

Political-Organizational Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the Eighth Congress, Cochin, December 23–29, 1968

Resolution of the Eighth Congress

This Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) endorses the policies, decisions and activities of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau since the Seventh Congress in 1964, set out in the Political-Organizational Report.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) marked a turning point in the history of the communist movement in the country. It adopted a new *Party Programme* and a *Resolution On Tasks* in which the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution were enunciated and elaborated. It entrusted the newly elected Central Committee with the job of working out tasks on the agrarian and trade union fronts and also the conducting and conclusion of the unfinished inner-party discussion on the ideological issues under international debate.

Our Central Committee, during these four years, has engaged itself in the struggle to faithfully implement the political line decided on by the Seventh Congress, and to discharge the other key tasks entrusted to it.

The Central Committee in its meeting held in the middle of April 1967 adopted a political report, titled *New Situation and Tasks*. It was widely discussed and debated at different levels inside the Party. In the Political Report, the political-economic developments in the country during the thirty months between the Seventh Congress and the April 1967 Central Committee meeting were assessed and reviewed, and on that basis, new tasks were worked out.

When our Party decided to convene its Seventh Congress and break away from the revisionist leaders of the then united Communist Party of India, it was guided by the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the international situation and the revolutionary principles embodied in the two documents of the world communist movement, namely the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Eightyone Parties Statement of 1960. Basing itself on the understanding of these documents of the new epoch, the Congress proceeded to work out the *Party Programme* and the political line to carry on the current work of the Party. Our Party came to the conclusion that modern revisionism was the main danger and settled accounts with the revisionists so far as the Indian question was concerned, but the Party Congress was not oblivious of the Left danger and its manifestations on certain questions connected with the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution.

The Party's struggle during the half decade we have left behind has to be characterized as a struggle for the correct Marxist-Leninist political line, a struggle against the main menace of modern revisionism and also the threats of Left sectarianism, a struggle to defend the *Party Programme* and the political line adopted at the Seventh Congress, and a struggle to faithfully and loyally implement the decisions of the Party Congress.

Formidable forces were arrayed against the Party when it was engaged in the struggle for a correct Marxist-Leninist line. The Government was busy maligning our Party, attempting to stifle its voice, suppress it by force and uproot it if it could. Our Party leaders, then members of the united Party, were arrested in 1962 and kept in detention for a long period. Once again, in the year 1964, hardly six weeks after the Party Congress, the Government attacked the Party on all-India scale, and detained under the DIR more than a thousand of its leaders at different levels. The Government, using all its media of propaganda and communication, and pressing into service the so-called free press under the

monopoly control of big business, let loose a most vicious slander campaign against our Party, and even its leaders by name. They were maligned as "Peaking agents", as "fifth columnists of Pakistan" as "terrorists conspiring to organize armed revolts", and as "anti-national, anti-patriotic and subversive forces out to disrupt Indian unity and destroy Indian independence"—all with the sole object of discrediting and isolating our Party and getting popular sanctions to suppress us by force. Our Party has earned the hatred of the Congress Government, and is singled out as the target of its attacks. Of course, there is no reason why we should feel sorry over it, since it is our consistent class policies, consciously pursued, that are earning this hatred and enmity from the bourgeois-landlord Government.

The slanderous campaign of the bourgeois-landlord Government was helped by the foul attacks of the right opportunists and revisionists of our country, fully backed and supported by their chief international patrons of modern revisionism, the leadership of the CPSU. They repeated every lie and slander against us, invented by the Congress leaders and other reactionaries in the country, with the only difference that they did it more subtly and couched in cunning and deceptive class terms and phrases. These Indian revisionists, dubbing us as splitters and pretending to be unifiers of the communist movement, depicting us as dogmatists and adventurists while masquerading themselves as creative Marxists, and tom-toming to the world that they alone represented communism in India, have been busy contesting every basic proposition and formulation of our *Party Programme* and challenging every syllable of our political-tactical line. The revisionists had held their Seventh Congress in Bombay, and produced a programme and evolved a political-tactical line of their own. During the last four years of furious battles between the two rival programmes and political lines, the revisionist programme and political line have been reduced to shambles. Every thinking person understands this, and even the bourgeois patrons of the revisionists have to admit it.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China also have been directing their fire against us. Our Party, locked in the grim and bitter life and death struggle with the modern revisionists at home and abroad, had looked on the Communist Party of China with high hopes and great admiration, when it boldly unleashed the struggle against the modern revisionism of the CPSU leaders. Many among our Party members could summon courage to accept the revisionist challenge, because of the added self-confidence they acquired from the great anti-revisionist struggle that the Chinese comrades had unfolded on an international scale. But during the last eighteen months, the Chinese communist leadership, through its press, radio and other means at its disposal, had mounted a full-scale offensive against our Party, its *Programme* and political line. There is no abuse, no epithet left unused to decry our leaders and denounce our Party. Our Party is fully aware that all this unbecoming wrath against us is let loose on us because we differ with them on the concrete assessment of the class relations in our country and the political line that follows from it, and we do not subscribe to some of their new theories, new world assessments, and wrong tactics of fighting modern revisionism.

Such are the adverse currents and conditions under which our Party is called upon to discharge its duties towards the revolutionary movement in our country and to the cause of socialism and communism on a world scale. Our Party will have to face this reality squarely, and every party member must understand it. The Eighth Congress of our Party which is meeting in the midst of these realities is duty bound to take stock of them while self-critically reviewing its work and chalking out its future tasks.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Crisis of World Capitalist Economy

Our *Programme* had noted that the capitalist economy in the midst of the third stage of its general crisis was experiencing a further accentuation of the crisis. *New Situation and*

Tasks also had pointed to the deep-seated crisis of the economy.,

The last four years have rapidly led to a tremendous accentuation of the situation bringing forward all the familiar symptoms of a world crisis and repudiating the apologists of the capitalist order who claimed that capitalism has made a new turn eliminating crises and ensuring a regular and even advance of the productive forces of society.

The devaluation of the sterling followed by the devaluation of not less than 24 other currencies mainly in the sterling area leading to the unprecedented gold rush and the virtual devaluation of the dollar showed that the crisis of the capitalist system was manifesting itself in the familiar form and had started affecting the citadel of capitalism, the USA, in the most violent manner.

The sterling crisis was followed a year later by the currency crisis in France, threatening the devaluation of the franc. Only a huge credit of 2,000 million dollars from the Group of Ten, the world's leading industrialist nations, halted the massive speculation against the franc and enabled de Gaulle to declare: "The present parity of the French franc will be maintained."

The devaluation of the sterling which threw the monetary system of the capitalist world into confusion was a manifestation of the crisis of Britain's imperialist system. Britain, in spite of her balance of payments deficit, was exporting capital on a vast scale, mainly for investment in the sterling area countries. In 1964, it exported £302 million; in 1965, £326 million; in 1966, £329 million. To continue this export and gather the loot arising from it, it had to spend huge sums in military expenditure alone. All this went beyond its capacity, since it had a continued deficit in balance of payments due to its inability to capture the world markets. It had to devalue to improve its positions at the expense of the British working class and its trade rivals on the world market. The devaluation thus only sharpened the conflict for markets and intensified imperialist rivalries.

The balance of payments difficulties were not faced by Britain alone. They are being faced by the USA whose deficit is reaching colossal proportions. They epitomise the fact that the mechanism of economic domination of the world, of looting and policing the capitalist world, of subjugating the industries of developed and underdeveloped countries alike is facing a breakdown, is coming into conflict with its inner contradictions. They only show that the inherent laws of capitalist production are asserting themselves. A look at the world capitalist economy reveals its present plight.

It should be remembered that during the last twenty years capitalism has gone through three stretches of crises and slumps. The first period was in 1948-52; the second in 1957-58; the third stretch started in 1964-65 and by 1967 had spread to all capitalist countries. The present phase is another cycle being worked in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism.

Apart from the general laws of capitalist society, the accentuation of the crisis is determined by the following: the formation and development of the socialist camp and its economy; the disintegration of the colonial system; the struggle of the developing countries for economic independence; the growing concentration and monopolisation of the economic life of the developed countries; the burdens of state monopoly capitalism and imperialism which lead to militarisation of the economy and huge unproductive spending on defence which continually upset the balance of payments position. The aftermath of the last war, the new technological developments and their uneven spread in the various countries accentuate the depth of the crisis. The malady this time is therefore not of a weak capitalist country or a few countries but extends to all developed countries. The manifestations of crisis appear principally in the main centres of imperialism. They are seen in the United States, France, Great Britain, West Germany, above all in the USA, the main force of imperialism, and in France.

Capitalist production was rising between 1963 and 1966

but its rate of growth has started declining since 1967. This can be seen from the following table:

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (1958 =100)

	USA	Canada	Britain	FRG	France	Belgium	Italy	Japan
1963	133	133	119	137	129	135	166	212
1964	141	145	128	149	158	145	169	248
1965	153	156	132	157	141	148	177	260
1966	167	169	133	160	150	150	197	290
1967	168.5	173	132	155	154	150	215	348
1966 (per cent of 1963)	225.5	130	112.6	177	116.2	111.1	120.4	136.7
1967 (per cent of 1966)	100.9	102.3	99.2	96.2	102.6	100	109.1	120

Source MONTHLY BULLETIN OF STATISTICS Data for 1967 are preliminary

This expansion of industrial production in a number of capitalist countries was spurred by the increase in military spending, the arms race, military adventures and, above all, the war in Vietnam. In recent years it is the escalation of the war in Vietnam and attendant increase of military spending and war orders that formed the basis of the higher growth of productive rates and the rise of employment in the United States. And this rise in employment mostly meant employment in military service or military production. Between the fourth quarter of 1965 and the second quarter of 1967 the number of persons in military service in the USA rose by 7 lakhs, those in military production by 13 lakhs. Nothing more need be said about an economy where workers' jobs depend on the mass massacre of another people.

This dastardly war buoyed up not only the U.S. economy but also that of Japan, Canada and Australia who received big war orders from the USA.

But the war could not sustain the advance for a longer period. By the end of 1966 and the beginning of 1967, the factors that brought out the temporary advance began to

wane. The United States which had achieved a large increase in industrial production (9.2 per cent) in 1966 began to stagnate in 1967, registering only a small improvement in November. In 1967, industrial output increased by less than one per cent, steel production dropped by seven million tons, the turnover of cars slumped by a million and production of household appliances declined. Capital investments for the building of new industrial enterprises and for the purchase of equipment declined in real terms. Gross private capital investment in 1967 was 8 per cent less than in 1966. This led to a tremendous increase in the balance of payments deficit. It was 1,300 million dollars in 1965; 1,400 million in 1966 and rose to 3,600 million dollars in 1967. The balance of payments cost of the Vietnam war accounted for half the payments deficit in 1967.

It was clear that the production spurt based on war activity was being financed through growing indebtedness, inflation and balance of payments deficits.

Britain, whose production has been stagnating, saw a decline in production in 1967 compared with 1966. Coal and steel output went down by 3 per cent, cars by 6 per cent and textile clothing and footwear by 4 to 5 per cent. Capitalist investments were shrinking in 1967. Investments in the manufacturing industry fell by about 8 per cent. The British balance of payment position went beyond control, making it plain that Britain had overstretched itself in its imperialist ambitions, that it was outstripped by its rivals on the world market.

The Federal Republic of Germany, the western miracle, saw a 10 per cent decrease in coal output and a 11 per cent fall-off in engineering production. In 1967, the volume of industrial production was lower by 2.5 per cent compared to 1966. There was recession in all branches of production and the West German press dubbed the year as "black year". No country in Western Europe had seen a crisis of this depth since the end of the last year.

De Gaulle's France with all its gold reserves and leadership

of the Common Market showed instability. In 1967, for the major part of the year, industrial production either declined or remained at the previous year's level. Only towards the third quarter of the year, the index began to rise under the incentive measures taken by the state. The total increase in industrial production was only 3 per cent. The precarious position of the economy, the hardships which it inflicted on the working class, were seen this year in the historic general strike of the French working class in June when ten million workers occupied factories for three weeks till they were let down by their leaders.

At the same time the unevenness of capitalist development is seen in the fact that Italy and Japan forged ahead in the year, thus exacerbating the contradictions among capitalist states and monopolist groupings. Industrial output in Japan grew by 20 per cent and in Italy by 9 per cent. This is due to the fact that these two countries were the first to emerge from their difficult period.

Japan, the new miracle of the capitalist world, showed an annual average increase of 14.1 per cent in industrial production for 1955-66 when the capitalist world could show only a rate of 5.4 per cent. It has outdistanced Italy, France and Britain. It will be beating West Germany in gross national product and rising to second place in the capitalist world, next to the United States. It ranks first in the output of shipping tonnage and is second only to the USA in steel, electricity, automobiles, cement, etc.—its output of steel (62.2 million tons) nearly equals, or exceeds, that of Britain, France and Italy put together.

The advance was achieved on the basis of development of monopoly collaboration agreements with foreign firms for importing the technological revolution, combined with joint ventures with U.S. monopoly capital and orders for supplying the needs of the war in Vietnam. At the same time Japanese products are invading the American market and leading to the demand for protection and import quota restrictions. Japan's rise accentuates the crisis of the U.S.

economy. With all its advance, the number of unemployed in Japan went up by 43.2 per cent reaching the figure of 630,000; 4.3 million persons or about 12 per cent of the labour force in industry, service branches and construction were semi-employed working part-time. The secret of Japanese success is to be seen in the following: the Tokyo *Economist* estimates that whole labour productivity in Japanese manufacturing industry has been 97.3 per cent above the British, 87.5 above West Germany's, 59.6 above the French, wage levels have been 20 per cent below the British, 11.2 below the West German, 33.4 below the French. Comparison with the USA shows Japanese labour productivity only 20 per cent lower, Japanese wages 73.3 per cent lower.

Automation, low wages, unemployment—it is with these weapons that Japan has produced its miracle outbidding its imperialist rivals and sharpening the economic conflicts. The slowing down of production led to a slowing down of the growth rates in international trade intensifying the situation still further. United States exports increased in value by 10.4 per cent in 1966 (as compared with the preceding year) while for 1967 the increase was only 4.8 per cent; for Britain the figures were 6.7 and 4.8 per cent respectively; for the Federal Republic of Germany, 12.5 and 7.0 per cent; for France, 8.3 and 3.1 per cent.

The growth of retail trade in several countries also shrank. In the United States and Canada retail trade increased by 6-7 per cent in 1966 and by about only 2 per cent in 1967. In Britain this remained approximately at the 1966 level while in West Germany and Italy they showed a tendency to decline.

Capitalist production was meeting with a saturated demand in the internal and external markets, thanks to the monstrous profits of the monopolists and the huge military expenditures. The profits of American corporations (before tax reduction) grew from 59,400 million dollars in 1963 to 83,000 million dollars in 1966. In the first quarter of 1968, profits before tax reached a record annual rate of 88,800 million dollars, 12.4 per cent above the preceding year.

The inflationary rise in prices, the growth of unproductive expenditure, the growing degree of automation and the slow-down in production all led to increased exploitation of the working class, to a lowering of the standard of living and increased unemployment. The Wilson Government of Britain openly embarked upon a policy of wage-freeze to protect the profits of the monopolists. The wage struggles in European countries reached new heights. In France the discontent burst out into general strike.

Unemployment grew by leaps and bounds. In 1965, the capitalist countries of Western Europe had an industrial reserve army of 1.8 million people. In 1967, it grew to three million. In West Germany, the crisis and the build-up of monopolistic dictatorship led to mass unemployment for the first time in the post-war period. The growing unemployment is seen in the following figures which underestimate the actual unemployment :

NUMBER OF FULLY UNEMPLOYED
(Thousands)

	USA	Canada	Britain	France	FRG	Belgium	Japan
1963	4,070	374	612	97	174	59	400
1964	3,786	324	413	97	157	50	370
1965	3,366	280	360	141	139	55	390
1966	2,875	267	391	147	154	61	440
1967	2,975	315	599	196	451	65	464

Source . Monthly Bulletin of Statistics

It should be realised that all the countries primarily affected are countries where monopolies rule and state monopoly capitalism exists. And in almost all of them militarisation of economy is proceeding apace and a large part of the budget and the national income is spent on "defence", thus distorting the economy completely and making the crisis inevitable. In fiscal year 1967-68 the United States allocated 76,500 million dollars or more than two-fifths of the budget for defence purposes. Of this 30,000 million were

spent on the war in Vietnam. West Germany spent nearly one-third of its budget for military needs. Military spendings of Britain and France swallowed about a fifth of their budgets and in the case of Italy a sixth of the budget. The total military expenditure of the North Atlantic bloc now amounts to 98,800 million dollars.

Thus the economic crisis is directly connected with the war spending and monopolization of the economy. After temporarily buoying up the economy and creating a false sense of prosperity, the war spending and monopoly rule have accentuated all the contradictions of the system, deepening its crisis. It has put an end to the glib talk about full employment and the great society. And it has exacerbated all the conflicts of the rival contenders.

Each power or group of powers tries to get out of its difficulties at the expense of the other thereby intensifying the conflicts among the powers.

It is in this background that the monetary convulsions of 1967, the devaluation of the sterling and the crisis of the French franc are to be understood. The devaluation of the sterling was forced on Britain by the economic crisis. Britain's trade together with the loot from its investments were not enough to meet its continued obligations of export of capital and military protection of its imperialist interests abroad. Devaluation was an attempt to improve its position at the expense of its trading partners in world trade. But it meant also damage to the prestige of the sterling as a reserve currency—a means by which Britain has been able to reap big financial advantages besides huge profits. How much Britain depends on sterling as a reserve can be seen from the fact that in July this year foreigners held 13.5 billion dollars in sterling while Britain had only 2.7 billion dollars and gold reserves to redeem the pound in foreign hands. But the crisis was so deep that the latter advantage had to be sacrificed. The continental bankers agreed to help it only on condition that it devalued the sterling and damaged the prestige of its currency. Thus we find that devaluation arising

out of Britain's crisis was the result of sharp conflict of rivalries among the capitalist powers. It enabled the British capitalists to throw fresh burdens on the working class but the crisis is deep-seated and Britain is far from having overcome the balance of payments crisis.

