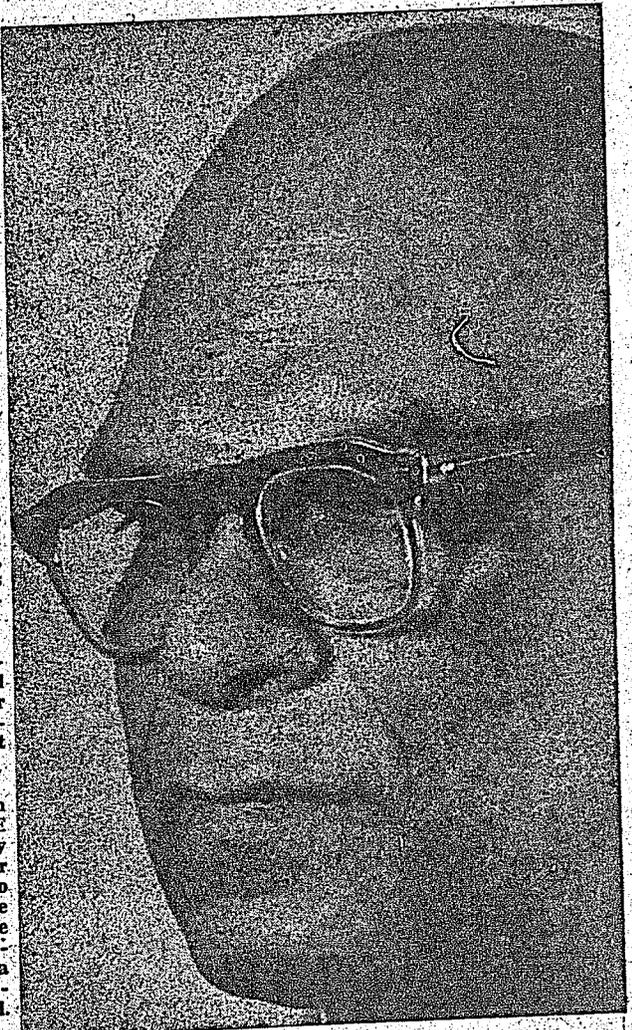
His death anniversary is a day of rededication to the great cause for which Ajoy lived. This death anniversary comes in the wake of the mighty Seventh Congress of Ajoy's Party. How happy he would have been, had he been alive to see this Congress—this Congress of unity, of determination, of confidence.

The new Programme of the Party, unanimously adopted by the Seventh Congress, is the collective work of our entire Party. But we do not forget at this moment that in its creation is also the hand of Ajoy Ghosh, who strove so hard in the period before the Vijayawada Congress and till his death, to see that the Party worked out a new Programme, based on the new realities of the world, of our country, of our class.

To Ajoy's many contributions to the work and the strengthening of our Party, the Seventh Congress paid its poignant tribute.

Once again on his death anniversary, NEW AGE salutes the memory of Ajoy Ghosh, builder and unifier of our Party and one who helped so much to place before the Party ranks the vision of that mass Communist Party of India which the Seventh Congress has pledged to build.

Ajoy Ghosh



S L C SUB-COMMITTEE FAILS TO FIND AGREED BONUS FORMULA

The sub-committee appointed by the Standing Labour Committee to find out if any agreed formula regarding bonus satisfactory to the parties concerned could be evolved met in New Delhi on January 3.

THERE was no agreement in the sub-committee and it dispersed after recording its failure.

EMPLOYERS ADAMANT

The employers' representatives, led by Naval Tata and G. M. Modi were adamant that while the anti-labour modifications made by the government in the bonus Commission report should remain intact, the safeguard given in the case of better bonus facilities where they exist should be withdrawn.

They also attacked the minimum bonus clause and demanded that it should be withdrawn.

The workers were represented by Satish Loomba (AITUC) and G. Ramanujam (AITUC).

G. Ramanujam put forward the proposal that in regard



to the existing bonus safeguard clause, the proportion which the bonus in any relevant concern bore to the gross profit in 1961, should

be maintained in future. The employers rejected this also, although the INTUC representative was agreeable to accept a ceiling of 20 per cent on this as well. The employers wanted gross profits to be defined in a way which would exclude current taxation.

AITUC VIEWPOINT

Satish Loomba put forward the AITUC viewpoint and categorically stated that the AITUC did not accept the modifications made by the government in the Bonus Commission Report.

If the employers wanted the safeguard clause to go, they should accept the old LAT formula minus rehabilitation, sharing the surplus 50-50, with benefit of tax rebate on bonus taken into account.

In the discussion that followed, it soon became apparent that there was no meeting ground between the parties present. Hence the meeting ended without any agreement. D. Sanjivayya, the Labour Minister, declared that the government having heard the views of all present, would now make its own decisions. However, if any party had any comments to offer on the detailed clauses of the proposed bill, it should send it before January 20.

HOPES BELED

Thus, the hopes roused earlier that the ill-advised modifications made by the government in the Bonus Commission Report would be taken back in some measure at least, have been belied. The employers, emboldened by the government's stand, have refused to accept any of the

most reasonable demands of the workers and have, on the contrary, launched a concerted attack on such gains as the government's modifications did not nullify.

Meanwhile, Satish Loomba, secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has issued a statement denying reports that the bonus sub-committee of the Standing Labour Committee gave its support to the government to go ahead with its proposed bonus bill.

BASELESS REPORTS

The statement said: "These reports are totally baseless and without any foundation. The bonus sub-committee could not come to any agreement whatsoever and this fact was officially recorded.

"So far as the AITUC is concerned, at the meeting itself, I categorically stated that the AITUC does not accept the modification made by the government in the Bonus Commission report, and therefore the question does not arise of our asking the government to go forward with its proposed legislation.

"The modifications made by the government are totally against the interests of the workers and the AITUC, along with other like minded organisations, will resist any legislation based on these modifications with all its strength."

L I C Employees Win Ad Hoc Rise In DA & Benefits

The life insurance employees have successfully negotiated an ad hoc rise in dearness allowance of eight and six per cent over and above the prevailing DA formula, linked to the all-India index.

THESE increases are in the nature of compensation for faults in the compilation of the index—a point conceded earlier by employers and government in the case of the bank employees.

The bipartite agreement was signed on December 26 between the Life Insurance Corporation of India and the All-India Insurance Employees Association.

According to this, the subordinate staff will get ad hoc DA at the rate of eight per cent of basic pay and the clerical and supervisory staff will get six per cent of basic pay, with retrospective effect from August 1, 1964 in both cases. This would be in addition to the one slab rise in DA to which the employees became entitled when the 12-month average of the all-India index reached 140 last September.

The grant of the ad hoc DA over and above the existing sliding scale arrangement by the Life Insurance Corporation of India, which is directly under the Union Finance Ministry, has prompted the trade unions of Central Government employees and others in such sectors where DA is linked to the all-India index, to raise demands for similar ad hoc increase.

Since the government has now categorically admitted an eight per cent fault in the index, it is confronted with the claim for compensating its own employees for

this fault. Also the fact that LIC employees enjoy a cent per cent neutralisation for subordinate staff and 75 per cent neutralisation for others, will have to be considered.

The provision for ad hoc DA in LIC would continue until the existing two-year agreement between the parties expires or the present all-India index is corrected and/or revised by the Government of India, whichever is earlier.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

The bipartite agreement covers a medical benefit scheme also. Under this scheme an employee can claim reimbursement of medical expenses (for self and family) upto Rs. 50 per annum. The amount can be accumulated for a period of three years.

Sick leave henceforward will be at the rate of one month for each completed year of service, with a maximum of 18 months, during the whole period of service.

The management also conceded a special leave for its employees upto a maximum of nine days in a year, for the purpose of attending the conferences of the AIEA as well as its zonal and divisional units.

The monopoly press in this country is no lover of the Communist Party or its leaders; nor are they very much fastidious about democratic forms and liberties if the victims of governmental repression happen to be Communists and the gainers the monopoly interests.

HOWEVER the wide revolution which ran through the country over the high-handed action of the government in arresting the leaders of the split-away group of the Communist Party without even advancing

any convincing reason or putting forth valid proof of their alleged anti-national activities found some reflection in the press too.

The result has been indeed curious. Even while there are

AITUC PROTESTS AGAINST ARRESTS

The secretariat of the All-India Trade Union Congress issued the following statement on December 31 protesting against the arrests.