But the devaluation of the pound led to a chain reaction leading to an enormous gold rush, to the sale of pound and dollar for gold, threatening the prestige of the dollar and creating the danger of the collapse of the major currency of the capitalist world. The dollar is the major reserve currency of the countries of the capitalist world. If its value becomes unstable then the entire capitalist world will be thrown into chaos and that would result in the near-collapse of capitalist production itself. That is why the USA got panicky with the gold rush which was not simply due to a lack of confidence in the pound but also in the dollar. So undermined was the confidence that nothing would appear to restore it. The run on gold, which meant a flight from the dollar, shook the financial markets of the capitalist world. Panic ensued. At the request of Lyndon Johnson, London closed its gold market for three days. The U.S. Senate voted the unprecedented proposal to drop the gold coverage of American bank notes in circulation which is supposed to free about 10 billion dollars to maintain the gold price of 35 dollars an ounce. In its efforts to maintain the parity of dollar the USA lost \$2,500 million between November 1967 and March 1968. The Federal Reserve System of the United States raised the discount rate to 5 per cent (to attract foreign funds), the highest level since Black Monday of 1929, of the Great Crisis. And with all these desperate measures the Federal Bank had to announce that it would release gold only to the central banks to support the dollar; that it would not protect the dollar in the few private markets. This was nothing but partial devaluation of the dollar affecting its stability and its role as a reserve currency. The crisis has thus already shaken the financial system of the USA to its foundations. The monstrous expenditure for the war against Vietnam, and the huge

balance of payments deficits have undermined the faith in the dollar and even the desperate measures of Johnson could not restore it. Another push and the dollar will topple down like the pound.

The run on the French franc which was considered one of the safest currencies was yet another manifestation of the instability and critical condition of the capitalist order. De Gaulle had enjoyed the plight of the sterling and the dollar a year back and had demanded a re-organization of the world monetary system, dethroning the dollar and sterling from their status as reserve currencies. Little did he realise that he himself was sitting on a volcano and would be soon running to his rivals to save the franc.

Exactly a year after the devaluation of the sterling, the franc threatened to tumble down and join the ranks of devalued currencies. The keen competition between West Germany and France inside the Common Market, the shrinkage of the world market, and the concessions extorted by the French working class during the glorious general strike of May 1968, hastened the crisis of French capitalism and the result was the massive run on the franc. The French franc could escape the fate of the sterling only with the help of France's rivals, the USA, Britain and West Germany.

The crisis of the capitalist world's three biggest currencies only means the depth of the crisis of their economy. In 1968 once again propaganda is afoot that the American economy has turned the corner and that the Gross National Product is increasing at a rapid rate. But while inflationary conditions appear to give a temporary boost to production experts expect a recession or a shock at any time. In fact, stagnation and slow-down in production continue even now when talk about a new upsurge is being spread. A business forecast, published in July says, "Most probably we are in for a mini-recession. There is the possibility of a mini-recession. And as an outside possibility, I don't exclude a maxi-recession".

In the first two quarters of 1968, American economy

showed a super-heated ten per cent growth—6 per cent of it real growth and 4 per cent caused by inflation. It however became clear that everyone was expecting a setback from the heated performance. As a matter of fact, the USA in this period was unable to push its exports ahead, the trade surplus dwindling to a mere 13 million dollars. The large drop in the balance of payments deficit was due to the entry of foreign money—hot money—into the USA, a feature which may upset the economy any day.

In spite of the figures about increased production in 1968 the situation in the USA seems to be precarious. In August 1968, the U.S. steel industry had a massive build-up of 33 million tons of inventory. The auto industry had enough steel on hand to meet its needs for an estimated three months and it is opined that the period of inventory reduction could last as much as two years. Steel production was falling faster than expected. The American Iron and Steel Institute announced that output had dropped to 2,235,000 net tons in the week ended August 4, down 12.7 per cent from the week before and 23.5 per cent from the peak production in the week ended April 28. The spectre of mass lay-offs has begun to take shape. The U.S. *Steel* says its lay-off amounts to 5 to 6 per cent. *Steel* magazine estimates that before the year is over the industry will have laid off more than 100,000 men, one out of every six men employed by the steel companies as recently as June.

The truth is that the inflated war-ridden economy of the USA is unable to compete with its rivals and even finds the home market inundated with foreign—Japanese—goods. Protectionist voices are being raised; demand for import quota restrictions is being voiced. All this shows the cut-throat character of the competition. Each one for himself is the slogan now. The *Federal Reserve Bulletin* in April stated, "A considerable range of goods may have become less competitive since 1965 than they were before. ..if this hypothesis about a deterioration in competitiveness is correct, some part of the rapid rise in merchandise imports since 1965 should be

thought of not as a temporary aberration but as a new trend that can be changed only slowly with difficulty". The fact is that the USA is being outpriced in its own market in certain goods. In 1967, there were deep foreign inroads into the auto industry and steel. Imports of autos were valued at 877 million dollars while exports were at 294 million dollars. Imports of steel reached 1.4 billion dollars—nearly all from Western Europe and Japan and they exceeded the exports by more than 720 million dollars. The steel industry demands restrictions on imports through quotas.

That is where the U.S. economy stands. And in Britain also, in spite of some improvement in trade figures following devaluation and international loans, the crisis atmosphere continues and further trouble is apprehended. The burdens of the crisis are being thrown on the common man. Output per man has risen at the rate of 3.8 per cent per man in the last quarter of 1967 while wages are frozen under the Government's 3½ per cent formula. The retail sales index has dropped by 6 per cent. Any passing economic shift in another important country may smash the superficial evidence of economic comeback. Devaluation of the franc, slow-down in the West German economy or imposition of import controls in the USA or a decline in world trade may bring the British economy to its knees. And there are signs that in the background of fierce competition among the capitalist states any one of these, including imposition of American tariffs, may take place setting a chain reaction in the capitalist economy.

An essential feature of the present crisis is that it is increasingly shaped by both cyclical and non-cyclical factors; it is, especially in the USA, directly related to the military-political crisis of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The crisis takes place when the new technological revolution has not evenly spread over all capitalist countries; when the USA still leads in this field. This time it has spread to almost all the capitalist countries including the USA and has for the first time since the end of the war, drawn West Germany also into its vortex.

The direct relation of the crisis with state monopoly capitalism, with the system of imperialist aggression, its system of export of capital is now easily seen. It has however been accentuated by the defeats and debacle of imperialist policy, its failure to subdue under-developed countries through neo-colonialism or sheer aggressive conquests, its increasing failure due to the existence of the socialist world to solve it at the expense of the masses in developed as well as under-developed countries.

The character of the present crisis makes it abundantly clear that the temporary make-shifts, the attempts to pass on the burdens to the masses, or the manoeuvres to pass them to their allies will not offer a solution or the way out; and that temporary lifting of the economic situation in this or that country will not end the aggravation of the economic situation in the capitalist world.

The growing weakness of the United States—the strongest of the capitalist countries—illustrates the point.

The expansionism of U.S. imperialism has given rise to the dollar crisis. The U.S. has already lost 60 per cent of its gold reserves; they are smaller in relation to its international trade than any time in recent years. Monstrous military spending has led to domestic inflation. The “gold pool” which enabled the U.S. to secure the collaboration of other powers to hold the price of the inflated dollar has collapsed. It has become increasingly difficult for the USA to pass on its burdens to them through the currency mechanism.

The measures which the Johnson administration took to rectify the situation have failed. Restraints on capital exports were turned down by the monopolists who thrive on such exports. The requests to allies for sharing the huge costs of military bases all over the world came up against the prevailing mood of the allies to disentangle themselves from American adventurism. Attempts to rectify the balance of payments position by reducing imports and increasing exports failed because American monopolists who have invested abroad insist on supplying foreign markets through

their products produced abroad and also are intent on sending their goods to the USA.

At present the USA is having a kind of "boom" but everyone is afraid that a crash may come any time. It is feared that the dollar may not be able to stand this strain and may be devalued, which will lead to a crisis all over the capitalist world.

All this leads to frontal attacks against the workers, the attempts to make them the scapegoats of the capitalist crisis. High taxation and high prices defraud them. Calculations for manufacturing industries show a decline in real take-home pay per unit of production amounting to 5 per cent since 1964, and 15 per cent in the past decade. Official figures show the following average annual inroads in real take-home pay of U.S. factory workers—1939-47, 3.0 per cent, 1947-57, 2.2 per cent, 1957-67, 1.4 per cent. The rising strike-wave, according to the U.S. Department of Labour, involved 1.8 million workers in 1966 and 2.9 million workers in 1967. The government agency for settling strikes complained that it was becoming harder to avert strikes because rank and file rejection of settlement terms brought to them ran higher and higher. In 1966, the rejection rate ran at 11.7 per cent of the agreement negotiated by labour leaders and companies. In 1967, the rejection rate rose to 14.7 per cent for the first six months. Strikes run for months, negotiations get prolonged, workers offer determined resistance.

Official unemployment statistics in the USA grossly underestimate the number of unemployed. In 1966, in addition to the 3 million admitted fully unemployed, the Labour Department counted 1.6 million men of working age as "not in the labour force". Another 2 million were counted as working part-time. Actual unemployment may be twice as much as officially admitted.

The 1967 figures show a fall because of official falsification. The 1964 figures themselves showed that 14 million workers suffered from unemployment among whom 10 million were out of work for more than a month and six million for more than three months.

In Britain, devaluation, and the reactionary income policy which is but another name for wage-freeze, are the methods which Prime Minister Wilson uses to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the workers.

In France, again, the ruling classes attempt to transfer the burdens of the crisis to the working class and conspire to attack the civil and democratic rights of the toilers. While announcing that the parity of the franc will be maintained, de Gaulle blamed the working class struggles for the plight of the French economy, announced wage-freeze while formally assuring that the previous gains will not be attacked and threatened action against the movement of workers, students and toilers. Broadcasting on November 24, 1968, de Gaulle said:

“When, in the midst of world competition, a country—I speak of ours—which was in a state of growing prosperity and which had one of the strongest currencies in the world, stopped working for weeks and weeks, when it was long deprived of trains, ships, public transport, mining output, postal communications, radio, petrol, electricity, when, to escape death by suffocation, it had in one blow to impose on its economy huge wage burdens, to overburden its budget with suddenly increased spending, exhaust its credit with aid precipitously lavished on foundering concerns—nothing can enable that country to find its equilibrium again at once, even if it has been able to pull up at the edge of the precipice.” (*Commerce*, November 30, 1968, p. 1143)

“From the economic point of view, this means that, without giving up the increase in pay as agreed upon last spring, we refuse to impose burdens on our economy for this purpose, because they would prevent it becoming vigorous and competitive again.” (*Ibid*)

“As regards public order—because the crisis arose from the moment when order was disturbed and will not come to an end if there is doubt as to whether it will be maintained henceforth—the required measures must be taken so that from now on, in our faculties and schools, in the streets of our

cities and on the roads of our countryside, there is no more agitation and exhibitionism, tumults and processions that stop work and scandalise sensible people: and let everyone who has a duty to perform, a position to hold, a function to perform do it conscientiously." (*Ibid*, pp. 1143-44)

The Impact on Underdeveloped Countries

The crisis has affected the economies of the underdeveloped countries, of the newly liberated countries who have strong trade ties with the imperialist countries and have been receiving "aid" from them for their economic development. The economic slack reduced the terms of trade and the total exports, throwing the economy of these countries out of gear. Due to reduced prices for exports, the burden of servicing foreign debts became extremely heavy. What the imperialists earned through unfair terms of trade exceeded what they lent to these countries through economic aid. A number of these countries were forced to take severe measures to restrict their own standard of living and export more. India was compelled to devalue its currency so that it could export more at lower prices; devaluation raised the burden of servicing its debts by nearly 50 per cent and was intended to check imports of capital broods for new industries.

Simultaneously, because of the crisis there was curtailment of "aid"—stiffer terms of foreign "aid"—more stringent demand that loans should be paid back in foreign currency—all of which not only accentuated the economic crisis in these countries but made their economies more dependent on western loans. The only stabilising and counter acting element was the aid and trade arrangements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but these in the very nature of things could not halt the process of economic deterioration and crisis.

Foreign aid every where has forced a costly economy on the recipient countries. As the *United Nations Report on Ecafe*, 1966, states, differences exist between "the real value or purchasing power of assistance and of free export revenue.

The difference is due to the ties which increasingly restrict the use of bilateral assistance to purchases or more strictly to purchase of specified commodities from the donor countries. Supplies of American surplus agricultural commodities are the limiting case, both in the sense of a rigidly defined commodity content of assistance and also in the sense of assistance that would simply not be forthcoming if it were not so embodied...In the wake of numerous civil servants and publicly accountable politicians in the donor countries, there operates at times industrial collusion and price discrimination, which raises the prices of aid-tied supplies to developing countries...A recent quantitative study of the purchase power of assistance to Pakistan estimated that the operation of ties causes the nominal value of assistance to exceed its real resources content at world market prices by 12-13.5 per cent". The weighted average price for a sample of 20 development projects in Pakistan was found to be 51 per cent higher in the lowest quotation from the tied sources than in the lowest quotation obtainable through international bidding. In the case of non-project assistance it was found that prices of supplies from the United States were 40-50 per cent above international levels. The same phenomenon occurs when shipments must be made by donor's flagships. "The Pakistan study found that the prices of tied assistance supplies from Japan, France, Italy and the Netherlands were significantly higher than international prices...For United States non-project assistance, the lowest American quotations were consistently above international levels."

Tied to costly western aid, burdened with old production relations, these countries have been always in difficulties, their good or bad years depending for the most part on the agricultural season. By 1966 itself, the growth rate of industrial production in the ECAFE region had fallen to half of the 1965 rate. Adverse agricultural season was mainly responsible for this falling rate. In 1967 because of the good agricultural year growth rate of this region doubled as compared with 1966 (from 4 to 8 per cent).

Thanks to the slow growth and repeated setbacks the gap between the backward and developed countries is growing—while in the advanced countries the annual per capita increase in the national income amounted to 60 dollars in the last few years, in the underdeveloped countries it was only 2.5 dollars.

And in recent years the export of capital to these countries from the imperialist countries at extortionate rates, the manipulating of the prices of raw materials, the adverse terms of trade—all designed to pass on the burdens of the crisis to them, have created a grave situation drawing these economies into the vortex of the crisis, India being one of them.

The share of the underdeveloped countries in world exports dropped from 27 per cent in 1953 to 19.3 per cent in 1966. The process of exploitation entailed in their trade with the West can be gauged from the fact that their loss from unequal trade grew and reached a colossal sum—about 2,500 million dollars a year or almost half the total sum of receipts from abroad. The UNCTAD Secretary-General's report for the Delhi session in February 1968 revealed that the relation between import and export prices was almost 13 per cent more than in 1954 while their losses from unequal trade in 1961-64 amounted to the colossal sum of 13,400 million dollars. This is how the burdens of the crisis and exploitation were being passed on to them. What chance had their economy to recover or progress? To protect their own markets, in the increasing world competition, the imperialist countries formed closed groups like the Common Market, European Free Trade Association, GATT agreements, all of which led to discrimination against the backward countries.

The external debt of the underdeveloped countries has grown rapidly between 1955 and 1966. During this period it increased from 10,000 to 40,000 million dollars. Payments on these debts, which amounted to 500 million dollars in the mid-fifties, have now reached an annual total of 4,000 million dollars. At this rate, all the finances received by the underdeveloped countries will have to be used by the end of

the decade to meet the repayment of loans and interest on them. As a writer in an American magazine puts it, "The U.N. Decade of Development has been an unmitigated disaster so far. There is growing frustration, growing hunger and growing violence. Everything appears rigged against the have-nots, from the technology of the more developed countries (whose increasingly sophisticated synthetics reduce the demand for primary products, and whose new production methods cut down on raw materials consumption) to patterns of trade and lending habits."

The crisis of the world capitalist economy thus sharpens the contradictions between the developed and backward countries, leading to greater exploitation by the former, and imposes on the latter economic deterioration or conditions of stagnation. Even sections of the industrial bourgeoisie from these countries are forced to fight against the growing subjugation to imperialism. On the one hand the imperialists try to impose further burdens; on the other hand the people of these countries are forced to fight them and liberate their economies from the growing burdens of the crisis of the capitalist economy.

The desire of the backward countries to advance their economies, the rise of industry in these countries, leads to resistance on their part to accept the burdens of the capitalist crisis. There is growing resistance to the loot through monopoly profits in these countries and the imperialists find themselves face to face with opposition from the entire people. It is no longer easy for the imperialists to solve their crisis at the expense of the former colonies. The "aid" to these countries from the socialist world strengthens their resistance. All this intensifies and prolongs the crisis of the capitalist economy.

The existence of the socialist camp with its powerful rapid economic growth constitutes a major factor in the growth and accentuation of the crisis of the capitalist economy. Socialism has spread beyond the boundaries of a single country and comprises one-third of the world. This itself was a powerful

blow to the capitalist system contributing to its permanent instability. The emergence of the socialist world has taken one-third of the world out of the orbit of capitalist exploitation thereby tremendously intensifying the inner contradictions of capitalism and its struggle for markets.

Today the world capitalist economic system is confronted with backward countries. The economic activities of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp on a global scale, the numerous trade pacts and trade deals they offer, and their direct help to build new industries in the backward countries sharpen the economic competition between the two camps, obstruct the imperialist attempts to dominate the markets and economies of backward countries, and thereby prolong and intensify the crisis of capitalist economy. The activities of the socialist camp offer a big obstacle to the imperialist attempts to solve the crisis at the expense of the underdeveloped nations though the actual results of the activities of the socialist camp depend to what extent the Governments of the backward countries pursue progressive, anti-imperialist policies. These activities of the socialist camp add to the intensity of the rivalry among the imperialist powers themselves.

The Socialist Camp

The steady progress of the socialist camp stands out in sharp contrast to the crisis of the capitalist society. Notwithstanding the material incentive schemes and other erroneous policies, and other revisionist economic policies which create danger to the socialist states as in Czechoslovakia, the socialist countries show continuous progress.

The socialist countries contribute about two-fifths of the world industrial output. In the immediate future, judging by the economic growth rates of various groups of countries, the share of socialist production is bound to rise further. It is estimated that the socialist countries will be leading in this sphere by the end of 1970.

The share of the countries of the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance—which does not include People's China, the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba—constitute one-third of the total industrial production. Their share is more than twice that of the Common Market countries, some of the economically most developed states. Per capita industrial output in the CMEA countries is more than three times the average world figure.

The following table illustrates the rapid rates of industrial growth in these countries:

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF CMEA COUNTRIES				
(per cent)				
	Average annual growth rates 1961-65	Average annual growth rates 1966-70 (plan)	1966	1967
Bulgaria	11.7	11.2	12.0	13.4
Czechoslovakia	5.2	5.1-5.4	7.2	7.1
German Democratic Republic	6.0	6.5-7.0	6.1	6.8
Hungary	7.5	5.0-6.0	6.6	9.1
Poland	8.5	7.5	7.3	7.5
Mongolia	10.5	11.2-12.5	7.2	7.7
Romania	13.8	10.6-11.6	11.0	13.5
U.S.S.R.	8.6	8.9	8.6	10.0

“Between 1950 and 1968, the overall national income of CMEA countries has increased, according to the preliminary data for 1968, by more than four times; the gross industrial output of these countries in the same period grew by 5.9 times, including a growth of 9.8 times in Bulgaria, 4.7 times in Hungary, 4.7 times in the GDR, 6.1 times in Mongolia, 6.4 times in Poland, 9.1 times in Romania, 5.9 times in the USSR and 4.4 times in Czechoslovakia.” (*Communique* of the 22nd Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, January 1969.)

In 1968, industrial production in the USSR increased by 8.1 per cent. The output of power industry increased by 9 per cent, chemical and petro-chemical by 12 per cent, machine-building and metal-working by 12 per cent, light industry by 9 per cent and food industry by 5 per cent.

Yearly average for cereals production for 1961-65 was 130.3 million tons; it was 171.2 million in 1966, 147.9 in 1967 and 169.2 in 1968. Raw cotton increased from an average of 5 million tons in 1960-65 to 6 million tons in 1968; and sugar-beet for refineries from 59.2 million tons (1961-65 average) to 93.6 million in 1968.

The Soviet Union in recent years has registered tremendous scientific and technological advance. It has retained its initiative and lead in the conquest of space, in the development of space science and since the putting into the orbit of the first Sputnik it has piled up one victory after another outdistancing the USA in the race for outer space. Its latest feat of bringing back the Zond-5 after its trip near the moon has again asserted her complete superiority over the USA.

Equally breath-taking has been the progress of the People's Republic of China and it is all the more spectacular since it is being registered under unusually difficult and trying circumstances. Despite inheriting an economy even more backward than that of pre-independence India, with one-fourth of the world's population to feed, clothe and house, with the imperialist trade boycott and the Soviet revisionist refusal to give promised fraternal assistance, People's China has forged ahead, built its socialist industry, its agriculture and science in an amazingly short period. By 1965 its steel production had exceeded 20 million tons. Coal output reached 425 million tons a few years back and has now exceeded the 500 million mark. Oil production exceeds 15 million tons and foodgrains is 190 million tons; oil seeds production 20 million tons. Its production in light industry, clothing, paper and sugar is three times that in 1957. The full import of this advance will be clear if we remember that twenty years ago,

the Chinese economy was backward compared with the Indian economy. Today, China's food production is more than double that of India and her steel production is nearly four times that of her neighbour.

China's advance in science and industry has amazed all. A number of brilliant victories have been scored in different branches, medicine, surgery, biology, physics and chemistry. Its major breakthrough in nuclear science was registered in the last quarter of 1964, and it is now on the threshold of experimenting its IRBMs and this all-round progress is sending shivers down the spine of its enemies all over the world.

Not only the Soviet Union and People's China but all the socialist states have registered outstanding victories in the economic and social spheres, notwithstanding the different degrees of tempo and speed depending on a number of circumstances and several other different problems of their own which they have to tackle and resolve.

In the midst of war and destruction, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has secured great achievements. From 1955 to 1965, industrial production increased by 22 per cent every year and agricultural production by 4.5 per cent; the share of industrial and handicraft production in the nation's economy rose from 17 to 53 per cent.

Socialist Cuba, too, facing constant threats from the U.S. imperialists and the worst embargo imposed by them, has registered tremendous progress and has been able to fix impressive targets for the Year of Decisive Endeavour (1969-70). The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has registered big advances. In Albania, the Fourth Plan is being successfully implemented.

During the period from 1958 to 1966, the average annual increase in industrial production in Bulgaria was 13.7 per cent, in Hungary 8.3 per cent, in the GDR 6.8 per cent, in Poland 8.8 per cent, in Romania 13.6 per cent and in Czechoslovakia 7.1 per cent. During the same period in the capitalist world, the Federal Republic of Germany showed a rate of 6.1 per cent, France of 5.2 per cent and Britain of only 3.6

per cent. Growth between 1965-68 was 42 per cent for Bulgaria, 23 per cent for Hungary, 20 per cent for the GDR, 23 per cent for Mongolia, 26 per cent for Poland, 40 per cent for Rumania, 29 per cent for the USSR and 23 per cent for Czechoslovakia.

In 1966-67, as compared with the five-year period of 1961-65, national income grew in Bulgaria by 11 per cent, in Hungary 8.4 per cent, in the GDR 4.4 per cent, in Poland 6.5 per cent, in Romania 9.8 per cent, in the USSR 7.5 per cent, in Mongolia 3.5 per cent, in Czechoslovakia 10 per cent. During the same period in the capitalist world, the increase in the USA was 5.5 per cent, in Britain 1.5 per cent, in FRG 2.4 per cent, France 5.0, in Italy 5.5 per cent. In 1968, aggregate national income was greater than in 1965 by 29 per cent for Bulgaria, 24 per cent for Hungary, 17 per cent for the GDR, 29 per cent for Mongolia, 19 per cent for Poland, 26 per cent for Romania, 24 per cent for the USSR, and 26 per cent for Czechoslovakia.

The rapid progress of the socialist states asserts the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The triumphs of the socialist system would have been still more outstanding if disunity had not undermined the fraternal relations between the constituent countries and hampered their mutual trade and further economic development.

It is because of this disunity that the volume of Soviet-Chinese trade has shrunk by 90 per cent since 1959 and has now dwindled to a negligible size.

Our Party has criticized the wrong conception of division of labour on which the relations between the countries belonging to the CMEA are based. In the present context such wrong notions may actually lead to freezing of unequal conditions as between advanced and less advanced socialist countries. The correct notion of socialist division of labour thus gets distorted in practice, leading to big-nation domination.

The present disunity in the socialist camp, its incapacity to act in unison in face of the attack of the enemy, and to deal with the conditions created by the capitalist crisis, hamper

its development and undermine its capacity to act as the base of the developing world revolution.

Despite the present differences, the socialist system has proved its superiority over the capitalist system. It has displayed to the world that it can get rid of crisis, unemployment, poverty and exploitation. The socialist relations of production constitute the only guarantee of all-round progress of humanity.

New Features in International Situation

The period that has elapsed between the Seventh Congress of our Party and the present Eighth Congress, vividly confirms the correct class analysis of the world made in the two documents of the international communist movement, namely, the Declaration of 1957 and the Eightyone Parties' Statement of 1960, at Moscow. The sharp division of the world into socialist and imperialist camps, the altered balance of class forces in favour of the socialist camp, the crisis of imperialism and its colonial system, the four fundamental contradictions around which the entire struggle in our era is centered, the chief characteristic of our times defined as the transition to socialism and the collapse of capitalism on a world scale, the emergence of U.S. imperialism as the most aggressive enemy of peace and mankind and acting as the world gendarme, and the shifting of the world balance of forces increasingly in favour of peace, democracy and socialism, etc.,—all this analysis is amply borne out as the correct Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of the new epoch, through which we are passing.

The Global Fiasco of Imperialism

The revisionists have been complacently assuring the world that imperialism has been rendered harmless and that its final elimination can be achieved through peaceful negotiations and co-existence. This outlook only emasculates the revolutionary movement by dulling its vigilance and belittling the need for a grim struggle against imperialism.

Equally erroneous is the outlook which for all practical purposes liquidates the existence of the socialist camp, the powerful base of world revolution. Objectively it only helps in disorganising the forces of revolution and under-estimating the need for a united struggle against the common enemy.

The fact is that the shift of the balance of forces in the world, the shift in favour of the socialist camp, of the liberation movements and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, remains and, despite the blunders, errors of some of the leaders of the socialist camp and of the major Communist Parties of the world, the forces of socialism, freedom, peace and democracy are able to counter the imperialist attacks and inflict reverses on the U.S. imperialists. While the danger from imperialism should not be underestimated, the strength of the revolutionary forces and the superiority of the socialist camp should not also be underestimated.

The American fiasco in the war of aggression against Vietnam is the most outstanding development of the recent period, putting in proper perspective the strength of the forces of socialism, of the national liberation movement. Half a million U.S. troops are bogged down in Vietnam and though helped by another million troops from the satellite countries and the mercenaries of the puppet South Vietnam Government, its vaunted might has been humbled and its global ambitions turned into a fiasco. There is no parallel in world history to this struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam and it shows how mighty are the present-day forces of liberation and socialism when they are correctly guided by the unerring light of Marxism-Leninism. To Ho Chi Minh, to the Workers' Party of Vietnam, to the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam, goes the credit of achieving a turning point in present-day history by inflicting defeat after defeat on the U.S. army. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, the series of defeats inflicted on the U.S. aggressors and the rising indignation in the world and among the people

of the USA forced Lyndon Johnson to open talks and negotiate. This was a signal triumph for the Vietnamese fighters and a big defeat for the USA.

Comrades, let us all rise and pay our tribute to the Workers' Party of Vietnam, to the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, to the fighting men and women of Vietnam, and to the great leader, Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

The military defeats of the USA in Vietnam have produced worldwide reactions. It has now become clear that this big power can never win this war. This has caused deep cracks within the imperialist system of pacts.

Brave Vietnam has demonstrated that imperialism has become more aggressive but not stronger. The peoples and Governments of those states which belong to NATO, SEATO and other imperialist pacts could not remain unaffected.

The dangerous character of the U.S. war escalation is being seen by the USA's NATO partners and France expressed itself strongly against American adventures in Vietnam and the Israeli aggression against UAR and other Arab countries. France withdrew from the integrated NATO military command and asked its headquarters to be shifted elsewhere. Small countries like Denmark and Norway are offering resistance to the stationing of NATO rocket weapons on their territories. At the end of 1966 (December) Couve deMurville, French Foreign Minister, stated at the NATO General Session, "Maintenance of tension corresponds to the assumption that by military strength the West can force the Soviet Union to adopt the western point of view. France does not agree with such an idea. That is why she is pursuing the policy of easing tension between East and West and began developing relations with the USSR." Attempts to create a NATO multilateral nuclear force aggravated the NATO crisis and led to deadlock. The aggressive U.S. war in Vietnam accelerated the crisis. The majority of the West European states did not approve of the U.S. adventure because they feared that a widening of the aggression would involve NATO members in a military conflict against their will. No European

Government dares send its troops openly to help the Americans in Vietnam and they have to rely on their close satellites for supplies of cannon-fodder.

The other war alliances have met with the same fiasco. Turkey and Iran who are members of the U.S. military blocs of NATO and CENTO refused to send troops to Vietnam despite continued pressure. The Pentagon and Washington are irritated that SEATO has failed to fulfil the assigned role. Even among countries which largely depend on the dollar, the number of those who are prepared to pull the American chestnuts out of the fire is decreasing. Pakistan, a member of SEATO and one of the largest states of Asia, has not only refused formal support to the U.S. Vietnam policy, but has also condemned it.

“The U.S. attempt to contain People’s China”, “cut off all trade relations with it”, and “encircle it by every means, economic, political and military” has also met with the same fiasco. One after another Britain and France, West Germany, Japan and Italy devised ways and means to develop trade relations with People’s China, bypassing and leaving the U.S. monopolists to look on helplessly. Now many in the U.S. monopolist circles often ask, “why not we too have our trade with People’s China”.

The victories of the people of Vietnam have undermined U.S. prestige and it has reached an all-time low. It has shaken the imperialist alliances and pacts and undermined the allies’ faith in American leadership. Above all, it has given a new inspiration to the liberation struggles all over the world.

The Sharpening of Contradictions

The last four years have seen a further tremendous accentuation of all the contradictions of the present era. In the Party’s *Ideological Resolution* it was stated that while the central contradiction of our time is that between imperialism and the camp of socialism, the contradictions between imperialism and the national liberation movement, “between the oppressor states and oppressed countries, at this stage of

development of world history, has become the focal point of all contradictions of our times". At the same time all other contradictions of the era were accentuated.

The last four years have demonstrated that while the central contradiction is getting sharper, while the national liberation struggle continues to be in the forefront of the world contradictions, there is an accentuation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the developed countries and also of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and between the monopoly groups. All this has intensified the revolutionary resistance and makes it difficult for the imperialist camp to impose its will on the people when they are properly guided by the tested revolutionary theory.

Aggravation of the Contradiction Between Imperialism and the National Liberation Struggle

In the preceding part itself it has been shown how the Vietnam struggle, which is an integral part of the resistance struggle against U.S. imperialist plans for global domination, has reached unheard-of intensity, inflicting defeats on the U.S. imperialists. Today it overshadows every other struggle. And yet the liberation struggles elsewhere also are rising sharply in their intensity and entering the stage of armed struggles in several countries.

Cuba, the revolutionary outpost in Latin America, is another monument to the invincibility of a united people fighting a big imperialist power. "The example of revolutionary Cuba, the heroic struggle of the Dominican people, students' unrest, the national liberation forces' activities and peasant demonstrations are proof of the Latin American people's intense desire to throw off the shackles of poverty, backwardness, latifundism and imperialist exploitation", declared the Secretariat of the Congress of Trade Union Unity of the Latin American Working People in May 1965. Since then the revolutionary movement despite setbacks, vacillations and revisionist betrayals and sectarian mistakes is forging

ahead. In Nicaragua, in Haiti, the people are confronted with the direct task of organising revolutionary resistance and going over to armed struggle. In Columbia, the present stage of guerrilla struggle is in its third year; the revolutionary armed action movement which has adopted tactics based on mobile guerrilla operations is an invincible movement capable of standing up to the far superior forces of the enemy. In Peru also the armed struggle of the guerrillas began in 1965; in Venezuela it continues. In face of the growing liberation movement the American imperialists with the help of their puppets have established naked military dictatorships in a number of countries.

Not all the repression by imperialism has succeeded in lessening the sweep of the national liberation movements. Practice has proved that the revisionists are underestimating the revolutionary potentialities of the movement. Simultaneously the national liberation struggles have demonstrated their unconquerable character in the last four years following the great struggle of the Vietnamese people.

“At present, Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas of revolutionary tidal waves, areas where operate all the contradictions existing in the world; the weakest link of the world imperialist system. The urgent requirements of production and the earnest aspirations of the people in these areas call for national liberation and the emancipation of productive forces. The formation and development of the socialist camp, including former colonial countries, greatly inspire the oppressed peoples, the workers and peasants above all. They have risen up with an extraordinary revolutionary mettle, demanding not only national liberation, democratic reforms but also the emancipation of labour and the march towards socialism.”

Africa saw a number of reverses, betrayal by some old nationalist leaders and the harm done by reformist and revisionist illusions. Nevertheless, Africa is resisting and fighting back, sometimes by means of concerted actions by progressive African Governments aimed at strengthening the

independence attained, and at other times by means of revolutionary armed struggle. The latter method continues to give the anti-colonial anti-neo-colonialist struggles an authoritative basis. The decisions adopted by the revolutionary organisations to go into the interior of the country to step up the process of armed struggle, the growing volume and magnitude of guerrilla actions in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, Angola and Mozambique and the advances secured by the guerrillas are shaking the foundations of Portuguese colonialism. The armed revolutionary struggle waged by the Congo (Kinshasa) fighters, and the increase of guerrilla operations elsewhere, rouse many more to join the fight for national liberation. This has encouraged the resumption of armed revolutionary actions in Zimbabwe aimed at the very heart of South Africa and its sphere of influence. While the imperialist camp openly supports the racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the people of these states have entered a period of revolutionary struggle with the help and support of the other African peoples and the democratic forces of the world. In Nigeria, the attempts of the American, British, and West German imperialists to put this land so rich in raw materials back under colonial rule are meeting with strong resistance.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Japanese monopolists to carry on their treacherous compromise with the USA, a wave of anti-U.S. anger is sweeping Japan. The mass movement against U.S. imperialism launched by Japanese workers, students and people from other social strata is gaining greater momentum each day. The tidal wave of the anti-U.S. struggle is moving ahead powerfully from Japan proper to Okinawa which is under occupation by U.S. troops. The mass struggle which has broken out time and again in various parts of Japan is spearheaded mainly against U.S. military bases in Japan and the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty".

The American provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic have been beaten back by the people of Korea led by the Korean Workers' Party. The "Pueblo"

affair has boomeranged on the U.S. imperialists and ended in their discomfiture. The liberation struggle against U.S. domination in South Korea and against the puppet regime forges ahead despite the unspeakable barbarities of the imperialists. The liberation struggle in Laos against armed intervention is scoring new victories. The U.S. conspiracies in Cambodia have been rebuffed. The great struggle of the people of Vietnam sets the pace and inspires the liberation fighters the world over. Everyone is realising the truth that U.S. imperialism cannot stand another Vietnam—it must perish before the common onslaught of the liberation struggles and the world working class movement led by the socialist camp.

In the Arab world, the Israeli aggression continues but the Mediterranean is no longer an American lake. The final defeat of the Israeli aggressors depends on the internal strengthening of the Arab world, on the strengthening of the democratic and working class forces in each country, freedom for the party of the working class and the help they get from the world working class movement and the socialist camp. Despite all difficulties of the present period, the Palestine guerrillas continue their armed fight giving no peace to the Israeli aggressors, the stooge of American imperialism.