THE AITUC lodges its vigorous protest against the arrests of trade union leaders in various states of India. Those arrested include office-bearers and members of the Working Committee and General Council of the AITUC and leaders of state TUCs.

The Defence of India Rules have been repeatedly used to crush the movement of people for the redressal of their grievances and for betterment of their lives.

The wholesale arrest of TU and other democratic leaders cannot but add to discontent specially in view of the failure of the Government to solve the price and food questions.

These arrests have once again underlined the immediate need for repeal of DIR and the ending of the state of national emergency.

The AITUC demands the immediate release of all those arrested.

'BRING OUT THE PROOF IF YOU HAVE ANY'

Bhupesh Gupta's Letter To Home Minister Nanda

Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Group in Parliament, wrote a letter to Gulzari Lal Nanda on January 1, protesting against the exclusion of CPI leaders from the meeting the Home Minister had with a section of opposition leaders in connection with the largescale arrest of members of the Rival Communist Party.

Gupta demanded that since the government was talking of having "irrefutable proof" which justified the arrest of these persons, it should come out with such evidence in public.

The letter said:

I learn from the morning papers that you had invited some representatives of the Opposition to a meeting which was held yesterday. At that meeting you seem to have taken these members into confidence and briefed them on the reasons for your largescale arrests of the leaders and workers including several members of Parliament associated with the rival Communist Party. That this move on your part is designed to divide the Opposition and bolster official propaganda would not be left in any doubt even from the newspaper reports about your so-called meeting with "the Opposition leaders".

We can understand your preference for the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party and for some other professional anti-Communists in the matter of sharing your confidence etc. It is evident you are now counting much upon their anti-Communist prejudices and propose to use them for your most anti-democratic attacks on the fundamental rights and civil liberties.

After all R.S.S. leader M. S. Golwalker has been the first to congratulate you for your action.

If the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and others of the same ilk lend themselves to be used for the propaganda purposes of the Home Ministry, it is of course their own business and I need not say much on it. But I am sure this will expose the real face of your action and the people will draw the necessary conclusions.

Coming to the above mentioned meeting between you and some opposition leaders, we take serious exception to your attitude and method. I should like to know why we of the Communist Group in Parliament and others including MPs of the rival Communist Group were not invited to that meeting. This discrimination on your part is wholly repugnant to the ways of parliamentary democracy and is indeed highly indecent and preposterous. This is clearly violative of the principles and spirit of our Constitution. I cannot ima-

MASS ARRESTS : SCEPTICISM OVER GOVERNMENT'S CLAIMS

Newspapers Demand Concrete Evidence

grants of satisfaction over the general round-up of the "pro-Peking Communists", the papers have expressed serious misgivings about the motives and reasons for the arrests. They have demanded more concrete proof for the charges made by Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda.

Even while admitting that "such drastic action against even the enemies of democracy and national interest could not have been taken by a democratic administration without careful thought", THE INDIAN EXPRESS felt that "all things considered, the Government's decision, whatever its merits, will not fail to attract a measure of suspicion."

Commenting on the list of charges made by Nanda in his broadcast, the paper said: "This is an impressive list of acts and intentions against the national interest, but again not all the items on the list were unknown to the public....."

"Even making allowance for

the requirements of security, it should have been possible to lay bare before the public eye some evidence in support of the official decision. A Government White Paper on the subject would have carried much more conviction than statements by anonymous official spokesmen.

"Such a step would have helped to explain the timing of the action which, unfortunately, will be linked by some other than Communists with the Kerala General Election."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES was more forthright in its demand for evidence: "The public, which has attached the label 'pro-Peking' to this faction, will readily accept that its attitude has been basically anti-national. But more evidence than the Government has been inclined to disclose will be needed to establish that the arrests have to be made at this particular time and could not have made earlier or later."

The paper quoted P. Sundarayya as having "repudiated suggestions the other day that they were engaged in preparations for a violent struggle, arguing plausibly that it would be idle to look for any radical change in the present set-up without the backing of the majority of the people" and added:

"The implication may be totally unwarranted and the Leftists may in fact be involved in activities which are not only subversive but treasonable. But in that case the government should surely give some intimation of the nature of these activities, apart from merely asking the public to draw its own inferences from such scraps of evidence as a change made by the Leftists at their Calcutta conference in the preamble to the party's Amritsar resolution or a display of Mao's portraits at their Tenali meeting."

The editorial also said that "inevitably, the decision to arrest the Leftists will be connected with the political difficulties of the ruling party in Kerala."

TO THE STATESMAN, the only tangible evidence that has been cited by the Union Home Minister is that "the Calcutta Congress of the 'Left' CPI deleted from the preamble to the party's programme its former (Khrushchevite) reference to the possibility of a peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism; by implication the course now favoured is again one of revolutionary violence and in already existing circumstances of national emergency."

But, "subsidiary evidence seems rather more of a hotch-potch", the paper said. "That the 'Left' allegedly displayed at Tenali and elsewhere, prominent photographs of Mr. Mao Tse-tung and other leading Chinese Communists is no doubt highly offensive to ordinary public opinion, but not directly criminal; nor is failure to condemn the Chinese nuclear bomb, even if, in the opinion of the authorities, the attitude is almost one of 'gloating' over it."

"Secret documents, both local and of Chinese origin, are alleged to have been circulated, exploring in detail the possibilities of revolutionary action on the lines above; but—apart from the fact that anyone acquainted with the history of the CPI will hardly remember a time when such or similar things were not floating about somewhere—these documents would be more impressive if some of them, particularly those alleged to emanate from China, were identified and quoted."

"More directly to the purpose are allegations that the 'Left' has been receiving money from

*OVERLEAF

AIYF AND AISF PROTEST AGAINST MASS ARRESTS

The All-India Youth Federation and the All-India Students' Federation jointly issued the following statement on January 3, protesting against the arrests:

AFTER going through the Home Minister's statement on the recent countrywide swoop on the leaders and workers of the split-away group of the Communist Party of India, we feel that the causes of the arrest are not well-founded. If the Home Ministry has substantial proof of what it is claiming, it should not abuse the emergency powers in the pretext of defence of India, but draw chargesheet against these persons and start legal prosecution.

We have noted the failure on the part of the government to use the Defence

of India rules against hoarders, speculators and profiteers who are anti-people and anti-national. And in this context the present use of DIR cannot but create suspicion among the people.

Such an action, particularly on the face of rising prices, accentuation of crisis and forthcoming Kerala election, has posed a threat to democracy in our country. We strongly condemn it and demand that either the arrested leaders be brought before a law-court or they be released immediately.

A Journal of Solidarity, Information and Analysis
AFRO-ASIAN and WORLD AFFAIRS
 Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Afro-Asian and World Affairs
 Founder President: Smt. RAMESHWARI NEHRU
 Editorial Advisory Board:
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 PUBLISHED IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER
 Single copy Rs. 2.00 Yearly, Rs. 8.00 (post free) By Regd. Post Rs. 10.00
 Reduced subscription rate for members of the Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Peace movements and for all bonafide students: Yearly—Rs. 5.00
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MASS ARRESTS: UNIVERSAL DEMAND FOR EVIDENCE

FROM PAGE 3

abroad, in consideration of behaviour which, if proved, most people would consider tantamount to treason. Yet here again, if money has in fact passed, for instance through the Bank of China, surely some record exists or can be discovered which would warrant putting somebody at least on trial."

The paper added that "still more than last November when only a single State was involved (though the arrests even there included approximately half the West Bengal delegation to the Calcutta Congress) action on this scale under special legislation which excludes Constitutional guarantees does seem to require some fairly elaborate justification, if only because the Union Home Ministry rightly apprehends, though considering unjust, any connexion drawn in the public mind with the Kerala mid-term election."

"It must be assumed that the Central and State authorities have sufficient cause for ordering the arrest of some 500 leading members of the Left faction of the Communist Party," said THE TIMES OF INDIA, giving a detailed list of the "reasons" advanced by the government.

But it added: "However, even when all this is conceded, the Government cannot expect to avoid some criticism of its action...."

"The conferment of extraordinary powers involves a simultaneous acceptance of the proposition that the executive is the best judge as to the precise conditions which warrant the exercise of its special powers. But in practice, public opinion in a democracy tends to take a sceptical view of any use of extraordinary powers by the executive.

"For this reason alone, if not for any other, the arrest of the Left Communists in such large numbers throughout the

country will be regarded with some concern. Even those who have not the slightest sympathy for the politics of the Left Communists and who think that their ideology and political programme are thoroughly inimical to the national interest might wonder whether it was really necessary to swoop down on them and put them behind bars.