Bourgeoisie Vs. Proletariat

But simultaneously with this contradiction there has been rapid development of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the capitalist countries. So far as the USA is concerned, the monstrous defence expenditure which reached 72,500 million dollars this year, with the expenditure on Vietnam war alone costing 30,000 million dollars, the terrible burdens on the working class cast by the rapid militarisation of the economy and the super-profits of the monopolies have been directly responsible for the accentuation of this contradiction. The anger of the American people is roused by the brutalities of the Vietnam war, by the draft for military service, by the burdens of the war. There is a mighty wave of sympathy for the Vietnam

fighters and there is readiness to face American prisons rather than join the band of mercenary murderers of the Vietnam people. Students, intellectuals, professors, teachers, all have led mighty protest demonstrations and a large number of them have refused to accept draft cards for military service. The anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in the USA constitute a powerful anti-imperialist force in the metropolitan state and announce the growing isolation of the U.S. monopolists in their own country. They announce that the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists and the working class is sharpening.

Last year the number of strikers in the USA rose to 2.9 million, the greatest number in 15 years, entailing a loss of 41 million working hours. A seven-week strike was carried out by 160,000 workers, employees and engineers of the Ford factory; a three-month strike was led by 35,000 rubber workers; a two-month strike by 20,000 steel workers and a three-week strike by 50,000 teachers in New York. In 1968, the strike of copper workers went on for nearly eight months. The growth of the strike movement points to the mounting militancy of the workers. Lyndon Johnson's appeals to the labour movement for restraints on wages and sacrifice for the war effort are as unpopular as the military draft in the colleges.

And dominating all this is the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the USA, a struggle which has opened a second front against the U.S. imperialist in America itself. The massacres in Vietnam are now being accompanied by the bloody repression of Negro toilers, American citizens.

In the first seven months of 1968, more than 130 battles took place between the fighting Negroes and the forces of the oppressing Government. The end of July and the beginning of August were marked by fresh outbursts. At Cleveland, the battling Negroes turned their dwelling houses into pockets of resistance and kept up fire at the punitive detachments of the Government. Armoured cars were used by the American white authorities against the anti-racial fighters; the city was

virtually placed under a martial law, exposing the utterly hypocritical character of American democracy. But the monstrous measures of repression could not quench the fire for freedom and equality kindled among the Negroes. Militant resistance broke out in the Negro ghettos in Detroit, Seattle, Pittsburg, Chicago and several other cities.

The revolutionary emancipatory movement of the Negroes can no longer be deluded by sham concessions or bourgeois reforms. It continues to march from one resistance battle to another despite the most brutal repression that the American racists can unleash.

The strike wave had started rising throughout the capitalist world since 1965. In that year the number of strikers in the industrial countries of the West approached the 20 million mark, climbing to 28 million the following year. For the capitalist world as a whole the respective figures were 37 million and 45 million, the upward trend continuing in 1967. Last year labour conflicts in Italy caused a loss of 100 million man-hours and in France of 4 million man-days as compared with 2.5 million the year before. Britain saw not less than 1500 strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers. The "spring offensive" in Japan in which workers of different industries struck jointly, involved 7.5 million strikers as against 7 million in 1966.

No doubt the strikes were mainly the result of the high cost regulations in the interest of the monopolists; no doubt the monopolists accepted some of the economic demands but even at the level of economic resistance, they revealed rising intensity of class conflicts.

The intensity of the economic struggle was seen in the fact that the 1967 struggles showed a trend towards concerted action of all industrial workers in defence of common demands. The three general actions in France in 1967, the spring offensive in Japan and the mass strikes in Italy demonstrated this trend.

At the same time it is true that by 1967 itself the working class actions were leaving the framework of economic demands

and raising general political demands. Some of the strikes in Italy, France, Britain, Japan and the Latin American countries raised demands that were political as well as economic. In Japan large sections of the working class participated in the struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" of domination, against the use of Japanese soil for aggression against Vietnam. In mid-1968, the railway workers compelled the authorities to stop the speeding of oil supplies for American jets and won a big victory. Three lakh and forty thousand workers resorted to work-to-rule tactics which resulted in a slow-down and compelled the authorities to accede to the demand.

Even in fascist Spain where the working class movement is illegal, a powerful strike wave rolled in April 1967 involving thousands of workers with demands against the Franco regime. On October 27, again, there were widespread strikes and demonstrations against the Franco regime.

In November and December this year Italy again saw a huge strike wave with workers occupying factories and enterprises to fight dismissals and victimisation by employers and police. On November 14, 1968, more than 12 million workers took part in a strike called by Italy's three leading trade union federations.

Again on December 5, Rome and the surrounding provinces were paralysed by a strike in which more than 1.5 million workers participated. The strike was over wage claims and came in the wake of the bitter protest struggle against the death of two Sicilian demonstrators in police firing.

The great strike of November brought forth the resignation of the Government and the continuing strike wave is leading to important political developments.

The great mass strikes in Western Europe united the workers and employees with technicians, engineers, research workers, physicians, teachers, students, professors, and even state employees. No country in the capitalist world seems to be escaping the new struggle. The strike wave extended from Europe to Japan and Latin America. Mass strikes are also flaring up in those countries in which the organisations of

the working class are illegal or semilegal—Spain, Argentina, Peru, Columbia and Panama.

The rising strikes in Western Europe once more showed the utter bankruptcy of the monopoly combination called the European Common Market knocked together by de Gaulle. The intense exploitation of the monopolist combines roused the working class of all the Western European countries.

Despite treachery by the reformists and revisionists, the strikes and students' protests assumed unheard-of political dimensions. In France, following the students' revolt, and barricade fighting, the working class went into a general strike—ten million of them occupying factories for three weeks. The civil servants of the Government including sections of the police joined them. The television staff and others threw in their lot with the workers. The peasants started fraternising with them. The regular army itself was considered to be unreliable and de Gaulle sought the help of the reactionary generals and mercenary troops. The workers on their part raised the slogan of a change in the Government and refused to be tempted by petty economic concessions. Never in recent years did the working class of a big capitalist country reach that revolutionary stage of resistance. But the revisionist leaders, the sponsors of the peaceful parliamentary path, misled the workers into an election fight and sabotaged the revolutionary struggle.

The mighty and historic struggle of the French proletariat showed the extreme aggravation of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It gave the lie to the revisionist theory about the peaceful path; it has also disproved the concept that metropolitan areas will have to be surrounded by the world rural areas and that the proletariat in advanced countries has to play only a passive role.

Students' Struggles

One of the most outstanding events of the past year-and-a-half in the capitalist world is the widespread students' struggles and risings extending from Europe, the USA to Mexico and

other Latin American countries. Never before was there such a big and huge upsurge of university students in the advanced capitalist countries. India is very familiar with mighty student movements in which the Congress uses brutal police methods to suppress the young undergraduates and graduates. All these years the student movement was specifically associated with the national liberation movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But the years 1967 and 1968 witnessed throughout the advanced capitalist world a mighty wave of student protests and actions in which the young students occupied universities, raised barricades and replied to the monopolist state violence by violence. The revolutionary significance of these student risings lies in the fact that they announced the growing disillusionment of this important detachment with the capitalist world, and their willingness to join in revolutionary resistance to the rule of the monopolists. They showed the depth and intensity of the contradictions between the monopolists who control the state and this section of the population which mostly comes from the non-proletarian strata.

These struggles arose out of the deep-seated economic and political discontent, frustration and anger generated by the rule of the monopolists, under the conditions of the growing crisis of the capitalist system. The prevailing economic recession gave an added impetus to these.

They often started with academic and cultural demands. The archaic character of university education, the lack of facilities, high tuition fees, the difficulties experienced by students coming from the proletarian and other poor families—all these often served as the starting point. But the struggle reached new heights in its course or from the beginning took a political character and often developed into a frontal protest against the entire capitalist system.

In the United States the struggle of university students for freedom and democracy in the campus had started in 1965 and these were followed by big agitations and sit-ins on the question of the Vietnam war. The struggle simultaneously

developed in many places into protests against the handling of research work by the universities for purposes of war under grants from the CIA. In recent months young men and women, white and coloured, have joined in demonstrations against the dirty war in Vietnam. Thousands of young Americans from the universities are taking part in the Negro people's struggles for civil rights, in demonstrations for freedom of speech and democracy. Many have refused to accept draft cards and braved barbarous sentences from the courts.

In West Germany and West Berlin, students demonstrated against the growth of neo-nazism, against chauvinistic and revenge-seeking propaganda spread by the Springer publishing concern, against the emergency legislation and police brutality.

In Italy, along with their specific demand, the young students raised slogans against American aggression in Vietnam. Italian students began paralysing universities with sit-ins and demonstrations for educational and social reforms long before the French explosion. The wave of students' struggles continued into December, the students joining hands with the striking workers. Thousands of students struck and demonstrated on December 5, when Rome's workers went on a protest strike for the day. University faculties in at least ten Italian towns and cities were occupied by students, demanding more power in running their courses and the right to assemble. In Naples and Florence, thousands of students joined in solidarity demonstrations with workers denouncing the police assassins. In fascist Spain, students joined hands with the working class on May Day and organized powerful anti-Franco demonstrations. In October, they again announced a programme of common struggle against the Franco regime, against American imperialism and for democracy. In December, students in Barcelona clashed with the police and tried to set up barricades. The historic fight of the French students, the occupation of the university for weeks, the barricades leading to the great general strike of the French working class sent shivers down the spine of the French monopolists

and General de Gaulle. And last but not least, the students of Mexico have written yet another glorious page by their prolonged fight against the repressive regime in support of their rights—for freedom and democracy.

In Japan also the student struggles have been mounting. The students of Japan have been playing a notable role in the fight against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty". There have been widespread actions in several universities for freedom in the campus, against the introduction of police in the campus, against acceptance of American money and grants, against corruption in the administration. In June, students of the University of Tokyo, the biggest state-run University in Japan, staged an all-campus strike in protest against the introduction of riot police into a campus earlier in the week. This was the first time in sixteen years that policemen entered the campus of the University of Tokyo. In October, again the students of the Tokyo University clashed with the police.

How is it that suddenly all the capitalist countries witnessed this phenomenon of student agitation and unrest. A considerable portion of the students come from middle class and petty-bourgeois families and find themselves in conflict with the present monopoly-dominated society. The capitalist society under the demands of the scientific and technical revolution is confronted with the task of developing higher education. That is why the number of university students in the advanced capitalist countries has been increasing by leaps and bounds. But at the same time state-monopoly capitalism cannot satisfy the aspirations of the newly trained intelligentsia whom it wants only to exploit, to use as its paid slaves in the process of production. The monstrous disparity between the promise of science and the reality of the capitalist world, the tearing to shreds of all claims to intellectual independence, the relations of complete dependence on the bosses—all create frustration and indignation. Simultaneously unemployment increases rapidly; all that the society offers them is the prospect of unemployment upon graduation, the impossibility of the finding a home when they get married,

the prospect of living in a society which sacrifices all social and cultural amenities to murderous atom bombs.

The students also see that the places of learning are turned into factories and barrack rooms for producing obedient slaves to serve the monopolists or their war machine. In the USA they have seen that most of the universities are financed by the CIA.

High tuition fees, hard living and academic conditions, the fact that many (as many as 44 per cent in France) have to work for their living to be able to carry on their studies—all these have often given the initial push to the movement.

The entire student movement is thus a terrific protest of the students—mostly coming from the middle and petty-bourgeois sections—against capitalist society itself, it is the direct result of the capitalist crisis, a sign that this section has now awakened and is refusing to bear the burdens of the capitalist crisis. It is a sign of the tremendous accentuation of the contradictions of the capitalist society.

It is inevitable that in this spontaneous movement against the ruinous results of state monopoly capitalism the movement may often show waywardness and be exploited by opportunist elements. This is bound to happen when the proletarian vanguard fails to play its leading role and inspire the non-proletarian strata with confidence and capacity to lead. It is not surprising that complaints about anarchist elements exploiting the situation arise in some countries of Western Europe when the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party give up the leading role of the working class.

Face to face with this movement whose serious impact can no longer be ignored, the monopolists are doing their best to keep it isolated from the working class movement. Their agents, exploiting the treacherous behaviour of the revisionists, are telling the students that the working class cannot lead them, that Marxism-Leninism is outdated and that they as intellectuals should lead the society. Those who only denounce the movement as anarchist, play the game of the big bourgeoisie.

At the same time it should be noted that the ruling classes, the CIA and other agencies also try to exploit the student discontent by deliberately misguiding it into adventurist and sectarian channels. Disruption by using left phrases when the masses are in a militant mood accompanied by slandering of the proletarian party is a favourite weapon of the imperialists and their agencies. It was used in the course of the students' struggles in Western Europe but it failed to impress the main mass of students.

The significance of the wave of student struggles can be understood only if we remember the following from Lenin: "Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* be able to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is. The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot be* anything other than an outburst of mass struggles on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation *mass struggle is impossible*, without it *no* revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack *capital...*" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, page 356)

Contradictions Amongst Imperialist Powers Sharpen

The hegemonistic ambitions of U.S. imperialism, the ambition to dominate the capitalist world in order to secure global domination are now obstructed by the rapidly developing contradictions among imperialist powers. After 1960, exploiting its capital power and its advantage in the scientific technical field, U.S. monopoly capital launched a big offensive in Western Europe, Canada, Latin America, Japan, etc. In 1967, U.S. capital exports to Europe amounted to 17,500 million dollars of which 4,500 million dollars went to England, 3,400 million to West Germany and 2,800 million to France. The U.S. firms in Western Europe control 95

per cent of the market and the turnover in integrated cycles, 80 per cent of the manufacture of computers, 50 per cent of the fabrication of transistors, and 50 per cent of car manufacture. The U.S. monopolies control 40 per cent of automobile manufacture, 40 per cent of technical glass production and 35 per cent of the mineral oil production in West Germany.

In Japan, according to the political and theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Japan, after 1961 foreign investments made a spectacular rise. The previous annual average was 300 to 400 million dollars; now they are 500 to 600 million dollars. By the end of March 1968, the total foreign investments in Japan amounted to 5,596 million dollars. Of these, the United States accounted for nearly 70 per cent in stock (resulting in participation in management), about 64 per cent of outstanding loans and almost 60 per cent of technology inducted. The U.S. monopoly capital is trying hard to infiltrate and rule the fastest developing sections of industry—the sections that promise the highest rate of profit—which are described as “new emerging industries”, “growth industries”. Seventythree out of the top 200 American mining and manufacturing companies have subsidiaries, joint ventures or “capital participation” firms in Japan. And 41 of such companies belong to the eight big monopoly groupings of the U.S.

The American monopolies, in search of profits and faced by a shrinking internal market, have been intensely pressurizing Japan to admit American goods without restriction into the Japanese markets. In recent months, the auto corporations in particular have been active. Chrysler, Henry Ford and General Motors monopolies have been making desperate efforts to capture the growing auto market in Japan, and the U.S. Government is exerting pressure in this direction. The U.S. Government demands a definite date for the liberalisation of imports of auto engines and other auto parts and of capital for auto production. The Japanese Government is hedging and it has made a proposal to increase the import of auto engine parts from the present 1000 units a year to 70,000 units in 1971.

At the same time exports of certain industries like steel and textiles are so much dependent on the American market that the monopolists in these industries are pressing the Government to concede to American pressure lest the U.S. Government retaliate by putting curbs on the entry of Japanese goods.

In Italy also foreign investments in industry run to the huge total of 2150 million dollars of which 46 cent is accounted for by U.S. capital.

Huge exports of American capital to advanced countries, the capture of industries requiring the most modern know-how are a specific feature of the present situation. It is to be noted that capital exports to Europe in 1967 alone exceeded American investments in Latin America, the main theatre of direct American colonial exploitation.

This feature sharpens the contradictions between the monopolists of different countries, the conflict of economic interests between the USA and the other imperialist countries. It introduces a contradiction in the U.S. policy of global domination. In pursuit of its objectives, the USA seeks to rely on the help especially of the West German and Japanese monopolists; and yet it comes directly into conflict with their economic interests, by its invasion of their home market.

Now the conflict is intense and is seen in a furious struggle for the world market, a furious attempt to invade each other's home preserves and new combinations for trade and economy, combinations of rival trade groups to create spheres of influence—an attempt to divide the world for purposes of trade.

This is seen in the intense competition between the USA and others, in the first place France, for the West European market. It is also seen in the conflict between Japan and the USA and the pressure of the latter to get free access to the Japanese market. It is demonstrated in the penetration of the U.S. market by West Germany and Japan and further seen in the desperate efforts of Britain to get into the Common Market to have access to the six West European countries.

The growing contradiction between French and U.S. interests can be seen from the following statement of a French official: the threat of "dollar colonisation hanging over France, and, you might say, over the whole of Europe, is a real one, and it does not come from the East." In the last few years the clash of interests between France and the USA on the world market has so much increased, that the former finds its basic economic and foreign trade position threatened. It was therefore inevitable that the French monopolists should turn first to the protection of the home market and then to their export market—the market of the West European Six. Here again the French monopolists are divided, one section of the French bourgeoisie closely connected with U.S. capital seeking more cooperation with the U.S. partners within the framework of European and Atlantic integration.

The European Common Market represented the reply of France to U.S. dreams of complete economic domination of Europe. Since its formation the USA has been attempting to blow it up from within and of late with the help of Britain who for its own purposes wanted an entry into the market. Its bloc of seven European Free Trade Association countries did not provide it with an alternative to the West European market of the six countries.

The need of every rival is very intense. The USA wants to expand its market and the export of capital to Europe. Britain whose sheltered markets had shrunk rapidly with the disintegration of the Commonwealth, who had lost economic control over Canada, Australia and New Zealand to the USA was in urgent need of West European markets, especially in view of its balance of payments difficulties.