"These doubts, however unjustified, will perhaps linger so long as the Government does not give the country a fuller explanation of its action and also some idea of the evidence of subversive activity which provoked the arrests. This will have to be done sooner or later, and the sooner it is done the better."

The NATIONAL HERALD declared under a leader titled "Too Early?": "The people's minds had not been prepared for the sudden, sweeping arrests of left Communists and the Government owe an elaborate explanation."

The paper said:

"While the policies of the left Communists were thus clear and they were ideologically preparing themselves for an insurrectionary programme, no evidence was placed before the people of their anti-national activities.

"Even now, there is only a long anonymous explanation of the Government circulated by the news agencies, apart from Mr. Nanda's brief statement from Hyderabad. This perfunctoryness about large-scale preventive detentions has encouraged the right Communists to repudiate the Government's action, and may encourage others."

Some questions were also posed in the editorial:

"Was action by left Communists threatening the security of the country imminent and had the Government sufficient evi-

dence of an early offensive by China helped by fifth column activity by left Communists?"

"There has been no talk from Government side of the imminence of a Chinese offensive or of a left Communist insurrection.

"They are at any time possible, and in either case, the Government would be entitled to take swift and ruthless, and even sudden, action, with the ready, wholehearted support of the people. But the Calcutta convention was held two months ago and the drift of the left Communists was known all along.

"If they have been receiving foreign financial support and they have made preparations for Telenganas, the Government must have had adequate proof of it."

"In any action against Communists, left or right, or any other political party, the Government have to make a convincing case that action is not being taken because of the fear of agitation against the failure of the Government's social and economic policies and that there is present an imminent danger to peace and tranquillity or to the security of the country."

Even after conceding almost all the arguments advanced by Home Minister Nanda, the FREE PRESS JOURNAL still had many doubts left over. It said in an editorial:

"Yet, after conceding all these arguments in favour of the Government's action, liberal conscience may still be uneasy on some possible aspects.

RISING INDIGNATION AGAINST BRITISH TROOPS IN S. E. ASIA

NEW DELHI: Imperialist warlike postures around Indonesia and the deployment of troops by the British government on the plea of protecting Malaysia has aroused great indignation in India.

THE volume of public protest is increasing and a protest movement against the British government's actions is taking shape. Public men and organisations have expressed grave misgivings about the developments.

Bhupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Group in Parliament, issued a statement on January 5 in which he said:

"The increasing development of the British forces in active military operations in the name of so-called defence of Malaysia cannot but cause the gravest anxiety.

The present British moves in this region are clearly in pursuance of British imperialism's policy of aggression and neo-colonialism. They once again prove that the British colonialists, now on their last legs, have contrived this Malaysia as a spring-board of their buccannery and aggression.

This imperialist adventure cannot but further complicate the situation and make any peaceful solution of the problem extremely difficult.

GOI IS SILENT

Whatever may be the dispute and conflicts among the Asians, the imperialists have no business to interfere, much less militarily intervene.

It is surprising that the Government of India, while expressing the hope that the problem between Indonesia and Malaysia should be settled by peaceful means, has chosen to remain silent over these open, aggressive military operations of the British forces.

As one of the greatest Asian powers, India is surely called upon at this critical hour to

"One is over the casual remark made by Sri Nanda that people had been asking why the action had not been taken earlier.

"One implication of such a statement is the possible preconceived notion that such action could be popular, apart from being just and necessary in the interest of national security. This seems to introduce an element of political consideration.

"Such an impression is likely to be strengthened by Sri Nanda's admission that there has been no kind of special development before the arrests. If the need for arrests has not suddenly developed, why was not action taken earlier when Parliament was in session, so that the Government's action could have been authoritatively explained to it within permissible limits?"

"At some stage or other in future, the Government should vindicate itself on some sort of actual testimony, and not merely expect the people to take its word on trust. Indefinite silence is scarcely a sound substitute for security."

PROTEST MEETING IN HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD: "Release rival Communist leaders", "Communist Party of India Zindabad"—these were among the slogans lustily shouted by thousands of workers and citizens of Hyderabad when they took out a demonstration to protest against the repression launched against the rival Communist Party.

THE demonstration and meeting were organised by the Hyderabad city council of the Communist Party of India. At the meeting at Pratapgarji Kothi, Makhdoom Mohiuddin presided and the speakers were Rajasekar Reddy, Y. V. Krishna Rao and Satyanarayan Reddy.

The speeches and the resolution stressed that the government had made out absolutely no case against those arrested and yet had not given any chance to them for self-defence.

It was pointed out that this was an attack on the fundamental rights of the people and could become the prelude to a general attack on all mass organisations and struggles of the people by the

government which was showing itself incapable of solving problems of the people and the nation.

The arrests, coming on the eve of the Kerala elections showed the lengths to which the ruling party was prepared to go to save its monopoly of power, it was pointed out by the speakers.

The meeting demanded immediate release of all those arrested and the scrapping of the hated Defence of India Rules.

A significant feature of the meeting was the presence of several leaders of the rival Communist Party and the participation of their followers in the demonstration along with CPI supporters.

As one of the greatest Asian powers, India is surely called upon at this critical hour to

raise her voice against British military intervention.

Whatever may be his views on the Malaysian situation, I would earnestly appeal to the Prime Minister of India at least not to pass over the British military operations on our Asian soil in silence but on the contrary play their part in stopping them.

The cause of anti-colonialism, Afro-Asian solidarity and peace crying demands this of the Indian government.

We also appeal to the governments of Indonesia and Malaysia to settle their differences peacefully, round a conference table, as the growing conflict between these two neighbours intensifies tension in this area and opens the gates for foreign and imperialist intervention.

THE PROGRAMME OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

AS ADOPTED BY THE VII CONGRESS, BOMBAY, DECEMBER 13-23, 1964

juvenating 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 pursuing the path of independent capitalist development and a policy of compromise, 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.

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 re-

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 Punnappa 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' Peoples 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 parlia-

mentary 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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



A view of Party Congress Rally. (PHOTO: S. G. LOKARE)

THE PROGRAMME

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 founda-

tions 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.

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 investible 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 monopolies.

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

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. 2991 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,

III

CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PATH OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

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. 250 crores in mid-1948. This foreign private capital is mostly entrenched in old and established undertakings like tea, jute, coal, etc. But many new ones are in vital industries such as oil, aluminium etc.

India's external trade is tied up with the world capitalist market and a very substantial share of her exports and imports goes to the foreign monopolies. As a result, every year many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, royalties, allowances, freight charges, interest payments, repatriation of inflated capital and under various other visible and invisible heads. This plunder considerably diminishes capital accumulation for our economy. 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 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 are channelised by 'agreement' into private sector as foreign investments and for collaboration deals.

23 So long as foreign private monopolies are allowed to maintain their entrenched positions in our economy in this manner and are given more concessions, India cannot deve-

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.

lop 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 black marketing 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 exploiter 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 sector). 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

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.

30 Agriculture constitutes the major sector of our national economy, accounting for 48.8 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 cer-

tain changes in the old order, they left a considerable scope for the semi-feudal exploiting interests to maintain and rehabilitate themselves under various legal and other devices. In most cases, the positive aspects of the legislation were counteracted by negative developments arising out of certain loopholes left in the legislative measures themselves. No wonder that in the totality the gains of agrarian legislation under Congress rule have been partial and limited, being confined mainly to the upper strata of the rural population, while a large section of the toiling peasantry still lives in conditions of gross poverty and subject to mutifarious forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

34 The policy of compromise with the 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 zamindari, jagirdaris, inams and such other systems of semi-feudal landlordism have affected the lives of millions of peasants and agricultural labourers over large parts of the country. 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 or 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*, *khudkash* or *bakashi* 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 *rayats*, nonetheless enjoyed complete ownership rights and exploited a vast number of tenants-at-will through rack-renting. Tenancy reforms carried out in

THE PROGRAMME

THE PROGRAMME

these areas provide for certain security of tenure and reduction of rent to the tenants; simultaneously, they provide for the right of redemption 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 cooperative credit societies has increased from 3.1 per cent to 8 per cent only. The rest of the 92 per cent of the credit is still supplied by professional moneylenders at usurious rates of interest. During this very period, the indebtedness of cultivators 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.

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 into 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 production 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:

Firstly, 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;

Secondly, 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;

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

Fourthly, 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;

Fifthly, 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.