The sharpening of contradictions, of the economic rivalries for markets is seen in the counter-measures that each adopts against the other despite talk about liberalization of trade and lowering and abolition of tariffs. The United States, threatened with a diminishing trade balance and growing competition from Western European countries, especially from West Germany in its domestic market, threatened this year

to take protective measures, to force the Western European Common Market countries to agree to an early implementation of the "Kennedy round of talks".

Inside the Common Market also the struggle for markets is bursting out with the abolition of tariffs, placing the more organized and developed monopolist sections in a favourable position to fight their other monopolist rivals.

The French monopolists who are weaker in competition in relation to the West German monopolists and who had hitherto protected themselves by high tariff walls, find themselves threatened with the abolition of tariffs and a new struggle has started in the Common Market itself.

While the French monopolists had to agree to the abolition of tariffs to maintain their economic and political position in Europe, the upsurge of the French working class resulting in wage and other concessions, has further impaired the competitive capacity of the French monopolist industry in the Common Market. To meet this situation the French monopolists undertook measures to restrict their imports and promote French exports, and decided to introduce a system of import quotas for several commodities. This led to loud protests from their rivals in international trade, both Britain and the USA threatening counter-measures.

The intensity of the conflict for markets is such that the USA is facing competition from West Germany and Japan in her own market. That is why she is applying more and more pressure against her partners to get easy access to their home markets. For months this year the American monopolists have been pressurising the Japanese for liberalization of imports of auto engines and other parts and of auto capital and to fix a date for the introduction of such liberalisation. The pressure has been so intense that some Japanese journals have described it as "transition from cooperation to confrontation in Japan-U.S. relations".

The Japanese Government has refused to fix any date for general liberalization though it made a counter-proposal to increase the import of auto-engine parts from the USA from

1000 units to 30,000 units in 1969 and 70,000 units in 1971.

The Kennedy round of negotiations showed that the USA, shedding its dreams of absolute control over the capitalist world, was prepared to have spheres of interest within the capitalist world market between itself and the Common Market. Besides, America's global dreams and her military adventures in Vietnam in pursuance of them led to a huge deficit in trade balance of payments every year. In 1967 alone it amounted to 3500 million dollars. Its gold reserves reached 10,300 million dollars, the lowest limit in 32 years. The domination of monopolies, the militarisation of the economy and the huge war expenditure followed by balance of payments deficit forced the USA to seek aid from its junior allies in one form or another.

The sharpened conflict was also seen in the struggle over currency. The French have been demanding a world monetary reform, for dethroning the dollar and sterling from the status of reserve currencies—a status which facilitates American export of capital and domination of the international market. The status of the dollar and sterling reflected the financial hegemony of these two powers. At the same time it enabled them to consolidate this hegemony. Feeling the pinch of competition, France, having secured itself behind the European Common Market, started challenging the power of the USA. It demanded devaluation of the dollar stating correctly that it was overvalued. Possessing a sufficient stock of gold it demanded return to the gold standard or raising the price of gold both of which would have devalued the dollar, ended its status as a reserve currency and enabled France to forge ahead.

The currency conflict is one of the sharpest forms of economic conflicts among imperialist powers and it has started.

The devaluation of the sterling, with the consequent gold rush which threatened the dollar also, gave further occasion to de Gaulle to attack both.

De Gaulle in his speech attacked the supremacy of the dollar and said dollar inflation had been exported to Europe.

He said that the deficit in U.S. balance of payments for the past eight years corresponded to American investments in Western Europe.

On November 30, 1967, France and the USA clashed openly at the Ministerial Conference for Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development over the international monetary system and the price of gold. The French Finance Minister, Michael Debre, said that the present international monetary system based on the dollar and sterling as reserve currencies was holding back world economic development. This "disorder system" allowed the USA and Britain to run massive debts on easy terms, unavailable to other non-reserve currency nations.

The American demands on her partners are increasing. Faced with growing balance of payments deficits, Washington has been demanding that others should share her burden of policing the world. She has been insisting that West Germany which has become prosperous because of American help should share the expenditure of American military forces on her soil. She has also been asking her partners to spare more for capital exports to under-developed countries and that, too, under American auspices in competition with the help given by the socialist world.

The conflict has reached the sphere of foreign policy leading to the undermining of political and military pacts and sharpening the contradictions among imperialist powers. Again France shows how the neatly prepared plans of American imperialism—the plan to form a permanent united front of the imperialist powers against the socialist camp,—are disintegrating. The strength of the socialist camp, its military preparedness, its economic strength and the opportunities of profitable exchange of goods it offers—all act as a disintegrating force undermining the imperialist pacts already under pressure from the growing economic conflict among the capitalist nations.

France realised that NATO was an American instrument of domination; that it created risks of military conflict with

the powerful USSR; and that it demanded a growing erosion of French sovereignty and subordination to American will and policy.

In 1966, France formally withdrew from the NATO's military organisation and asked that NATO forces evacuate her territory. This was a big blow to the NATO alliance, and underlined the developing tensions inside the imperialist camp.

It is known that the USA failed to mobilize her NATO allies military for helping her in the Vietnam war.

Further, both on the question of Israeli aggression and the Vietnam war France expressed its strong disapproval of the USA. De Gaulle said that Israel had become a "warlike state determined to expand." Therefore the Gaullist Fifth Republic has withdrawn from the special and very close relations which the previous French Government had established with Israel. He did not add that this was done because Israel had become the stooge of American imperialism whose strength French imperialists sought to curb. He further said that a solution of the West Asia crisis must include the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied territories, a solution unacceptable to the British and American imperialists. And to leave nothing unsaid, he added with reference to the Vietnam war, "It is difficult to see how any kind of arrangement can be made (between Israel and the Arab world) as long as one of the big powers has not extricated itself from the odious war it is waging elsewhere. Without the Vietnam war, the Israel-Arab conflict would not have been what it has become."

The intensity of the conflict between France and the USA is also due to strong suspicions about West Germany and the USA's open preference for the latter. The United States has been building a special alliance with West Germany to continue its political and military hegemony over Western Europe. The build-up of West Germany's military potential, the proposed atomic partnership between it and the latter, created suspicious about West German intentions and added to the contradictions.

In view of the dangerously developing military strength (of the West German monopolists) de Gaulle has taken of the West German monopolists, of his ally and has publicly proclaimed the recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier of Germany and established friendly relations with the Soviet Union. De Gaulle also keeps friendly relations with People's China.

France has organized the group of six as a means of resisting American domination. West Germany, however, stands by NATO while France withdrew from NATO and compelled NATO troops to leave her soil.

Stalin had correctly foreseen this process. As early as 1952, he had stated that these countries would soon endeavour "to tear loose from American bondage" and will be "compelled to break from the embrace of the USA and enter into conflicts with it in order to secure an independent position and of course, high profits".

The threatened collapse of the French franc in November this year once more brought into focus the acceleration of the contradictions and rivalries among the imperialist powers. It showed that during the period of the crisis among the rival powers alignments change quickly and are replaced by new ones—all betokening the sharpening of contradictions.

We have noted how France, while in rivalry with West Germany, continued to have her as an economic partner in the European Common Market and stood out against U.S. domination of Europe and opposed Britain's entry in the Common Market. We have also noted how the USA had developed closer ties with West Germany and how the USA and West Germany were interested in pushing Britain into the Common Market to end French domination over it. We have also noted how de Gaulle welcomed the run on the pound and the dollar hoping to free the French franc and world trade and world monetary system from the domination of the dollar and the pound. The November events turned the imperialist world topsy-turvy, with Britain and the USA

supporting de Gaulle and the franc and adopting an intimidatory tone towards West Germany for not toeing the line, for attempting to force devaluation on France and profit herself at the expense of France. One reason for this was of course the fear of the French proletariat which may have been driven to accept the capitalist challenge had the franc been devalued and wage-cuts been launched.

The fight for the parity of the franc was in reality a fight for the status of Paris as the de facto political capital of the Common Market. It was the sharpest expression of French-German rivalries, which were rapidly developing behind the screen of the Common Market. The economic and political power of the French Government had suffered a setback when France increased her bank rate to six per cent following the outflow of funds, so much so that the *Times*, London, came out with the observation: "The primacy of power in Western Europe has moved from Paris to Bonn."

And in fact the German monopolists and their ministerial representatives began to throw their weight about and pressurise France to devalue her currency. Germany's Finance Minister Strauss was the first to announce that the franc was likely to be devalued.

But the Germans had counted without the rivalries engendered by their surplus balance of payments, by their growing economic power. They counted without the threat of imbalance and political turmoil that would engulf France and Europe if the franc were devalued. Britain, whom West Germany was grooming as her new ally in the Common Market, joined with France to curb the German ambition to dominate Europe. They jointly pressurised Germany to revalue the mark and Wilson summoned the German Ambassador in London at midnight to administer a threat saying, either you revalue or we withdraw the Rhine army. The USA which was for some time watching the drama enjoying de Gaulle's plight, realised the dangers involved if Germany were allowed to play its game, and joined hands with Britain and France to demand revaluation of the mark.

The combination that emerged to arrest the crisis of the franc, revealed the rivals' fears of German economic domination over Europe. The West German monopolists, seeking to bypass the formal restrictions on their military power, are building themselves into a giant economic power dominating Europe. The undervalued mark is an instrument of securing this hegemony. Devaluation of the franc would have tremendously accelerated the process by paralysing the strength of France, the main rival of West Germany in the Common Market. That is why all the rival powers became concerned and demanded a revalued mark instead of a devalued franc.

As the *Commerce* (November 30, 1968) puts it :

"The currency crisis has brought to the surface the very developments which the establishment of the Common Market sought to bury. The long-standing Franco-German rivalry has now emerged as the principal problem of the Common Market. The Angle-German friction is now a new factor in the Atlantic Alliance. The United States seems to have realised the significance of these developments. The U.S. Secretary of Treasury, Mr. Henry Fowler, indirectly rebuked the irresponsible German Finance Minister, Mr. Strauss, when he said that questions such as whether or not France would devalue her currency were not the concern of a foreign government. These decisions, Mr. Fowler said, were the responsibility only of those who made them. Was this sudden American concern over German political supremacy responsible for President Johnson's surprising telegram to President de Gaulle wishing success to his no devaluation policy and, more importantly, pledging complete American cooperation? It is noteworthy that de Gaulle received Johnson's message before he took the historic decision not to devalue the franc."

It must be realised that the USA itself is plagued by the strength of the mark, the German surpluses, and seeks to pass some of her burdens to West Germany. Revaluation of the mark helps the process. Besides as we have noted, there is keen competition from West Germany in the American market.

Under the stress of their rivalries the imperialist countries align and realign among themselves. It will be wrong to interpret the recent developments as a permanent shift towards one or the other nations. They only show that the antagonism and contradictions among the imperialist powers are intensifying and leading to new temporary combinations.

Sharpening of Conflict between Socialism and Imperialism

The central contradiction of the entire present epoch, the contradiction between the world camp of socialism and imperialism, is further deepening and sharpening.

The U.S. imperialism, for a decade and more in the immediate post-war period, concentrated its main fire against the Soviet Union, and built military blocs and bases with the slogan of containment of the Soviet Union, 'liberation' of East European socialist states, trade boycott, etc. The U.S. imperialists, while talking about 'detente' in Europe and 'agreements' with the Soviet Union are now concentrating their fire against People's China, with the slogan of 'containment of China', depriving it of its rightful place in the U.N., and imposing on its allies ban on trade with China.

In Europe, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly arming the West German revanchists and fascists to use them as pawns for all the undermining activities in the East European socialist states, and are thus endangering security and peace in Europe, and the world. The Bonn Government refuses to recognise the borders of states settled by post-war agreements, and poses a direct threat to the very existence of the socialist German Democratic Republic. The imperialists are thus feverishly attempting to undo the gains of socialism secured through the military defeat of the fascist powers in the second world war.

In socialist Czechoslovakia, their conspiracies for a counter-revolution reached the point of near-success though it was foiled by the direct military intervention of the five Warsaw

Pact socialist states led by the Soviet Union, at the eleventh hour. Things, as they stand today, do not warrant any complacency since the forces of counter-revolution are still active. The Czech crisis reveals the new devious devices of imperialist aggression against the countries of the socialist camp. It also reveals how disastrous are the consequences of modern revisionism and how it undermines socialism.

Besides socialist North Vietnam being under direct attack by U.S. imperialism, the socialist Korean People's Democratic Republic is under constant threat of U.S. aggression. Concentrating a lakh of American armed personnel in South Korea, held under its puppet regime, the U.S. prevents by force the unification of the homeland of the Korean people and conspires with imperialist Japan to crush the Korean national liberation movement and to destroy the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

The Socialist Republic of Cuba, the lonely outpost of socialism in the far off American continent, is under constant U.S. threat and several of the U.S. stooges in the Latin American states openly and unashamedly talk of military invasion of Cuba.

The People's Republic of China, surrounded by numerous U.S. military, naval and air bases, with part of its territory, Taiwan, kept under U.S. occupation, has become the special target of imperialist conspiracies.

Thus we see all the contradictions of the present epoch are getting intensified. The contradiction between the camp of socialism and the imperialist camp is epitomised on the one hand in the brutal warfare against North Vietnam and on the other in the attempt to launch a direct assault on Czechoslovakia. The unprecedented sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and the national liberation movement is once more epitomised by the aggression against South Vietnam and North Vietnam, the developing armed struggles in other parts; it also forms an integral part of the intensification of the decisive struggles between socialism and imperialism. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the

proletariat of developed countries has now again emerged in a very sharp form and the conflicts between imperialist powers are also increasing with the development of the revolutionary struggles and intensifying all the other contradictions.

The forces representing socialism, national liberation, peace and democracy are rebuffing the imperialists and barring at each stage its attempts to turn back the wheels of history.

But at the same time one cannot ignore the dangerous development of the last four years—the widened split in the socialist camp and the division in the world communist movement which impair the capacity of the revolutionary forces to seize the initiative and lead a united battle against the moribund forces of imperialism. The continued American aggression in Vietnam, the disaster in Indonesia, the reverses in Egypt and the Arab world, the near-disaster in Czechoslovakia—these constitute some of the dire results flowing from the revisionist outlook, from the disarray of the socialist camp and of the world communist movement.

The Soviet leaders spread the poison of revisionism across the world, disrupted the unity of the socialist camp, emasculated the revolutionary consciousness of the Communist Parties and collaborated with American imperialism sowing illusions about peaceful competition and peaceful transformation. Their actions went to the extent of tearing up solemn agreements made with socialist China in order to enter into a partial test ban treaty with the USA. This policy led to the virtual betrayal, in the beginning, of North Vietnam when it was attacked by the USA. The revisionist leaders were compelled to change their policy in relation to Vietnam and render valuable military aid to it. The great harm done to the socialist camp and the world proletarian movement by this policy has been detailed in the Party's *Ideological Resolution* adopted by the Party Plenum held in Burdwan in April 1968.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China and the people of China solidly stood behind the Vietnamese struggle and rendered every help to North Vietnam. They performed

their revolutionary duty in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and helped the cause of revolution. But their opposition to entertain any proposal for joint action of the socialist camp for the defence of Vietnam is theoretically incorrect and only disorganizes the common fight against American imperialism. This failure to form a joint front to defend a member of the socialist camp is an extremely harmful development.

The disruption of the camp and the world communist movement was further seen in relation to Czechoslovakia—another socialist state attacked by imperialist subversion. Our Party which correctly analysed the rise of Czech revisionism and the subsequent events in Czechoslovakia which created a threat of counter-revolution, understood that in the given circumstances the Warsaw Pact intervention was the only way to prevent the success of imperialist conspiracies and counter-revolution. The leadership of the Communist Party of China, however, failed to see the danger of counter-revolution and described it as a mere quarrel between two imperialists, and compared it with Hitler's march into Sudetanland. The revisionist leaderships of the major parties of Europe also virtually opposed Soviet intervention and failed to see the imperialist danger. The Indian revisionists also toed the line.

This is how the camp that is declared to be the deciding factor in the history of social development is acting today. Its present disarray does not mean, however, that the relation between the basic forces, between imperialism and socialism, has undergone a change. It only means that because of wrong policies pursued by leaders of some big countries, the camp is not able to assert its full revolutionary strength and initiative, opening the door to dangerous possibilities.

Imperialist Camp Aggressive

The last four years have exposed the revisionist propaganda which circulated the myth about peaceful competition between

the two social systems as the main lever of social transformation. This outlook which virtually accepted imperialist pretences about peaceful intentions, which presented a picture as if imperialism was more or less dead, has been blown up. This erroneous outlook made Khrushchov go into demagogic descriptions of imperialism as "a button fastened on a coat" and "a wolf to encounter and render harmless easier." As the *Ideological Resolution* adopted by the Party Plenum states: "The fact that imperialism, despite its immense weakening on a world scale, remains a formidable force to be reckoned with, that monopoly capitalist rule continues to exist in almost all traditionally developed capitalist states of the world such as the USA, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, that colossal and unheard-of militarisation of social life is taking place and the fact that imperialism is waging its desperate, last-ditch battles to escape its destined doom, is deliberately underplayed by them."

While the revisionists were singing praises to the peaceful era, the imperialists were launching aggression—open or covert, and have also been able to secure a few successes giving a setback to the forces of revolution—setbacks which could have been easily warded off had the socialist camp and the world communist movement not been disunited.

Thanks to this, U.S. imperialism still continues to wage its brutal war against Vietnam, against South and North Vietnam. There is no limit to its brutalities, savagery and mass killings. It has poured into Vietnam more than half a million troops; it has knocked together troops numbering tens of thousands of its satellites—South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Philippines, aided and supported by New Zealand and Australia; its hordes of bombers daily rain fire and murder on the people of Vietnam; it has dropped more bombs on Vietnam than the Anglo-Americans did on Hitler Germany during the course of four years of war; its latest bombers and weapons of mass destruction—napalm bombs, bacterial warfare, chemical gas warfare—all are at the disposal of the aggressors to carry on their campaign of extermination of

the Vietnamese people. And not satisfied with this, it massacres from the air the civilian population in cities still under the control of the puppet Government whenever it becomes restless.