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 controlled 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 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 from 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 redraw their boundaries on the basis of contiguity and taking the village as the unit. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

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 over-ride 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 rule 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 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 Fanchsheel 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 Fanchsheel, 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

THE PROGRAMME OF

Nehru to give up the policy of non-alignment and sign a defence pact with the Anglo-American imperialists.

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

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 non-alignment and anti-colonialism. The VOA deal episode, government's hesitation to protest effectively and emphatically against the extension of the operation of the US Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean, or rather the evasion of the issue, the joint air-exercises, etc., are instances.

68 That the policy of non-alignment has been preserved in the main is borne out not only by formal declarations but also by the fact that in the midst of

the severe crisis created by Chinese invasion and the offensive of right reaction, the Government of India supported the 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 non-alignment 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 non-alignment, peace and anti-colonialism has strengthened India's political independence and also enabled her to obtain resources from friendly countries for peaceful economic construction. The policy of non-alignment is a positive and progressive policy for all non-socialist newly-liberated countries and its main strength is derived from the existence and support of the socialist camp in the new epoch, when socialism is becoming the decisive trend in world history and when imperialism is finding it increasingly difficult to subvert independence attained by its former colonies.

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

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 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, or 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 castes 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 peoples' 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 independence, foreign policy of non-alignment, peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, for establishing relationship of friendship and cooperation with all 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 crisis 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 democratic and mass struggles in the country and taking into account the new possibilities which open up for the newly-independent countries in the new epoch as defined by the world Communist movement in its Statement of 1960, our Party came to a re-evaluation of the class character of the present government and of its role in building independent national economy, in maintaining an independent foreign policy of non-alignment and peace, and in maintaining a certain measure of democracy. Taking note of the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we see how its economic and political policies are bringing in its wake conflicts and contradictions. There is a slowing down of economic growth, deadlocks, even crises in the

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 foodgrains 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.

economic life of the country. In the political field, there is the dangerous rise of reactionary forces; the rising power of monopoly groups, which, in alliance with feudal elements and foreign monopoly are seeking to subvert national policies and set back the clock of progress.

This poses a challenge to the rising power of the democratic forces and to the growing working-class and peasant movement, in fact, to all the patriotic masses of the country. Will they allow the forces of reaction, the feudal and pro-imperialist elements and monopoly groups to achieve their anti-national aims; or will they rally all the patriotic democratic forces that can be rallied to build a powerful national democratic front, to defeat reaction 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

IX POLITICAL PARTIES

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. The sections of 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 in 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 Jan 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

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.

violence against all progressive elements.

The Muslim League is reviving its existence as a communal party. The Jamiat-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 demagoguery, 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 brings grist to their mill. The National Democratic Front cannot grow without firmly combating the reactionary, communal, chauvinist leadership of these organisations and weaning the masses away from their influence.

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, non-alignment and anti-colonialism and firmly counteract all efforts to weaken

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

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

THE PROGRAMME

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, 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 of 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 of the problem of interstate 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 of 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.

The national democratic government 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

rights of workers and other middle-class employees.

It will guarantee a national minimum wage based on the needs of the employee 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.

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 reclaiming 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.

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 aids, co-operative 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 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 avenues 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 co-ordination 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 must 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.

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 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 exploitation; 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.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

(The Seventh Congress of the CPI authorises and directs the National Council to make necessary amendments to the Preamble in the light of the Programme adopted at this Congress.

(The Congress wants to make it clear that this will not mean that the Constitution as amended by the Congress will not come into force immediately.)

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

ARTICLE II

Emblem

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white; "Communist Party of India."

ARTICLE III

Flag

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party membership dues and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party membership.

New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party branch on the recommendation of two Party members. Party committees at town, taluk, district, state and central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party branch or the Party committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility. All applications for Party membership must be placed before the appropriate committees within a month of their presentation and recommendation.

The general body meeting of the Party branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party, he or she shall be regarded as a candidate member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission.

If a leading member from another political party of local, district or state level comes over to the Party, in addition to the sanction of the local Party committee or district or state committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee of the Party before he or she is admitted to membership of the Party.

Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee.

Candidate members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion.

The Party branch or the Party committee admitting candidate members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme, Constitution and the current policies of the Party and

the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

A Party member may transfer from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the district or state, approval by the district or the state committee concerned shall be necessary.

ARTICLE V

Party Pledge

All candidates as well as full Party members shall sign the

AS AMENDED AND ADOPTED AT THE VII CONGRESS Bombay, Dec. 13-23, 1964

observe their development, through providing for their functioning as members of a Party branch or unit.

By the end of the period of candidature, the Party branch or Party committee concerned shall discuss whether the candidate member is qualified to be admitted to full membership. The Party branch or the committee concerned may admit candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months. If a candidate member is found unfit, the Party branch or committee may cancel his or her candidate membership. A report of recruitment of candidates and of recommendations for admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the branch or the Party committee concerned to the next higher Party committee.

The higher committee may, on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the branch or the Party committee which has submitted the report. The district and state committees will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject

Party Pledge. This pledge shall be: "I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party. I shall strive to live up to the ideals of communism and shall selflessly serve the working-class and the toiling masses and the country, always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests."

ARTICLE VI

Party Membership Cards

On admission to membership, every Party member shall be issued a Party membership card.

Party cards shall be uniform throughout the country and shall be issued by the state committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Renewal of Membership Card

There shall be an annual renewal of Party membership cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the

Party member belongs under the direction and supervision of the state council. No Party card shall be renewed in the case of any Party member who for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party membership dues.

A report on such renewal of Party cards by a branch or a Party committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration.

The state council and the district council shall have the right to scrutinise the list of Party members.

ARTICLE VIII

Resignation from Party Membership

A Party member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party branch concerned, which by a decision of its general body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.

The Party branch or the Party committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party member to revoke his or her wish to resign.

In the case where a Party member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party.

All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsions shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation.

ARTICLE IX

Membership Dues

All Party members, full as well as candidate, shall pay a Party membership dues of one rupee per year. This annual Party dues shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party card. (The Party member's dues may, if the state executive committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments).

ARTICLE X

Distribution of Party Dues

Party dues collected from Party members by Party branches or units shall be distributed as follows:

Ten per cent for the National Council;

Forty per cent for the state council; and

The remaining 50 per cent shall be divided among the district council, the Party branch and the local committee where it exists, in such

proportion as decided by the state executive committee concerned.

ARTICLE XI

Party Levy

The state executive committees and the Central Executive Committee shall fix levies on the Party members in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the National Council.

ARTICLE XII

Duties of Party Members

The duties of the Party members are as follows:

- To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organisation to which they belong, to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party, and to pay regularly the levy as fixed by the Party;

- To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party;

- To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding;

- To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications;

- To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism;

- To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests;

- To cultivate comradely relations towards one another, and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party;

- To practise criticism and self-criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work;

- To be frank, honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party;

- To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the Party, the working-class and the country;

- To defend the Party and uphold its cause against the onslaught of the enemies of the Party, the working-class and the country;

- To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions, history and cultural heritage of the Indian people.

- It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties.

ARTICLE XIII

Rights of Party Members

Rights of the Party members are as follows:

- To elect Party organs and Party committees and be elected to them;

- To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;

- To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life;

- To make criticism about Party committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;

- To demand to be heard in person when a Party committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party member or evaluates their personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed;

- When any Party member disagrees with any decision of a Party committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee,

including and up to the National Council and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions;

- To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the National Council and the Party Congress.

- It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

ARTICLE XIV

Principles of Democratic Centralism

The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- All leading organisations of the Party committees from top to bottom shall be elected; the principle of maintaining the continuity as well as ensuring promotion of new cadres into leadership shall be continuously applied throughout the Party;

- The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority; the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs or committees, the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the National Council;

- All Party committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisations immediately below and all lower committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees;

- All Party committees, particularly the leading Party committees shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank and file Party members;

- All Party committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility;

- All questions of international affairs, questions of all-India character, or questions concerning more than one state or concerns requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a state, or district character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisation. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major state importance, it shall do so after consultation with the state Party organisation concerned. The state organisation shall do likewise in relation to districts;

- On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the Central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the Central leadership.

- Basing itself upon the experience of the entire Party membership and of the popular movement, in the sphere of the internal life of the Party, the following guiding principles of democratic centralism are applied:

- Free and frank discussion within the Party unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work;

- Sustained efforts to activate the Party members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party;

- When serious differences arise in a Party committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be taken by a majority vote.

- Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below.

- Consistent struggle against bureaucratic tendencies at all levels.

- Impossibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form;

- Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of service to the Party.

ARTICLE XV

All-India Party Congress

The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the all-India Party Congress.

- The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the National Council ordinarily once every three years. In case of any delay due to any unavoidable reason, the National Council shall submit a report to the Congress explaining the same.

- An extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the state Party organisations representing not less than one-third of the total Party membership.

- The date and venue of the Party Congress or of the extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council at a meeting especially called for the purpose.

- Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the state conferences as well as by conferences of Party units directly under the all-India Party centre.

- The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.

- The basis of representation and the methods of election of delegates to the extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.

- The members of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary. Other members of the National Council shall be entitled to attend the Party Congress as delegates without vote unless elected.

- The number of membership from any state for which the membership dues quota to the National Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from that state at the Party Congress.

- Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:

- To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the National Council;

- To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;

- To determine the tactical line and the policy of the Party on the current situation;

- To elect the National Council by secret ballot;

- To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals;

- To hear and decide on the report of the Audit Commission;

- To elect the Central Control Commission.

- The Congress shall elect a Presidium for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XVI

National Council

- The National Council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 101 members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress.

- The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates;

- The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working-class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all states, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity and include at least one representative from every state.

- At least one-fifth of the panel of candidates shall be persons who were not members of the outgoing National Council.

- Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names.

- Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw.

- The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.

- The National Council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-opted does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the Council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the Council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

ARTICLE XVII

Functions of the National Council

- The National Council shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congresses.

- It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.

- The National Council shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The National Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.

- The National Council shall elect from amongst its members a Central Executive Committee of not more than 25, to carry on the work of the National Council between its two sessions. It shall also elect from among the members of the Central Executive Committee, the Chairman, the General Secretary and secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of seven to nine to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee.

- The National Council shall elect a Treasurer. It shall also elect an Audit Commission to audit the accounts and report on the same to the National Council annually.

- The National Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat and reconstitute the same.

- The National Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Central Control Commission.

- The National Council shall meet at least once in every six months or whenever one-third of

THE CONSTITUTION

its total members make a requisition.

9 The National Council shall discuss and decide on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the Central Executive Committee. The National Council may decide to take up any other proposal or question.

10 The National Council shall submit its political and organisational report and the report of the Audit Commission before the Party Congress, whenever it is convened.

ARTICLE XVIII Central Executive Committee

1 The Central Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Party during the period between two sessions of the National Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the National Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problem of mass movements and shall guide the state committees. It shall submit a report on its work and discussions to the next meeting of the National Council.

2 Carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

(a) To convene regular sessions of the National Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same and circulate them to its members at least one week before the date of the National Council meeting;

(b) Guidance and assistance to the state committees;

(c) Party press and Party publications;

(d) Direction of work of the Communist group in Parliament;

(e) Direction of the Party's work in all-India mass organisations (or mass fronts);

(f) Party education;

(g) Party finance;

(h) Relations with fraternal Parties.

3 The Central Executive Committee shall meet at least once every two months, discuss and decide on the report submitted by the Secretariat on its work and discussions in between its two meetings.

4 The functions of the Chairman, the General Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Central Executive Committee and shall function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. No member of the Secretariat shall belong to any state or district Party organ. To handle the work of the Central Executive, the Central Executive Committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XIX State Party Organs

1 The highest organ in the state shall be the state conference.

2 The regular state conference shall be convened by the state council once every three years.

3 An extraordinary state conference shall be called by the state council at its own discretion, or when this is demanded by Party units which represent not less than one-third of the Party membership.

4 A regular state conference shall be composed of delegates elected by district conferences and by the conference of Party units, if any, directly under the state executive.

5 The basis of representation at state conferences shall be determined by the state council.

6 The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the extraordinary state conference shall be decided by the state council.

7 Members of the state executive committee and of the state control commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the state conference, whether regular or extraordinary. Members of the state council shall attend the state conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8 The number of membership from any district for which the Party membership dues quota to the state council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the district at the state conference.

9 Functions and powers of a regular state conference are:

(a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the state council;

(b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the state in accordance with policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council and to suggest changes in the all-India policies and the general line of the Party;

(c) To elect delegates to the all-India Party Congress;

(d) To elect the state council;

(e) To elect the state control commission;

(f) To hear and decide on the report of the state audit commission;

(g) The state conference shall elect a presidium for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XX The State Council

1 The state council which shall be elected by the Party conference shall consist of not more than 101 members. The exact number shall be determined by the conference.

2 The outgoing state council shall propose a panel of candidates.

3 The list of candidates shall be prepared with a view to constitute a leadership to meet the needs of the growing mass movement and Party activity in the state but bearing in mind the general considerations under section (b) in Article XVI.

4 The election of the state council at the conference shall be governed by the same rules and principles as laid down in Sections (d) to (f) in Article XVI.

5 The state council shall be the highest authority of the state Party organisation between two Party conferences.

6 The state council shall represent the state Party organisation as a whole and shall be responsible for directing its work between two conferences. The council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on questions of state nature but in

conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council.

7 The state council shall elect a state executive committee of not more than 25 from among its members to carry on the work of the state council between its two sessions. It shall also elect from among the members of the state executive committee, a secretariat of seven or nine including the secretary to carry on the current work of the executive committee.

8 The state council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in or remove any member from the state executive committee or reconstitute the same.

9 The state council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the state control commission.

10 The state council shall meet at least once in four months or earlier if one-third of its members make a requisition.

11 The state council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational reports and other matters placed before it by the state executive committee. The council may take up any other matter.

12 The state council shall elect a treasurer. It shall also elect an audit commission to audit the accounts and to report on the same to the state council annually and to the conference.

13 The state council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-option does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

ARTICLE XXI State Executive Committee

1 The state executive committee shall direct the work of the state Party organs during the period between two sessions of the state council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and the directives of the state council and higher bodies. It shall decide on any political and organisational questions as well as on the problems of mass movement and shall guide the district councils and shall report on the same to the state council.

2 To carry out these responsibilities on behalf of the state council, the state executive committee shall perform the following tasks:

(a) To convene regular meetings of the state council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;

(b) Guidance and assistance to the district councils;

(c) State Party press and Party publications;

(d) Direction of the work of the members of the state legislature, regional councils, municipalities and other local bodies;

(e) Direction of the Party's work in the mass organisations;

(f) Party education;

(g) Party finance.

3 The state executive committee shall normally meet once every two months.

4 The functions of the secretary and the secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under the various heads on behalf of the state executive committee; all members of the secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the state executive committee and shall function collectively with specific res-

ponsibility assigned to each of them. To handle the work of the state executive committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the secretariat.

5 Some state organisations may be exempted by the National Council from having state executive committees. In such cases, the state councils shall elect only state secretariat from among its members, including the secretary and these secretaries shall perform all the functions of the state executive committees.

ARTICLE XXII District Party Organs

1 The highest organ in a district shall be the district Party conference.

2 A district Party conference shall be convened by the district council once every three years.

3 An extraordinary district conference shall be called by the district council at its own discretion, or when demanded by Party units which represent not less than one-third of the total membership, subject to the approval of the state executive committee.

4 A regular district Party conference shall be composed of delegates elected by branch conferences or by conferences of the local intermediary units where such units exist.

5 The basis of representation at the district conference shall be determined by the district council.

6 The basis of representation and method of electing delegates to the extraordinary district conference shall be decided by the district council.

7 Members of the district secretariat or of the district executive, as the case may be, shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the district conference, both regular as well as extraordinary. Members of the district council shall attend the conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8 The number of membership from any branch or local organisation for which the Party membership dues quota to the district council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the branch or the local unit for the district conference.

9 Functions and powers of a regular district conference are:

(a) To discuss and act on the report of the district council;

(b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the district in conformity with the decisions of the higher Party organs;

(c) To elect a district council;

(d) To elect delegates to the state conference;

(e) To hear and decide on the report of the district audit commission;

(f) The district conference shall elect a presidium for the conduct of its business.

10 The district council shall be elected by the district conference. The exact number of members shall be decided by the district conference.

11 The election to the district council shall be governed by the same rules as laid down in Sections (d) to (f) of Article XVI.

ARTICLE XXIII District Councils

1 The district council shall be the highest authority in the district between two district conferences.

2 The district council shall represent the district organisation as a whole and direct the en-

tire work of the Party between two district conferences.