Such vile misdeeds have very rarely been perpetrated in history. An attempt is being made to destroy a member of the socialist camp whose military might and strength was supposed to guard not only the security of the camp but the peace and freedom of the entire world.

The American aggressors have been able to carry on this aggression supremely confident that the united power of the socialist camp will not be thrown against it. On the contrary, representatives of the Soviet Union have been assuring the imperialists that American aggression against Vietnam need not come in the way of discussing and negotiating peace in the world; in the way of growing friendship between the USA and the Soviet Union.

The American imperialists have directed their fire against the national liberation movement in South Vietnam and following it North Vietnam has been their immediate victim. This of course is part of the plan of containment of China, of stifling the revolutionary movements in Asia before launching a final assault on the main seats of the socialist camp itself, from inside and outside. The dirty war in Vietnam is an integral part of the American policy of world domination, of first pushing itself as the supreme ruler of Asia, a policy enunciated in the name of filling the power vacuum in Asia. The global importance of the war in Vietnam is thus obvious.

There is no doubt that individual socialist countries have rendered valuable aid to the struggle in Vietnam; that the world movement has from time to time rallied the working class and people of different countries in support of the mighty struggle; that entire progressive humanity, people from all walks of life, in all countries, growingly support the cause of Vietnam and that the aggressors are getting isolated. All this however does not do away with the basic fact—the failure of the socialist camp to act together and

galvanise the entire world. Because of this, a cruel and heavy toll in blood and lives is being extracted by the Americans from the people of Vietnam, and the struggle gets prolonged.

While the aggression in Vietnam continues, the American imperialists and their lackeys have succeeded in organizing a counter-revolutionary coup in Indonesia where half a million communists and their supporters have been murdered and a fascist dictatorship has been established. One of the first measures this dictatorship took was to release the nationalised companies and concerns and hand them back to foreign exploiters. It is known that the coup in Indonesia was master-minded by the CIA and one of the biggest Communist Parties of the world was crushed.

It is now accepted in Indonesia, as well as outside, that both revisionist and Left-adventurist mistakes contributed to the success of the counter-revolutionary coup. American imperialism, though weakened and hemmed in from all sides, is still in a position to exploit the mistakes and weaknesses of the revolutionary movement and mount an offensive. The facile picture that it was dead, presented by the revisionists, has been blown up. Such illusions only throw the people off guard. The disastrous setback only shows how treacherous the policy of revisionism is and how costly Left-sectarianism proves, converting a favourable situation into a big disaster.

There have been reverses in Latin America also. In Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia, the reactionaries backed by the American imperialists temporarily succeeded in striking frontal blows at the revolutionary and democratic movement. In some others, reformists and revisionists succeeded in undermining the revolutionary movement. When in April 1965 the people of the Dominican Republic rose in revolt against the military dictatorship, Washington shamelessly intervened with 40,000 troops and drowned in blood the people's movement to establish democracy. The Latin American countries whose people are mercilessly exploited by the USA are under constant American threat. The American interest in strengthening its grip over Latin America can be understood from the

fact that its investments total 15,000 million dollars and control half of the continent's exports. In the period between 1946 and 1960, the profits of the U.S. imperialists from direct capital investments alone in Latin America amounted to the huge figure of 11,207 million dollars. In the 1958-60 period, the profits the U.S. imperialists took out of Latin America were already three times greater than the American direct investment in that area. The USA declares this area to be the most strategic area and shamelessly intervenes against the democratic movement. The modern revisionists who drew fanciful pictures about peaceful economic competition with American imperialism were just cheating the people.

The American imperialists try to overthrow democratic regimes and establish reactionary dictatorships. To achieve their aim they are attempting to militarise these countries and bring about their economic "integration." Economic "integration", development of militarism, attempt to mould a multi-national force which can be used against the people, direct control of the organs of repression—these are some of the weapons which American imperialism uses to crush the popular movement. Its aim simultaneously is to build the support of the reactionary regimes against Cuba whose influence among the people is growing.

It is against this imperialist intervention in support of dictatorial regimes that armed guerilla struggles have broken out in a number of countries.

There have been serious reverses in Africa also, the most serious among them being the coup in Ghana, toppling the progressive and democratic regime of N'Krumah. Only congenial revisionists will ignore the great setback given by the overthrow of N'Krumah. Besides, there have been a number of coups in the neighbouring countries of the Congo, Upper Volta, Central African Republic, Domany, Nigeria. These latter coups did not change the nature of the regimes which were already hostile to African Revolution. They were intended to tighten the grip on these countries through 624

military regimes, rendering them relatively powerful bases for attacks against progressive regimes. And again, there was the coup this year in Congo.

The Ghana coup occurred within three months of the shameless usurpation of power in Rhodesia by the white racist fascists backed by the imperialists. Some of the independent African states had threatened to collectively resist the Rhodesian racists but nothing was done. They also broke their promise to sever relations with Britain if it did not take steps against the Rhodesian regime, and they did not move into action when N'Krumah was overthrown.

The realities of the situation in Africa must be faced. As a UAR writer puts it, "We will be deceiving ourselves first and foremost if we believed the bright picture manifested in the map of our continent today, flying the flag of thirtynine independent countries ... objective realities are such, however, that apart from less than 10 countries which have been able in varying degrees to attain true independence through the emancipation of their economies and development, the remaining countries, the overwhelming majority, have attained no more than formal independence, and still suffer under the strain of military bases. Their economies are still fettered and subordinated to foreign monopolists and consequently fall mainly in the sphere of neo-colonialism." The USA has now the largest number of naval and air bases in Africa, such as bases in Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia and Ethiopia.

The revisionist propaganda concealed this reality when it doled out certificates of independence, democracy and even non-capitalist path and socialism to some. The illusions about a non-class non-capitalist path are helping the neo-colonialists to get several Governments under their grip with the aid of reactionary bourgeois and other elements. The covering up of social contradictions in the name of non-capitalist path, the rejection of the role of the working class, the rejection of the role of the working class party—these have led a number of countries into debacle. The danger of neo-colonialism will not be eliminated unless the toiling people of

Africa, led by the working class and its party, organize their independent activities and defeat the compromising elements from the ruling classes and establish their economic independence.

The American imperialists unleashed Israeli aggression against the Arab world. Israel, openly backed by the Americans and the British, continues to occupy Arab soil and refuses to leave it. Israel's treacherous attack fully prepared with the help of the USA, the swift collapse of Arab resistance and the stalemate following it, all point to the great danger arising from underestimating the aggressive and desperate character of imperialist machinations and plotings. Only the most blind could fail to see the deeply laid plot of the imperialists. How is it that a well-equipped army, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons, crumbled like a bowl of dust, before Israel's attack while heroic Vietnam continues to resist for years against a foe many times more formidable? The reason is that Vietnam has been relying on its people and is being led by the Communist Party. It has proved invincible under the banner of Marxism-Leninism which continues to guide the liberation struggle. In Egypt the reliance was mainly on generals from the upper classes. The Communist Party was banned; people's liberties have been far and few. Their initiative was not tolerated. It was this system that was falsely praised by the Soviet revisionists as socialism, as national democracy and what not. Only after the defeat and rout did the Soviet press begin to whisper about lack of liberties, etc., and that too half-heartedly. The result was that imperialism could score an easy victory inflicting national humiliation on a brave, courageous and freedom-loving people. To cover their discomfiture the revisionists and their lackeys paraded the Egyptian developments as a great defeat of the imperialists. They said the U.S. imperialists wanted to overthrow Nasser but did not succeed. The fact remains that because of the weakness created by the revisionist outlook, the American imperialists could give one more setback to the world movement. But once

more the setback was due to the failure to rely on the invincible might of a people enjoying full freedom and liberty and conscious guidance by a Marxist-Leninist party.

Israeli occupation of Arab land still continues. Israel further continues to launch attacks on the territory of Jordan.

On the continent of Europe, the American imperialists recently succeeded in organizing a fascist coup in Greece, and in West Germany they are encouraging the forces of revanchism and fascism in preparation for their attack on the socialist camp, as part of their war preparations. Militarization in one form or another is going on and West German forces are being supplied with the latest arms. Steps are being taken to convert West Germany into a fascist military state. The emergency laws recently passed by the West German Bundestag are almost a replica of the laws adopted by Germany on the eve of World War II. In the last year or two, the so-called "National Democratic Party" and other nazi forces have become more and more blatant in their operations and the officials encourage them by saying that everything is taking place within the "framework of legality".

The demand for living space for Germans was recently raised in the Bundestag. The borders settled by the second world war are being challenged.

Anyone who underestimates the dangerous course of German revanchism supported by the imperialist camp led by the USA only plays the game of imperialism.

When the Americans were egging on the West Germans and preparing them for their revanchist role, the Soviet leaders, true to their revisionist outlook, were indulging in illusions about detente in Europe and advertising pacts and treaties for nuclear disarmament, test-ban treaty, etc.

The West German imperialists, the CIA and other agents of American imperialism brought Czechoslovakia to the verge of a counter-revolution, relying on the counter-revolutionary forces, the agents of the capitalists, the vested interests and Social-Democrats inside Czechoslovakia. Arms were smuggled inside the country to organize insurrection and take over the

state apparatus. Secret radio stations, transmitters and other means of communications were put at the disposal of these elements which were fully used when the Soviet troops marched into the country.

The Sudeten Germans held rallies across the border ready to march into the country. The Bundeswehr held its manoeuvres on the borders waiting for a call from their agents inside Czechoslovakia. It was a question of touch and go and the imperialists thought they could easily swallow a socialist state.

It is necessary to remember that once more the near-triumph of imperialism arose on the ground cleared and softened by modern revisionists and their Czech followers. The leadership of the Czech Party under Dubcek had openly embarked upon a programme of dismantling one defence after another of the socialist state. The Novotny group had already loosened the foundation of the socialist state with its reactionary economic reforms and other revisionist heresies borrowed from the Soviet leaders. It added to these bureaucratic abuses and inequality in the relations between Czechs and Slovaks. Utilising these, the Dubcek group in the name of removing the bureaucratic abuses, startled liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and leading role of the Party, and began merging of the Party in the united front and introduction of 'full' democracy—meaning thereby complete freedom for counter-revolution to restore capitalism.

During the course of several months the counter-revolutionary elements captured the press and the radio and established liaison with the imperialist agents in Germany. Open propaganda was carried on to change the foreign policy of the country and develop connections with the West, i.e., join the western camp. During these months, the entire revisionist crowd, the revisionist leaders of almost all Communist Parties, including the Indian revisionists, were singing praises to Dubcek's liberalization as creative Marxism. The Soviet leaders themselves praised the *Action Programme* of the Czech leaders.

American imperialism was basing itself on the capitalist elements and their hangers-on, the reactionary brood of writers and intelligentsia who were thriving under revisionism. It was utilizing every soft spot in the socialist camp—the bureaucratic mistakes, the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet leaders, the emasculation of proletarian ideology thanks to revisionism, the illusions about the peace intentions of the imperialists and peaceful competition—all to undermine the socialist camp.

Czechoslovakia was on the brink of a disaster, disaster faced the entire socialist camp. The Soviet and allied intervention at the eleventh hour seized the lost initiative and defeated the West German-American plot. And yet it was a narrow escape with imperialism nearly getting away with it. Face to face with this direct attack on a socialist state, the socialist camp and the world communist movement stood divided and in disarray as never before. The Communist Party of China denounced the Soviet intervention comparing it with Hitler's march into Sudetanland and described the Soviet Union as social-fascist; the leadership of the revisionist parties the world over protested against the Soviet action and supported the Czech revisionists; the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions openly denounced the Soviet action comparing it indirectly with the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

It will be seen that the near-success was achieved once more because of revisionism; that imperialism on its last legs still gets sustenance from every wrong move and policy of the camp of socialism, democracy and peace; that it is still strong enough to exploit the mistakes of the world proletariat and the socialist camp.

The imperialist camp led by the U.S. imperialists is active everywhere to undermine the democratic regimes in its bid for world domination and neo-colonialism. While American imperialism continues to advance in the developed countries of Europe by extending its economic grip over the industries of these countries, it is ferociously striving to bring under its domination the newly liberated countries by means of its

“economic aid”. In Africa as well as Asia, it relies on the reactionary vested interests to advance its neo-colonial ambitions. In Pakistan, India and several other countries, it makes a desperate bid to subjugate the economies of these countries with the aid of the World Bank consortium of creditors. It uses the tribal and national rivalries and jealousies among the newly liberated countries to engage them in fratricidal fights and weaken them. The Indo-Pakistan war is a typical instance of how the vested interests in the newly liberated countries play the game of imperialist powers in the name of defending national interests.

In a number of countries it sets up puppet governments whose only strength is the American army. In South-East Asia, finding that it must have partners to carry on its aggressive policy of colonial conquest and domination, it is knocking together an alliance with the Japanese monopolists to keep the region safe against the dangers of ‘subversion’, and for the containment of China. The rise of West German revanchists in Europe and the emergence of Japanese imperialists in South-East Asia—these are the portentous developments following the U.S. imperialist struggle for world domination, for its war and assault against the socialist camp.

It will be seen that American imperialism has not given up its strivings for world domination; its conspiracies to attack the socialist camp; its drive for a world war. Its recent attacks and partial advances once more address a stern warning to the socialist camp to beware of the common enemy of all mankind. They reveal the treacherous character of the illusions sown by the modern revisionists who are now explaining American activity and partial successes as the inevitable zig-zags of the movement.

While conspiring against the socialist camp, while utilizing the divisions inside the socialist camp, playing the Soviet Union against China and China against the Soviet Union, American imperialism did its best to pander to the illusion that it was for a detente, for a limitation of armaments. While increasing continuously its stock-pile of armaments,

while perfecting its nuclear weapons of mass destruction, the American imperialists glibly indulge in talks about non-proliferation; and the Soviet leaders by praising the one-sided provisions of the treaty cover up American intentions and designs. The partial test ban treaty, the non-proliferation treaty are nothing but weapons of mass deception which only create illusions about American imperialism and lull the vigilance against the war-mongering foe of all mankind.

The experience of the last four years also shows that imperialism will continue its drive for war unless at each stage it is prevented by the forces of the revolutionary movement, that war will be finally abolished only when the peoples of the world led by the working class and the socialist camp are able to destroy and vanquish imperialism finally. The fatuous idea that the peace movement alone, divorced from its anti-imperialist content, will avoid the danger of war has led to harmful results. In the last four years imperialism has launched a number of local wars, and is conducting the most brutal and aggressive war in Vietnam. It has not also halted its preparations for a world nuclear war. In fact at each step it attempts to bring war on the doorsteps of the socialist camp.

As early as in 1967, both the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the United States spoke of the close prospect of a third world war. On May 11, U Thant said: "I may be wrong but I am afraid we are witnessing today the initial phase of world war three." On the same day that this report was published, the United Press reported President Johnson as having said to his daughter, "your daddy may go down in history as having started world war three".

It is only the revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation movement supported by the socialist forces that stand for peace, that can halt a march to war.

The Crisis of the Indian Economy

The *Programme* of our Party adopted by the Seventh Congress states, "Experience of the three plans demonstrates

beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered an acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to develop along the capitalist path. The possibilities of such development are extremely limited. It cannot solve our basic problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty and unemployment. It gives rise to ever-growing contradictions and is beset with imbalance and crisis; while it imposes unbearable burdens and inflicts misery on the common people. It gives them no hope of a better future and brings them into inevitable conflict with the capitalist path of development”.

Three years ago India saw planning virtually scuttled and the Fourth Five-Year Plan is yet to take shape. The Third Plan ended in disgrace ending the myth of continued orderly development on the basis of mixed economy—official euphemism for capitalism. The people have more and more seen and experienced the effects of recession, of crisis with industries closing and throwing thousands on the streets; with mass retrenchment against which the workers have to fight heroically for weeks and months; with a callous offensive of the employers and the Government against every demand of the workers and employees. The apologists of the present order argue as if the crisis was solely due to the successive bad agricultural seasons. This year’s bumper crop, they say, is already altering the situation and industrial production is picking up. While a sudden drop in agricultural production due to a bad season does accentuate the crisis, while a prosperous year does give a push to industrial production, these causes are operating on the base of a crisis-ridden economy. The basic causes of the deep-going crisis have to be understood while paying attention to immediate ups and downs of the economic situation.

India’s economic crisis born out of semi-feudal agrarian relations and the contradictions of the capitalist path manifests itself in an accentuated form because of the following: (1) the Indian economy is tied to the world-capitalist market

and is therefore subject to the crisis of that economy; (2) in the push and pull for the world market—India must export to and import from the capitalist countries—India as the weaker trading partner of the big capitalist countries continually loses through unequal trade terms, discrimination, etc; (3) in the background of the crisis of the world capitalist system there is a definite policy to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the developing countries which intensifies the crisis in India; (4) the extortionate price of foreign loans and investments has saddled the economy with an unbearable burden of repayments imposing starvation wages, limiting the home market and accentuating the crisis. These loans and the terms under which they are secured obstruct the Indian capitalists from capturing the home market (import substitution) and force them to share it with the foreign capitalists; (5) under the limitations of the capitalist path, the building and expansion of the home market is being narrowed day by day resulting in stagnation, lower rates of growth and recession; (6) the failure to liquidate feudal land relations which hampers agricultural production, produces scarcity and imposes high food costs limiting the markets for industrial goods and the crisis of small production which shows its inefficiency and vulnerability with the least adverse change in the season; (7) the growing concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few who levy high prices on society; (8) official policy of inflation which is a method of forcibly transferring value from the labouring masses to the capitalists; (9) the Government's price policy in favour of big capitalists and the tremendous waste due to inefficiency in running the public sector because of which it contributes very little for **capital** formation from the huge investment. These are the **basic factors** that have been contributing to the crisis of the **economy**.

Stagnant Indian Economy

Official figures reveal that the capitalist path has imposed a

condition of stagnation—stagnant growth—on the Indian economy.