3 The district council shall have the full right to take decisions concerning the work of the district Party organisation but in conformity with the line of the Party and decisions of the higher Party organs.

4 The district council shall elect a district secretariat or district executive including a secretary from amongst its members to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the district council. The number of the members of the district secretariat or district executive is to be decided by the district council.

5 The district council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the district secretariat or district executive and to reconstitute the same.

6 The district council shall meet as frequently as the council may decide.

7 The district council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the district secretariat or district executive. The council may take up any other matter.

8 The district council shall elect a treasurer. It shall elect an audit commission to audit the accounts and to report on the same to the district council annually and to the conference.

9 The district council shall have the power to co-opt members to fill any vacancies subject to the condition that such co-option does not exceed more than ten per cent of the membership of the council and shall be valid only if two-thirds of the members of the council attending its meeting vote for the proposal.

ARTICLE XXIV

The District Secretariat or Executive

1 The district secretariat or district executive shall direct the work of the district Party organisation during the period between the two sessions of the district council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the district council and higher Party organs.

2 It shall decide on political and organisational questions affecting its work within the district and shall guide the lower committees. The responsibilities of the district secretariat or district executive shall be discharged in conformity with the decisions of the district council and higher Party organs.

3 The responsibilities of the district secretariat or district executive shall include:

(a) To convene regular meetings of the district council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;

(b) To check up the work of the lower units;

(c) Guidance and practical assistance to the mass organisations;

(d) Circulation of Party journals and Party literature;

(e) Direction of Party members' work in the municipalities and local bodies;

(f) District finance;

(g) Organisation of District Party school and Party education.

4 In the case of a district with large membership, the state council may allow the district council to elect a district executive committee from among its members. In such a case, the district executive committee shall carry out the work of the Party between two sessions of the district council. The number of members of the district executive committee is to be decided by the district council.

In such a case, the district council shall also elect from among the members of the executive committee a secretariat including a secretary to carry on the current work of the executive committee.

ARTICLE XXV

Intermediate Party Organs

1 Between the branch and district council there may be formed an intermediary local Party organ such as taluka, sub-division, tehsil or town council when the state council so decides.

2 The highest organ of such a local unit or local organ shall be the local conference consisting of the delegates elected by the conferences of the branches in the area. The members of the local council shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the conference.

3 The conference of the local units, in the taluka, sub-division, tehsil or town shall elect a local council and delegates to the district conference. It shall elect a taluka, sub-division, or tehsil or town council if the state executive committee so decides.

4 The local council will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the area concerned and for the coordination of the work of the Party branches directly under it.

5 The local council shall elect its own secretary, and subject to the decision of the state executive committee, a secretariat.

6 The local council will report on its work to the district secretariat or district executive, once every month.

7 The local council will meet at least once a month.

8 The local council shall work under the direction of the district secretariat or district executive committee and shall help the district secretariat or district executive committee in maintaining close contact with Party branches.

ARTICLE XXVI

Primary Unit

1 The primary unit of the Party shall be the Party branch.

2 The highest organ of the primary unit shall be the general body meeting of the Party branch.

3 The Party branch shall be responsible for maintaining direct day-to-day contact with the masses and for organising Party activity in its sphere.

4 The Party branch shall discuss all questions regarding its work and mass activity and take necessary practical decisions.

5 The membership of a branch may be divided into groups of convenient size. Each group shall have its own convenor.

6 The function of the group shall be to distribute and check up the work of individuals. Where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the branch, preliminary discussions may be organised in the groups.

7 The Party branch is organised on the basis of the village, panchayat, municipal ward, street, mohalla, industry, individual factory, occupation and institutions. The maximum membership of the branch shall be fixed by the state executive committee.

8 Functions of the branch are:

(a) To carry out the directions of the higher committee;

(b) To win masses in its locality or sphere of activity for political and organisational decisions;

(c) To build up and participate in mass organisations in its locality or sphere of activity;

(d) Sale of Party journals and publications;

(e) Collection of Party membership dues and levy and Party finance;

(f) To draw in sympathisers and militants into the Party and educate them and to help illiterate Party members to become literate;

(g) To help higher committees in day-to-day organisational and agitational work.

9 The branch at a general body meeting shall elect a secretary and an assistant secretary to conduct its current work and, where membership of the branch exceeds 25 persons, it shall elect a branch committee including its secretary and assistant secretary.

10 The general body of the branch shall meet at least once a month at which the branch committee or the branch secretary shall submit a report of the work done and its proposals.

11 The general body of the branch shall elect delegates to the Party conference of the Party organ immediately above.

12 The secretary of the branch committee shall submit to the next higher committee and to the district council every two months a report on the new candidate and full members enrolled by it.

13 Where necessary a Party member, besides being a member of a branch in his own place of work or residence may also be attached as an associate member to the unit of his place of residence or work, as the case may be, without the right to vote.

ARTICLE XXVII

Central Control Commission

1 There shall be a Central Control Commission elected by the Party Congress. The number of members of the Central Control Commission shall be determined by the Party Congress.

2 The National Council shall propose a panel of names for the Central Control Commission to the Party Congress. In proposing the names for nomination, standing of the candidate in the Party, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account.

3 The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the National Council.

4 The Central Control Commission shall elect its own chairman who shall have the right to attend all the meetings of the Central Executive Committee, with the right to vote except in cases of disciplinary actions. All members of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the National Council.

5 The Central Control Commission shall take up:

(a) Cases referred to it by the National Council, the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat;

(b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the state executive committee or the state council;

(c) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the state control commission and rejected.

6 The Central Control Commission shall bring to the notice of the Central Executive Committee, National Council or state and district councils any cases of breach of the Constitution which may come to its notice.

7 The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The Central Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, who shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision.

8 In all cases there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

ARTICLE XXVIII

State Control Commissions

1 There shall be a state control commission elected by the state conference. The number of members for the state control

commission shall be decided by the state conference.

2 The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central Control Commission.

3 The state control commission shall elect its own chairman who shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the state executive committee except that he shall not have the right to vote in cases of disciplinary action. All members of the state control commission shall have the right to attend and vote in the meetings of the state council.

4 The state control commission shall take up:

(a) Cases referred to it by the state council, state executive committee or its secretariat;

(b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the district council, district secretariat or district executive and in which appeal has been made by the comrade concerned;

(c) Cases against which an appeal has been made to district council or district secretariat or district executive and rejected.

5 The decisions of the state control commission shall be ordinarily final. The state executive committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of the decision of the state control commission and shall refer it immediately to the Central Control Commission or to the state council.

ARTICLE XXIX

Party Discipline

1 Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggle and actions, nor discharge its responsibility towards them.

2 Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the Programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3 Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions.

4 The disciplinary actions are:

(a) Warning;

(b) Censure;

(c) Public censure;

(d) Removal from the post held in the Party;

(e) Suspension from full Party membership for any period but not exceeding one year;

(f) Removal from the Party rolls;

(g) Expulsion.

5 Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods, including methods of persuasion have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken, the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure to protect the interests of the Party or its prestige, the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6 Disciplinary action may be taken against any member either by the unit of which he or she is a member, or by any higher committee, in case he or she belongs to more than one committee, disciplinary action as under clauses (e), (f) and (g) of Section 4 may be taken only by the highest

THE CONSTITUTION

committee to which he or she belongs either on its own initiative or on recommendations of the lower committee. All other disciplinary actions may be taken by any committee of which he or she is a member.

7 Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution, deliberation and judgment.

8 No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee, which will give its decision within three months or in its first meeting held after the receipt of the proposal for confirmation, if such a meeting is not held within three months. In case of suspension or expulsion, the penalised Party member shall, however, be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

9 The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations, charges and other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party unit in which his or her case is discussed.

10 Party Members found to be strike-breakers, habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence, guilty of financial irregularities, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working-class, shall be dealt with by the Party units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action.

11 There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action.

12 The National Council or a state council shall have the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decision and policy, serious factionalism or a breach of Party discipline is involved, after giving the committee

concerned reasonable chance of explaining its position.

ARTICLE XXX

Party Members in Elected Public Bodies

1 Party members elected to Parliament, the state legislatures or administrative councils shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party, its policies and directives.

2 The Communist legislators shall unwaveringly defend the interests of the people. Their work in the legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party.

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations.

3 The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses, keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice.

4 The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity, lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people and place the Party above self.

5 The Communist legislators and Communist members on elected public bodies drawing salary or allowances shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.