A country which had been held in poverty for more than a century by the British, whose needs therefore were many—what progress was it offered under the capitalist path? The basic relations established under it, the balance-sheet of agrarian reforms, the growing concentration of wealth and capital—these aspects have been laid bare in our Party *Programme*. The actual results reveal the following tale:

According to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of India for 1967-68, during the First Plan the annual growth rate of net national production at 1948-49 prices was 3.5 per cent; in the Second Plan, it was 4.0 per cent (actually if adjustments are made for statistical changes the annual increase works out at only 3.8 per cent); for the Third Plan the annual rate works out at only 2.9 per cent.

The story of rise in per capita national income at constant prices is still worse. The rate during the First Plan was only 1.6; during the Second 1.8 per cent (adjusted rate being 1.7) and during the Third Plan it fell to as low as 0.4 per cent. With all the efforts of the Government this was all that it could produce while boasting of one success after another for its plans.

The situation is still more revealing if we look at recent figures.

Index number of net national production at 1960-61 prices

1960-61	100.0	
1961-62	104.3	
1962-63	106.5	
1963-64	112.2	
1964-65	120.6	
1965-66	114.8	
1966-67	116.7	
1967-68	127.8	(rise of 9.3 per cent over 1966-67)

Index number of per capita income at 1960-61 prices

1960-61	100 0
1961-62	101 9
1962-63	101.4
1963-64	104 3
1964-65	109 4
1965-66	101 7
1966-67	101.0

In four out of six years the index has not reached 102; ranges between 101 and 102. At 1960 prices the per capita net income moved as follows:

1960-61	Rs 310
1961-62	316
1962-63	314.2
1963-64	323.4
1964-65	339 2
1965-66	315.3
1966-67	313 1

It will be seen that while the per capita income continued to be stagnant even before the crisis years, it actually declined by nearly 7 per cent in 1965-66 and a further 0.7 per cent in 1966-67.

This slow growth of national and per capita income inhibits continued progress, as it comes up against the expansion of the home market, on which Indian capitalist development must more or less solely rely under the present conditions of capitalism and international competition. With the purchasing power strictly limited in this fashion, industrial production must meet repeated bottlenecks and crisis and even minimal development must tend to outstrip buying capacity of the people.

The distribution of the national income among various classes, a distribution pre-determined by the existing relations of production, itself lays the basis of a growing crisis, and intensifies the contradiction between the need to develop

production and the limitations imposed by the purchasing power of the people. How poor the addition was to the purchasing power of the people can be seen from the following:

“The total additional income earned during the ten-year period (1951-52 to 1960-61) was Rs. 190 abja (billion) of which a part, Rs. 25.8 abja (billion) was used in increasing government expenditure over the whole decade. Another part Rs. 25.2 abja (billion) represented the additional domestic savings for ten years. These two parts taken together, namely, Rs. 50.7 abja (billion) may be considered to have been used for purposes of development and expansion of investment to penetrate future growth.

“The balance available for increase in private consumption was Rs. 139.3 abja (billion) for the whole of the ten-year period ... A good part of the additional income had to be used to provide for these new additions to the population with the same per capita consumption as in 1950-51, at the beginning of the ten-year period. Simple calculations show that Rs. 85.6 abja (billion) was absorbed to provide the new entrants into the population during the decade with a per capita consumer expenditure at the rate of 1950-51 for an appropriate number of years. Finally, the balance of Rs. 53.7 abja (billion) was the net amount available to increase the average per capita consumption of the whole population. Distributing this amount over the average number of persons over the decade, we get Rs. 2.5 as the share of each person per year in the increase in consumer expenditure. With Rs. 219 as the consumer expenditure per person in the base period (1950-51), the rate of increase was about 1.1 per cent per person per year”. (*Report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living*, pp. 7-8.)

Increase of Rs. 2.5 per person in private consumption—that is the limit of the expansion of the market. This small imperceptible increase gives a distorted circulation to the economy. This means that the overwhelming mass of the people will be spending the dominant part of the income on consumption of immediate necessities like food and will

have very little to spend on manufactured goods. This distortion gets all the more emphasized when it is remembered that even the figure of Rs. 2.5 per person of additional consumer's expenditure is an average figure secured by clubbing the incomes of divergent classes and strata of the population. In reality the lower classes get much less than the average reducing their purchasing capacity still further.

It is because of this that industrial production was slowing down in India even before the setting in of the recent recession.

In 1961, the index of industrial production moved further by 8.4 per cent; in 1962 by 8.4 per cent; in 1963 by 9.4 per cent. By 1964 the slow down starts. In that year the growth rate dropped to 6.3 per cent; in 1965 it was 5.6 per cent; in 1966 it was 2.6 per cent and 1967-68 (three quarters) it was only 1.4 per cent.

The slow-down had started before the setting in of recession and before the onset of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The latter accentuated the slow-down and turned it into a crisis. It should be seen that the years of the world capitalist recession are the worst years of recession in India.

The Agrarian Basis

The *Programme* of the Party states: "It is common knowledge that the break-up of the land monopoly and the distribution of land gratis to the agricultural labour and poor peasants and abolition of their heavy debt burdens are the prerequisites for releasing the creative energy and labour enthusiasm of millions of peasants. This alone can form the foundation of a tremendous expansion in agricultural production—we cannot develop agriculture to a considerable extent and provide the country with adequate food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and necessary fertilisers in order to improve its farming."

The years since the Party Congress have underlined land relations as a basic cause of the chronic crisis. Bourgeois apologists themselves have to admit this in an indirect way

when they have to refer repeatedly to the unfavourable agricultural seasons as causing upsets in the economy.

The slow growth of agricultural production attended by sudden fall in production is seen from official figures.

*Index of foodgrains Production--base 1949-50=100--
from 1960-61 onwards*

1960-61	137 1
1961-62	140 3
1962-63	133 6
1963-64	136 5
1964-65	150 2
1965-66	120 9
1966-67	124 6

The 1967-68 crop is estimated to be 27 per cent higher than that of 1966-67. The increase in foodgrains production has been partly due to increase in productivity per acre. Partly it is due to the increase in area under cultivation.

The index of area, yield per acre and agricultural production (base 1950-51=100) showed the following movement since 1960-61:

Year	Area	Yield per acre	Production
1960-61	121 2	117 5	142 4
1961-62	122 4	119 0	145 5
1962-63	123 4	118 2	145 2
1963-64	123 7	121 7	150 6
1964-65	122 4	121 0	148 6
1965-66	122 0	118 3	144 5

The effect of this stagnation with repeated setbacks has been disastrous for the country's economy and industrial development creating conditions of a chronic slow-down. It increased the dependence on foreign imports of food added to the difficulties of the exchange situation, created unstable conditions for the country's agricultural exports which are an important source of foreign exchange earnings, raised the price of foodgrains and, besides imposing starvation on the people,

diverted a larger part of the purchasing power to purchase of food thus narrowing the market for industrial goods.

Between 1960 and 1968 the dependence on foreign food imports increased.

*Percentage of imports to net availability of
foodgrains in the country*

1960	7.2
1961	4.6
1962	4.8
1963	6.1
1964	8.0
1965	8.8
1966	14.1
1967	11.7 (provisional)

Per capita availability of foodgrains was 16.48 ounces in 1959 and since then it has been continuously below the figure except in 1965, in spite of heavy imports. In 1966 and 1967, it fell to 14.17 and 14.14 ounces respectively—a figure less than in 1953.

The heavy imports of food to stave off starvation diverted foreign exchange and deprived the industry of their intermediates and components. This accounted for the slow-down in industrial growth.

The huge imports of food and other commodities under the American PL-480/665 also help to strengthen American grip over our economy. "Assistance" under PL-480/665 amounted to Rs. 544.81 crores during the period of the Second Plan; the total during the Third Plan was Rs. 853.22 crores. The total up to September 1967 amounts to the huge figure of Rs. 1,719.83 crores.

This places a colossal amount of rupee currency in the hands of the USA to manipulate our economy adding to its difficulties, to pressurize the Government and to dictate its will to India on economic matters. It also supplies the CIA with readymade funds to carry on its espionage activities, to organise anti-national groups and riots in the country.

The unsettling effect of a precipitous fall in agricultural income (16 per cent in 1965-66) is obvious. This drastic reduction in the purchasing power of the peasant creates an unstable market leading to ruination.

The shortage and scarcity arising from these, the low per capita availability, lead to a tremendous rise in the prices of foodgrains—leading to a fall in the market for products of industry. All these effects are in evidence. It is quite clear that unless agriculture is relieved of its present land relations, land is distributed and production is reorganised on a cooperative basis enabling science and capital to be applied to land, steady development of industry is impossible. The startling results of the high-yielding varieties demonstrate what can be done if the burden of the present land relations is removed and peasants' enthusiasm is drawn for production.

The economic crisis is interwoven with the agrarian crisis—the crisis of agrarian land relations. The Party *Programme* declared the agrarian revolution to be the 'axis' of the democratic revolution. The agrarian crisis engendered by these relations has merged with the general crisis of the economy and accentuated it.

The basic characteristics of the agrarian relations and the crisis created by them have been enumerated in the Party *Programme*. Growing concentration of land monopoly intensifying semi-feudal exploitation along with a certain growth of capitalist relations, superimposed on the former and adding to the exploitation. It is estimated that 47 per cent households in rural India own no land or less than one acre of land each and their share of total land is 1 per cent only; 74 per cent households in rural India own no land or less than five acres of land each and have 16 per cent of the total area under their ownership; the share of 2.5 per cent households each owning 30 acres of land or more amount to 28 per cent of the total landed area; about one per cent of households owning more than 40 acres each hold 20 per cent of the total area.

This is the net result of the Congress land reforms. This

result was achieved by mass eviction of peasants to evade the provisions regarding ceilings on holdings, or abolition of zamindari. It will be seen that in the last few years concentration has grown.

How the old relations continue despite ceiling legislations and land reforms is seen from the following: "The main object of ceilings which is to re-distribute land to the landless at a reasonable price on a planned basis has thus been largely defeated. In the absence of any reliable data, it would also be difficult to say that as a result of transfers much land has passed into the hands of agricultural labourers or small farmers". (*Draft Outline of Fourth Plan.*)

And the following from Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama* confirms what the Party has been saying—leasing and other forms of feudal relations continue to be strong. "Whether the rearrangement in the agrarian structure generated by the eviction of tenants by landowners attempting to evade ceiling legislation will have favourable effects on output is still more problematical. Cases in which larger landholders have changed their traditional behaviour pattern by taking a direct interest in farming and introducing technical improvements are not unknown—particularly in Punjab, Andhra, Gujarat and Mysore—but they are not common. Not only does abstinence from work, even of a supervisory character, remain attractive for reasons of status, but the economic returns obtainable from expenditures on agricultural improvements may not be sufficient to compete with those obtainable from more passive activities such as money-lending and trading. The result has been a substitution of sharecroppers for tenants who enjoyed a more secure position". (p.1320.)

Feudal exploitation is more profitable than profit-earning through capitalist methods or direct participation in farming improvements. The replacing of tenants with some security by sharecroppers is nothing but clamping the old relations in a vigorous manner and to that extent depriving the capitalist market of its customers.

Thanks to this the process of feudal exploitation through

usury has grown apace and is seen in the enormous increase of the peasants' indebtedness, which has increased from Rs 900 crores to Rs. 2,489.10 crores by 1961-62. Since then the debts must have piled up rapidly in the last six years. It was estimated by a Reserve Bank survey (dealing with 1961-62) that the total rural indebtedness amounted to Rs. 2,489.10 crores while every year the peasant had to foot the bill of Rs. 299.83 crores by way of interest charges which come to 4.3 per cent of the total production under agriculture for that year.

It is true that this figure includes the loans borrowed by the landlords, rich peasants and capitalist elements to earn profits out of agriculture by applying modern methods and capital to land. But the major part represents the indebtedness of the peasantry and its growing impoverishment. It represents the deficit economy of the small peasant, the tenant and the poor peasant owner—whose petty production cannot be continued without continuous resort to loans to meet his daily needs. As big a percentage as 51.3 (Rs. 1,430.63 crores) of the outstanding loans were taken to meet household expenditure and only 23.9 per cent of the loans were borrowed for the purpose of capital expenditure.

It is obvious that borrowing for household needs was done by the lower strata, mainly that stratum which constitutes 77 per cent of the households and owns less than 16 per cent of the land. This is the measure of the crisis of the small producer under feudal exploitation overlaid with a layer of capitalist exploitation. Permanent poverty and indebtedness with growing inefficiency in production is his lot under the present regime.

It is this mass that is subjected to the most horrible usurious exploitation. Despite official claims about the advance of the cooperative credit movement, as much as 45.9 per cent of the loans were given by rural moneylenders according to the survey quoted above. The professional moneylenders supplied 14.9 per cent of the loans and the traders and commission agents 7.7 per cent. The Government and the cooperative

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societies supplied only 5.3 per cent and 9.1 per cent respectively of the total outstanding loans. These usurious agencies—the moneylenders—charged the most exorbitant rates of interest ranging from $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and above. The burden of this fell only on the lower strata as the upper strata got a major part of the loans from the cooperatives with their comparatively low rates of interest. The top-most strata got 20 per cent of the loans from the cooperatives, 47 per cent of the total loans were secured at exorbitant rates of interest ranging from $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and the burden of this usury fell upon the lower strata.

The agricultural labourers, poor peasants, artisans and tribals are heavily indebted. The fleecing by the moneylenders of the propertyless semi-proletarian strata knows no bounds. Not being “credit worthy” they have to borrow money at extortionate rates which range from 100 per cent to 300 per cent a year.

Thus through interest and land rent the feudal and semi-feudal exploiters claim an enormous tribute from the mass of peasantry reducing its purchasing power to buy industrial goods.

The mounting indebtedness is an evidence of the growing bankruptcy of the small producer under present conditions of exploitation, the growing truth that he cannot become the basis of a steady industrial advance.

The crisis engendered by these relations is seen in the increasing stagnation in the growth of Indian agriculture, its inability to meet the food demands of the country and the growing dependence on foreign imports. Figures about these are already given.

But this very shortage created by the land relations enables the feudal and semi-feudal elements to levy a special tribute on society, by withholding stocks and forcing higher prices on the people—thus defrauding the industrialists of part of their market, of capital, and forcing the cost of production high. “Investigations made by experienced political workers in Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala bring one inevitably to the conclusion that the present hyperinflation is essentially

the result of the grip on food supplies of the large landholders and the bigger wholesale traders, who often enough is simply the same janus-headed individual or are pretty close relatives. These gentry have the ability to secure adequate credit both from the scheduled banks and the cooperative credit institutions which have, in most places, come completely under their control. In addition, of course, they are themselves either moneylenders or, again, are closely related to moneylenders. Finally, there is the black money about which the Finance Minister has been so eloquent but also about which he has been so eloquently inactive." (*Economic Weekly*, July 1964.)

These people monopolise the benefits of cooperative credit, government loans, community projects, fertilizers and every other device to increase production. Along with land, the money capital in the rural area gets concentrated in their hands while only a small part of this capital is utilised for capitalist methods. The major part becomes an instrument for further semi-feudal exploitation creating new barriers to quick industrial progress.

The inflationary rise in prices together with increased exploitation enables them to evict peasants from the land and turn them into agricultural labourers. Four years ago agricultural labourers formed nearly 35 per cent of the rural population in India. Recently, with the process of eviction of the peasants from the land, their ranks have been swollen and their numbers now are much higher. The ruin of rural handicrafts and other occupations following the introduction of labour-saving devices, the ruin of cottage industry, and the unemployment in the handlooms industry, have added to their numbers. Having nowhere to go, the cities being already full of unemployed, the large number of landless leads a life of destitution and pauperisation, unbearable intensification of feudal exploitation and a miserable pittance of a wage as remuneration. That is why debt slavery still continues in some parts of the country.

The agricultural labourers in a large measure represent

the mass of unemployed in the rural areas. Even those who get work are idle for at least four months in the year. The total number of unemployed and underemployed was estimated at 18 million in the rural areas a few years ago. Now the figures may have reached the 25 million figure.

This is how the capitalist-landlord clique has been developing the home market for Indian industries. It is because of this that it has to look for foreign markets to dispose of the products of its own minimal industry.

But the peasant is equally exploited by the bourgeois-landlord state and the capitalist market. While the big landholders are able to take advantage of the shortages, the small producer forced to sell his product at the harvest time, has to accept a lower price, which always compares unfavourably with the price of the commodities—products of industrial goods—that he has to buy to satisfy his personal needs or the needs of agriculture. Besides, the producers of commercial crops are always at the mercy of the world market and big foreign monopolists in India who fleece them on every occasion. The terms of trade are unfavourable to the peasants, resulting in an enormous loss to them. The high prices levied on industrial goods by the monopolist big bourgeoisie also denude him still further.

The grinding taxation of the Government which falls heavily on goods consumed by the peasantry adds to the intensification of the crisis.

It will be thus seen that the crisis of agrarian relations becomes the foundation of the crisis of the economy. It intensifies the crisis at every stage. It intensifies the shortage of foreign exchange by insufficient production of foodgrains, it drastically narrows the internal market rendering destitute millions of the peasantry, by giving them a pittance of a wage; by extorting a tribute of Rs. 300 crores from the peasants by way of interest on loans and many more crores by way of rent; it curtails the capitalist market in urban and rural areas alike by raising the prices of foodgrains and thereby giving a push to all prices; it hinders the process of devel-

opment of production by diverting capital resources to speculation and land purchases.

These are the direct results of the class policies pursued by the bourgeois-landlord Government. As the Party *Programme* correctly puts it :

“The community development schemes and panchayat raj (panchayats, block samitis and zilla parishads) the Government has initiated, despite the limited social amenities and benefits the people can derive from them, are in the final analysis another device to extend and consolidate the rich peasant and landlord base of the ruling class in the rural side. Consistent with its class policies, the Government has been giving the richer sections of the peasants and landholders direct financial, technical and other aid almost to the exclusion of the other strata of cultivators. The bulk of the expenditure on the community development and national extension schemes flows into the pockets of landlords and rich peasants. Large sums are advanced to them as taccavi loans. Special agricultural loans are granted to them for the purchase of tractors, pump-sets, oil engines and for sinking tube wells. It is they who grab the lion’s share of the chemical manures and good quality seeds distributed by the Government.”