6 The Party members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party committee or Party

branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.

7 All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Nominations of Party candidates to the state legislatures or the councils of centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the state executive committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by state councils, or in their absence by the state executive committees.

ARTICLE XXXI

Inner-Party Discussions

1 To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line, Inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2 Inner-Party discussion shall be organised:

(a) On important questions of all-India or state importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the central or the state organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken.

(b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the National Council or in the state council;

(c) When an Inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of state organisations representing one-third of the total Party membership or at the state level by district organi-

sation representing the same proportion of the total membership of the state.

3 Inner-Party discussion shall be concluded under the guidance of the national or the state council which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted.

ARTICLE XXXII

Discussion Preparatory to Party Congresses and Conferences

At least two months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee to be asserted and placed before the Party Congress.

ARTICLE XXXIII

Party Members Working in Mass Organisations

Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall work in an organised manner under the guidance of the appropriate Party committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned.

ARTICLE XXXIV

Bye-Laws

The National Council may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it. Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the state councils subject to confirmation by the National Council.

ARTICLE XXXV

Amendment

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress or in cases of emergency by the National Council by a two-thirds majority. In either case, the notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress or National Council meets provided that in cases of emergency and for reasons to be placed by the National Council before the Party Congress, notice may be waived by a two-thirds majority.

MOSCOW: New year came with its usual rush and bustle, shopping crowds, glittering and sparkling yolkas (the decorated New Year trees), children's holiday gatherings in practically all establishments, halls and stadia, fun and games, songs and dance and winter festivals. There was the usual stocktaking of all enterprises, farms and factories and the whole socialist land of the work done in the outgoing year and the plans for the New Year 1965.

USUAL, I say, for here steady progress, rising living standards, and mounting self-confidence of the people from year to year have become a law, a habit and everyday reality which one sometimes tends to take for granted, and only returning to the Soviet Union after some time, as I did for the New Year, one realises and feels with a greater impact the tempestuous onward rush, the pulsating, throbbing life force of the go-ahead social system that is socialism.

Rising Prosperity

The rising prosperity of the people is something which one feels here at every festival, at every national holiday.

There is a new emphasis now on opening up all avenues for the creative initiative and active participation of Soviet people in state affairs, economic life and cultural construction.

There is a greater intolerance of shortcomings, and a bolder popular movement to overcome them. There is much more criticism of the mismanagement and bureaucratic bungling than hitherto and fresh efforts are in evidence at establishing better links between consumer needs and demands and the production machine.

"It is for the sake of the working people that the Party promotes in every way socialist democracy

which alone can make possible all round and full development of the personality, unhindered creative activity and initiative of the masses", PRAVDA wrote on New Year eve.

At the December session of the Supreme Soviet which passed the budget and endorsed the plan for the year 1965, this new spirit was much in evidence, so much so that even the foreign bourgeois press noted the difference.

The American TIME magazine for example declared on December 18: "The debate following Kosygin's presentations was astonishingly frank". One speaker "had the audacity to accuse Kosygin's budget of perpetuating some of the upsetting mistakes."

The journal pointed out that Kosygin admitted that some of the criticisms were valid. TIME magazine even declared: "All this free speech was unprecedented in Supreme Soviet debates."

There is a new emphasis on increasing the effectiveness of socialist production in getting maximum results with the minimum expenditure of labour and materials through fuller and around use of the latest techniques.

Realistic Planning

Economy has to be based on the objective evaluation of reality and not on wishful thinking as was sometimes the case; material stimuli have to be properly used

TARGETS EXCEEDED, FUTURE PROSPECTS EVEN BRIGHTER

New Year Stocktaking In Soviet Union

From MASOOD ALI KHAN

in boosting up production and the economic laws of socialism have to be correctly used for the common good.

More than half of the people engaged in national economy have secondary or higher educational qualifications; their knowledge, experience and initiative have to be fully utilised and for this purpose more possibilities have to be provided for them.

A more scientific approach to the practical questions of planning and direction of socialist economy is called for, the papers emphasise.

The year 1965 is the last year of the current Seven-Year Plan. Like the last stage of the rocket, it will shoot the country up to the orbit of the coming greater Five-Year Plan. There is further drive in evidence to see that the culminating year brings even bigger success for the people.

Last year the national economy received in excess of the Plan 900 thousand tons of pig iron, one million tons of steel, 5,000 million KWH of electricity, thousands of ton of cement and large quantities of consumer goods and other commodities.

The production of oil increased by 17 million tons, coal by 20 million tons and gas by 19,000 million cubic metres. The bumper harvest made it possible to meet

all grain needs and replenish the state reserves.

This year industrial production will go up by 8.1 per cent over 1964. There is a new effort to increase the tempo of consumer goods production so that it catches up with the tempo of the growth of the means of production. The increase in the real income of population this year will be nearly double of last year: 7.3 per cent as compared to 3.9.

Last year 73.6 million square metres of housing was built. Now the figure for the last year of the current Plan is 84 million. The expenditure on cultural and social needs, education, science, sports, social insurance and social security will have a much greater increase: nearly 13 per cent over the year 1964.

The enterprises are to be given more freedom and rights in planning and the methods of planning are to be simplified and made more flexible. Enterprises are to be given more opportunities for showing initiative and economic independence in increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of production.

Avoiding Wastage

New efforts are being made to prevent wasteful, low quality and old-fashioned production of goods which nobody wants to buy. Direct links between producing factories and selling shops are being established to improve the relationship between demand and supply.

"It is important that for producing best quality goods which are in demand, the collective and each individual worker must receive the reward. On the other hand, for producing goods of low quality the particular culprits must bear the material responsibility", PRAVDA said.

Every enterprise must become profitable. "Let there be less and less of those enterprises which get state subsidy."

The papers here have highlighted the initiative taken by some enterprises on New Year's eve to launch a new emulation drive to improve quality.

Twenty enterprises of Moscow and 18 of Leningrad have taken upon themselves the socialist obligation to achieve the best world

standard in production in three or four years. For this purpose they are to take the cooperation of the scientists and use the latest techniques.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government welcomed this move as having great significance, for it means not only increasing production but also raising the technical level, quality and durability of goods.

"We are entering the New Year cheerfully, with great plans and bright hopes", PRAVDA declared. "We have a clear aim before us—communism. We have a clear road, the Leninist road determined by the decisions of the Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-second congresses of CPSU and the Party Programme. No force can divert us from this road, from the Leninist path."

The paper expressed confidence that the New Year will bring about a consolidation of the solidarity and unity of the forces of socialism. "Let the year 1965 be an year of further strengthening of friendship between socialist countries and international Communist movement."

It called for a complete liquidation of colonialism this year, for new victories of the revolutionary proletariat of capitalist countries and a great unity of all forces of peace, freedom and progress against imperialism, colonialism and aggression, for the consolidation of world peace and security of nations.

The central committee of the CPSU has sent New Year greetings to the Indian Communists. The message said:

"The Central Committee of the CPSU warmly congratulates Indian Communists on the occasion of the New Year. We wish you, dear Comrades, in the New Year success in the struggle for the realisation of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India which reflects the vital interests of all the working people of India."

"Let the new year serve the consolidation of the ranks of Communists of India and all the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and unity in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism."

CORRECTION

In the text of the CPI Seventh Congress Resolution on "Ideological Controversies and Unity of the International Communist Movement" published in the December 27, 1964 issue of NEW AGE some errors have crept in. Please note the following corrections:

★ On Page 2, column 1, third para line 8, after the words "general line" insert the following portion:

"as a clear repudiation of the unanimously worked out common line"

★ On Page 3, column 4, in para 7, first line (after the sub-heading) replace the word "coexistence" by "transition". The errors are regretted.

New Proposals For Better Relations Between German States

WALTER ULBRICHT'S NEW YEAR EVE BROADCAST

BERLIN: Walter Ulbricht, state council Chairman of the German Democratic Republic, suggested Thursday evening in a radio and television broadcast on the turn of the year that the governments of the two German states should agree on measures of understanding, a stop in the arms build up in the two German states, renunciation of any form of nuclear armament as well as negotiations on normalising their relations.

Ulbricht pointed out emphatically that the "plan to lay a belt of nuclear mines along the eastern border of West Germany will deepen and cement the split of Germany."

HE proposed to abolish discrimination in trade, to establish reciprocal trade representations in the two German states, to set up joint commissions for trade, transport, finances and legal aid, to halt discriminations against GDR citizens when they travel to West Germany and abolish West German laws which make GDR persons subject to arbitrary actions of the West German state and justice authorities.

The insistent initiatives of the GDR to overcome the division had always been answered by Bonn with demands for more armament, for nuclear armament.

It should be clear to the three western powers that permission of West Germany to any kind of joint nuclear armament would not only mean a hostile act against the peace-loving states in Europe, but would also make hopeless negotiations on reunification of the two German states.

Walter Ulbricht, state council chairman of the German Democratic Republic has sent a New Year message to Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, President of the Republic of India.

The message reads: "Excellency, on the occasion of the New Year, I convey to you and the people of the Republic of India best wishes on behalf of the council of State and the people of the German Democratic Republic and hope that the people's efforts for strengthening peace will be crowned with success also in 1965. I am convinced that the friendly relations between our two states will be further consolidated. I wish you good health and much success for your responsible activities."

Further messages on the turn of the year were sent by Premier Will Stoph to Indian Premier Lal Bahadur Shastri as well as by President of Parliament Professor Johannes Dieckmann and Foreign Minister Lothar Bolz to their Indian counterparts.

Internal Development

On internal development, Ulbricht said that industrial production increased during the outgoing year by seven per cent compared to 1963 and the worth of agrarian production was some seven hundred million marks higher than the previous year. Foreign trade rose by 8 per cent to approximately 22,000 million marks.

In 1965 we will make all endeavours to secure highest scientific-technical levels of production commensurate with technological standards of the future, with first rate research development, projec-



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DURGAPUR & 'SOCIALISM'

TTK: Cat Out Of The Bag

Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari has let the Congress cat out of the bag, right on the eve of the Durgapur Session of the Indian National Congress. Addressing the first meeting of the Resources Committee of the National Development Council, TTK openly expressed his opinion that "the flow of private money into the capital formation of public sector enterprises, including those to be established for consumer industries, should be encouraged".

So the private sector is to come into the public sector—and all in the name of "raising larger resources for the Fourth Plan"!

Hurrah for Congress "socialism"! The Congress leaders may perhaps be reminded of the Bhubaneswar Congress resolution (adopted only a year ago), which stated in quite unambiguous words that the "public sector must grow progressively in large scale industry and trade".

And now TTK has shown us how to implement the Bhubaneswar resolution: Instead of the public sector growing into areas till now held by the private sector, the private sector is to expand into the public sector!

This is a most serious declaration and should not be dismissed as merely the whim of the Finance Minister.

Who Killed Dhebar Report?

Perhaps it is not an accident that the official agenda for the Durgapur Congress makes no reference to the

There is plenty of reason to suspect that government policies are being whittled down in favour of the private sector, little by little.

It was not so long ago that the proposal to admit the private sector into the present public sector steel industry was put forward by N. Sanjeeva Reddy. Public outcry forced the Steel Minister to eat his words on that occasion.

Now once again, the Finance Minister has come forward with a blanket open sesame proclamation for the entry of the private sector into all areas at present with the public sector.

Again public opinion will have to assert itself in the most energetic way to halt the drift planned by TTK away from the basic tenets of the Congress government's own Industrial Policy Resolution.

Dhebar Committee's report on the implementation of the Bhubaneswar resolution on "Democracy and Socialism".

This Is Congress Democracy!

* FROM FRONT PAGE

he will find that even members of his own party are not convinced. Many of them feel—and not wrongly—that the arrests, far from clearing the air for the Congress in Kerala (as was perhaps hoped when the action was taken), have only increased the people's discontent with the Congress regime.

The essential point before the people, irrespective of their differences with the policies of the arrested leaders, is this: if the Congress government is allowed to get away with this indiscriminate assault on the fundamentals of democracy by the detention without trial of its political opponents, the future of democracy in India is dark.

The demand for release or an open trial in a court of law is a demand which should

be raised by all who treasure democracy and stand for civil liberties. If the charges being bandied about by government circles are true, what prevents them from making them believe?

As for the hopes which the authors of this dictatorial action may have of diverting the attention of the people from their urgent demands for food and a stop to the run-away prices—they are vain hopes. The working people of this country will not be diverted by these red herrings from intensifying their battles.

The Seventh Congress of the CPI has put forward its platform of action: It is confident of joining hands with all other democrats in common action for the immediate demands of the people.

January 6, 1965

First reports from Congressnagar say that "some delegates think that the report is sought to be put in cold storage" (TIMES OF INDIA, January 6).

Whether this is true or not, the fact remains that this Congress session, in contrast with that at Bhubaneswar does not seem even to pretend to talk of "socialism" or implementation of resolutions on "socialism".

The people as a whole are far less interested in the deliberations at Durgapur than they were in those of Bhubaneswar.

Perhaps this is due to the cynicism which has necessarily grown over this year even among erstwhile trumpeters of Congress "socialism", as a result of the complete failure of Congress governments to pay even lip sympathy to some of its "socialist" pretensions.

The food and prices crisis—and the refusal of Congress government to take the

minimum essential steps such as state trading in food-grains and nationalisation of banks, oil and import and export trade—have taught the Indian people enough, not to be misled by the verbiage in Congress Party resolutions, but to judge government's policies by its actions.

We are promised a long resolution on the economic situation, but from all in-

The Durgapur Session will highlight the discussion on the aftermath of the Chinese nuclear explosion. A large number of members have called for a "secret session".

The failure of the Congress High Command to take a firm stand has allowed a large number of Congress leaders to advocate, even inside Parliament, the entry of our country into the nuclear "club".

ROMESH CHANDRA

dications, this will not strike any new note but only repeat the rose-coloured nonsense, which solve no problems but only perpetuate them.

In such circumstances, the omission of the Dhebar Committee's report from the agenda, is only a natural corollary.

Right Caucus To The Fore

The fact that the Durgapur session is controlled by that symbol of right reaction inside the Congress top, Atulya Ghosh, has also made itself felt on the preparations for the session.

The first public function—the inauguration of the exhibition—starred Atulya Babu's bosom friend and companion in reactionary intrigues: S. K. Patil.

Other notorious figures of the right are bound to appear in other functions organised by Atulya Ghosh's Reception Committee.

So determined is the right caucus to hold sway over Durgapur, that it has virtually "banned" any meeting of the Socialist Forum, led by Home Minister Nanda, or of the socialist-minded left Congressmen led by K. D. Malaviya.

It had earlier been announced that such meetings would take place at Durgapur on the eve of or during the session.

These would have helped to strengthen the democratic forces inside the Congress and put forward concrete propo-

sals to halt the attempts of the right caucus to push government policies in a more reactionary direction on many issues.

It is a matter of regret that Atulya Babu's "mandate" against any such meetings has been virtually accepted by those who should know well enough by now that unless the democrats in the Congress unite their forces, they will not be able to exercise any effective influence on Congress policies.

It is to be hoped, however, that once they are at Durgapur, democratic Congressmen will turn their attention to the immediate problems which face the country and insist on raising popular demands for state trading, nationalisation etc. in as united and effective a way as possible.

Only if this is done will democratic-minded Congressmen throughout the country be able to secure the beginnings of a common platform on immediate issues, on which they can cooperate with other democratic forces in fighting against the grip of the monopolists over our economy.

At Durgapur too, a non-official resolution urges the making of an atom bomb by India. That such a resolution should be put forward—and by one who is a secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party and should be expected to understand Congress policies well—is a clear proof of the vacillations which beset government policies on this vital issue.

The foreign policy resolution, drafted by the Foreign Minister, is expected to reiterate the Congress policy of opposition to nuclear weapons and in support of the use of nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. But resolutions are not enough.

The Congress must initiate a resolute campaign to fight back the right reactionary parties' demands for an imperialist nuclear "umbrella" (cloaked often under the seemingly "brave" "patriotic" call for an Indian bomb!).

The failure on the part of the Congress to launch such a campaign, in cooperation with the Indian peace movement and other democratic organisations and parties, has given a fillip to pro-imperialist propaganda in the country.

Shastri's denial of any part in the nuclear "shield" nonsense can have meaning only if it is followed up by a clear and widespread mass movement against the bomb and the "umbrella".

(January 6, 1965)

Nuclear Shield Nonsense Again

The Prime Minister has categorically denied, in an interview with BLITZ Editor R. K. Karanjia, any part in the proposal for a nuclear "shield".

This is welcome, though belated; and one would have preferred a still clearer statement made on an official basis to prevent the misgivings that had arisen.

NEW AGE

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