“With the rapid expansion of money economy in the rural areas, forward trading and speculative holding of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities have grown enormously on the basis of expanding bank credit and otherwise. The tightening of the grip of Indian and foreign monopolistic trading interests over agricultural produce has rapidly grown bringing in its wake intensification of exploitation of the peasants through unequal exchange and violent fluctuations of prices. As a result, the peasant is fleeced both as a seller of agricultural produce and as a purchaser of industrial goods.” (Paragraphs 41 and 42.)

The Face of the Recession

The industrial setback has taken place in the conditions of a chronic condition of slow growth. The worst years have

been exactly those which have been years of crisis of the capitalist economy.

A study made by the Reserve Bank gives the following figures:

Annual rate of growth in industrial production

Year	All Industries	Basic industries	Capital goods industries	Interme- diate goods industries	Consumer goods industries
1961	8.4	12.7	9.0	4.5	7.5
1962	8.4	15.5	16.0	8.8	2.2
1963	9.4	14.5	13.5	8.4	5.4
1964	6.3	2.8	24.4	7.0	7.5
1965	5.8	6.0	10.6	5.4	3.4
1966	2.4	5.2	2.2	1.3	0.7
1967	1.4	2.1	1.0	8.9	-3.5

These figures show that the decline in industrial production had started as early as 1964 when they could not complain of a bad agricultural year. They also showed that after the initial progress the industries were coming against the barriers of the home market. It is also known that a large number of engineering industries had considerable unused capacity. These figures also show that the intermediate goods, and especially the consumer goods, industries had a much slower rate of growth and that the latter which is directly connected with satisfying the immediate needs of the people actually declined in production by 1967. This is not due to the desire of the planners to promote basic industries since the declared targets for consumer goods also have not been reached.

A growing saturation of the home market accentuated by conditions of the world economy and a sudden fall in agricultural production seem to have been the real cause of the recession. That it was not just a partial maladjustment is clear from the following from the study made by the Reserve Bank: "It is apparent from the foregoing analysis that recession

affected a wide section of organised industry, the impact on individual industries ranging from the moderately affected to the seriously affected. A declining trend in the growth rate of output was noticed between 1965 and 1967 in respect of industries accounting for a weight of 68 per cent in the Index of Industrial Production. A declining trend in capacity utilisation was noticed in respect of selected industries accounting for 38 per cent of the weight in the Index of Industrial Production...on the other hand the wide range of industries that have experienced recessionary trends appear to face the demand limitation. The sharp decline in the growth of the investment not only the direct investment demand; because of its impact on real incomes, it has also caused a decline in the growth of inter-industrial and final demand."

The fall in consumer goods production is significant. According to the *Economic Survey* of the Government of India, between January and September 1967, production of cigarettes declined by 6.6 per cent compared with the previous year; woollen textiles which had declined in the nine months of 1967, by 4.4 per cent; leather declined by 1.5 per cent; food processing by 18 per cent; cotton textiles which had declined by 2.8 per cent in 1964 registered a further decline of 1.9 per cent.

It is significant to note that in this period while the mass of peasants over a wide area lost their purchasing power a small section heavily added to its gains. This was of course the richer or the capitalist and the landlord section who had a surplus to market at high prices. The *Economic Survey* says: "According to national income data, the farmers average unit realisation rose by nearly 13 per cent in 1965-66 and a further 19 per cent in 1966-67". The survey does not identify the section that profited.

The official figures showing the accumulation of stocks as given in the *Economic Survey* were as follows: (Pp 712-713)

The seriousness of the crisis can be gauged from the stock position, obtaining in various industries—the proportion of stocks to production. In the following table production

figures are monthly average for the quarter while the stock figures are for the end of the quarters. The table shows that the proportion of stocks was rising despite declining production in a number of industries. Even when the proportion of stocks was declining it was still too big and abnormal.

		3rd Quarter 1965	3rd Quarter 1967
Pig Iron	Production	610	565
'000 tons	Stocks	95	167
	Ratio %	16	30
Finished	Production	379	333
Steel	Stocks	172	187
'000 tons	Ratio %	45	56
Coal	Production	5722	5756
'000 tons	Stocks	4738	5730
	Ratio %	83	100
Iron Ore	Production	1400	1550
'000 tons	Stocks	1735	3003
	Ratio %	124	252
Cement	Production	863	899
'000	Stocks	150	200
	Ratio %	17	22
Steel	Production	4667	4379
Castings	Stocks	12616	16458
Tonnes	Ratio %	270	376
Diesel	Production	7400	9653
Engines	Stocks	5114	8496
Stationary			
numbers	Ratio %	69	88
Jute	Production	113	94
Textiles	Stocks	123	148
'000	Ratio %	109	157
Bicycles	Production	124	140
'000	Stocks	73	108
	Ratio %	59	77
Diesel	Production	1561	1346

		3rd Quarter 1965	3rd Quarter 1967
Trucks	Stocks	1124	744
Numbers	Ratio %	72	55
Diesel	Production	680	620
Buses	Stocks	324	155
Numbers	Ratio %	48	25
Cotton	Production	391	359
Cloth	Stocks	387	197
Million metres	Ratio %	99	55

The crisis has ruined the handloom industry and thrown thousands of handloom workers out of employment. Large stocks of handloom cloth have accumulated, the khadi emporia also displayed huge stocks of unsold cloth, which only meant that the spinners and weavers were without jobs.

Among the industrial employers, the smaller industrialist has to bear the brunt of the crisis. The makeshift measures of the Government only help the bigger bosses. The smaller employer is unable to continue production with accumulated stocks which lock his capital. Many small engineering and other concerns are irretrievably ruined and a larger number are threatened with extinction.

Dependence on Foreign Aid

The crisis of the economy was accentuated by dependence on foreign monopolist aid, by the dependence on foreign capitalist markets and the demand of foreign monopolist creditors that India should conform to their policies. In fact this was a demand that India should accept partly the burdens of their crisis. The devaluation of the Indian rupee imposed by the USA was one of the devices to pass the burdens of the crisis to India.

This aspect of the crisis is hidden by the apologists of the Government as a balance of payments crisis. The *Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance* for 1966-67 has to admit, "apart from certain basic factors, such as unfavourable

agricultural conditions, scarcity of raw materials, high costs, which have been inhibiting exports recently, the setback noticed during the year was also attributable to the dislocation in trade, immediately following the devaluation of the rupee. To some extent, the situation was aggravated by the slump in the international prices of certain commodities as tea and sugar... the decline being pronounced in the case of jute manufacture... cotton manufacture, tea. . .”

The foreign exchange crisis which even now aggravates the difficulties of Indian industries arises from the country's dependence on foreign aid. The *Economic Survey* states, “During the Third Plan some 46 per cent of imports were financed by foreign aid; the proportion went up to 49 per cent in 1966-67. Excluding food the proportion of imports financed by aid was 40 per cent in the Third Plan and 43 per cent in 1966-67”.

It is clear that there is bound to be a perennial foreign exchange crisis unless this relation of extreme dependence on foreign aid is altered. It is this relation that enables the imperialists to blackmail and pressurise us. For, almost all new industries in India heavily depend for intermediaries, spare parts, raw materials, on foreign imports and these cannot be had without foreign aid. That is how the Fourth Plan was so easily scuttled by the imperialists.

Why this perennial shortage? Why has it not been possible for India to pay out of the proceeds of the loans, borrowings and growingly lessen the burdens of debts? Because the loans are costly, the real purchasing power being 20 to 50 per cent below their nominal value. This imposes a heavy burden on Indian production and it is not able to produce the regular surplus instituting barbarous methods of exploitation. Secondly, under the stress of its own crisis and its balance of payments difficulties the USA has increased its demand for payment of loans in dollars. “The trends of United States loans assistance, however, have changed recently. In India, for example, only some 19 per cent of all United States loans received by the end of 1960 were repayable in dollars. By the end of 1964 their share had risen to 44 per

cent." (*U.N. Economic Survey of Asia*, etc., 1966.) Also recent agreements allow the United States authorities to sell the counter-part funds accruing under PL-480, thus depriving the recipient countries of valuable foreign exchange from American tourists. Besides, devaluation has raised the foreign debt in rupees by 57.5 per cent and raised by 50 per cent the cost of meeting foreign obligations.

"A second fact, closely related to the first, is that much of the economic assistance has strings attached. Aside from political overtones, serious enough in themselves, which partially dictate which countries receive the grants or loans, the grants or loans themselves are often made for specific purposes, for example, to provide show-cases for the assisting country. Frequently, the beneficiaries of foreign aid are required to spend any monies received in the donor country and to ship any needed materials in its vessels. As most of the rich western countries, for various reasons but mainly because of their inability to preserve an internal monetary balance, have experienced foreign exchange difficulties, the practice of 'tying' the capital outflow to underdeveloped countries has become increasingly common". (Gunar Myrdal, *Asian Drama* P. 635.)

"By the period of 1961-63, about two-thirds of gross bilateral assistance was contractually tied or limited in other ways. The proportion of commodity expenditure financed by the United States Agency for International Development has risen from less than one half in 1961 to over 90 per cent in 1964-65 ... In the Federal Republic of Germany, there was an increase in the proportion of tied assistance from 10 per cent in 1962 to somewhat less than 50 per cent in 1964". (*United Nations Conference on Trade*, etc., quoted by Gunar Myrdal)

The colossal burden this puts on the economy, the process of exploitation it leads to is screened by the Congress rulers under the description of a balance of payments crisis. The total external debt of the Government of India according to 1968-69 budget figures is Rs. 6,225 crores. The ratio of external debt to the total public debt of the Government

was less than one per cent in 1955-56; it rose to as much as 32 per cent in March 1966. Following the devaluation of the rupee, the value of foreign loans was written up by 57.5 per cent and the proportion of external debt to public debt rose to 45 per cent. In 1966-67, it formed 20 per cent of the national income at current prices.

The heavy payment obligations of this inflated debt levy an extortionate tribute on the economy imprisoning it and barring further progress. Apart from this it completely mortgages the export earnings to the payment of these debts and reduces the quality of free exchange available to purchase foreign imports according to needs and in competitive markets.

“In India debt servicing increased threefold between 1960-61 and 1965-66 while export earnings increased barely by one quarter. Debt service accordingly rose from 8 per cent of export earnings in 1960-61 to over 20 per cent in 1965-66. In the Fourth Plan period, external debt service will be increased to 28 per cent of the export earnings or to 36 per cent of the foreign resources needed for the Plan” (*U.N. Survey of Asia*, 1960). Nearly 50 per cent of the country’s free foreign exchange earnings from export has to be spent to meet the debt payments and food imports. India’s debt payments alone amounted in 1967 to Rs. 242 crores. In December this year Sri Morarji stated that India’s foreign loan requirement’s were of the order of 1,000 million dollars while her debt payments will amount this year to 500 million dollars, i.e., Rs. 375 crores. The debt payments will thus absorb half of the amount of the new loan.

Thus all chances of buying vital imports for industry including machinery at competitive international prices is ruled out; India must buy her maintenance imports at uncompetitive monopolist prices under the terms of the aid. This has imposed a wasteful high cost structure on the Indian economy narrowing the market still further. Unable to foot the bill in the crisis India had to beg for postponement of the debt payments—a form of international insolvency. India has secured a debt relief of 98 million dollars. In this con-

nection, the rôle of devaluation of the rupee must be understood. It not only raised the debt by 57.5 per cent, it also raised by 50 per cent the cost of all imports needed for the industry including machinery. Besides making the aid costlier the object was to curb Indian advance and make it difficult to import new machinery for building new industries. The demand of the World Bank that India should confine herself to consolidating what she had was being enforced in a new way.

Industrial imports declined because of inflated value; the imports of machinery and transport equipment declined from 1033 million dollars in 1965-66 to 760 million dollars in 1966-67 and to 327 million dollars in April-September 1967.

The devaluation further increased the debt burden of all industries which had incurred foreign loans and by raising the costs at a time when industrial production was slowing down, it accelerated the pace of the crisis.

The devaluation was dictated by withholding the loan for maintenance imports. When the loan was granted it was laid down that the imports loan should not be given to finance imports of new machinery. The import loans were mainly utilised to sell commodities which had a falling market in the USA and the capitalist countries.

A further factor accentuating and perpetuating the crisis was the reduction or virtual stoppage in foreign aid on which depended the momentum of the Indian economy. The Aid India Consortium had indicated a target of 1,300 million dollars of aid to India in the year 1967-68 inclusive of food and was 900 million dollars against which authorisation aggregated according to the *Economic Survey* only to 303 million dollars. Also only 70 million dollars have been authorised for projects as compared with 234 million dollars in 1966-67. This reduced government expenditure and advanced the recessionary tendencies. One must realise the full rôle played by foreign aid, devaluation, lessening of aid to understand the growing dependence of our economy and the part it plays in India's economic crisis.

India's foreign trade is dominated by its 'trade with the capitalist economies of the West. Its exports are dominated by traditional commodities like tea, jute, textiles, etc., the world market for which cannot expand very much; in fact in some cases it has been shrinking. The agricultural commodities and raw materials which form a large part of the exports are subject to wild fluctuations of prices in the international capitalist market and these fluctuations or recessionary conditions in capitalist countries bring about a critical condition for our exports. The one-sided dependence on exports on the capitalist countries affected by recent recession, the lopsided character of the exports, all continue to generate the crisis and accentuate it.

The dependence of the country's foreign trade on western capitalist countries, together with recent changes and advances in trade registered with the Socialist countries, is seen in the following table: (See p. 720)

It will be seen that with the increasing loans from the USA, its role in our foreign trade, especially imports, has risen; that the role of the USSR and the eastern European countries in the trade has also increased. But the trade with the USA is much higher than that with USSR and the trade with the western bloc is of course dominant. The trade with the U.K., though even now considerable, has fallen. Imports from the U.K. now equal those from the socialist countries while exports to the latter in 1965-66 exceed those to the U.K.

At the same time India is in the sterling bloc and has recently agreed that to ensure the stability of the sterling it would not use its sterling resources outside the sterling area. British private investments in India still continue to be dominant and trade with areas under British influence still plays an important role. The trade with the European Free Trade Area which includes Britain and her partners was more than the entire trade with the socialist bloc in Europe in 1965-66. Imports from this area were valued at Rs. 182.59 lakhs while exports were at Rs. 155.66 lakhs.

By 1964-65 the USA alone among the countries of North America contributed to 37 per cent of Indian imports; its share of exports being 18 per cent. By 1965-66, these percentages were 38 and 18 respectively. The U.K. share in imports dropped from 16 per cent in 1962 to 12 per cent in 1964-65 and 10.6 per cent in 1965-66; its share in exports dropping from 23.7 per cent in 1962 to 20.5 per cent in 1964-65 and 18 per cent in 1965-66.

The figures for 1966-67 and 1967-68 show the same trend. In 1966-67 imports from the USA form 37 per cent of the total and exports formed 18 per cent. The corresponding figures for 1967-68 were 40 per cent and 17 per cent respectively.

Imports from East European countries formed 11 per cent of the total in 1966-67 and 13 per cent in 1967-68. Exports were 19 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68.

Imports from the U.K. which were 16.6 per cent in 1962 dropped to 8 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68; while exports dropped from 23.7 per cent in 1962 to 20 per cent in 1966-67 and 1967-68.

The USA is dominating the imports while its share of Indian exports is more than that of the East European socialist bloc. While imports from Britain dwindled, it claims a larger share of India's exports than the USA or the socialist world of Eastern Europe.

This naturally leads to a conflict of interests between the western powers themselves. The fact that India continues to remain in the sterling bloc while borrowing huge amounts from the USA is itself significant. The pull of the British with their investments and trade is still considerable over India.

This also explains why when the Soviet Union offers profitable propositions to increase the trade between the two countries, the Indian Government hesitates to accept them and even rejects them.

The investment of private foreign capital adds to the crisis by its high rate of exploitation. Like the foreign aid, it also proves a costly proposition and forces a costly economy on the country. "Foreign investments are costly. Costs have

Year	(In Lakhs of Rupees)									
	All Countries		USA		East Europe		Common Market		U. K.	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
1960-61	112,162	64,232	32,756	10,253	4,431	4,956	19,589	5,175	21,715	17,248
1961-62	109,006	66,034	25,554	11,574	8,762	6,380	19,115	5,182	20,015	16,094
1962-63	113,148	68,548	34,684	11,433	11,011	9,236	15,805	4,882	18,556	16,322
1963-64	122,285	79,324	44,997	12,989	12,926	10,891	14,101	6,219	17,146	16,367
1964-65	134,903	81,630	51,048	14,689	14,499	14,388	17,244	5,702	16,365	16,730
1965-66	140,853	80,564	53,483	14,775	15,668	15,658	20,639	5,529	15,009	14,571
1966-67	170,442	96,744	62,638	17,947	18,082	18,307	25,275	7,531	13,455	17,384
1967-68	197,238	119,867	77,150	20,743	20,301	22,594	25,186	8,931	15,786	22,903

The percentage of share of the various countries in India's foreign trade was as follows between 1948 and 1962 :

Per cent of total period's exports destined for

Year	Total Value in millions of dollars	Western Europe including U.K.	Eastern Europe	North America	Per cent share of former colonial powers in	
					Exports	Imports
1948	1371.2	31.6	1.9	17.8	21.6	22.8
1950-52	1372.4	33.2	0.8	21.2	22.8	19.0
1956-58	1272.4	37.8	3.9	20.7	27.7	22.7
1959	1308.0	38.5	6.9	18.5	27.6	19.5
1962	1414.8	34.7	11.8	21.3	23.7	16.6

been inflated in a number of ways, of which the excessive make-up of the prices of machinery and equipment imported (by foreign firms) and the excessive charges for know-how patents and the like are only two... the restrictions imposed on exports of products manufactured in India with collaboration agreements ... the result has been that foreign investments have had a relatively easy time. They have been able to fix the prices for their products in India 50 per cent to 100 per cent higher than those prevalent in their home countries. The profits earned by foreign investments have also been very much higher." (Loknathan, *Economic Journal*, December 1966)

In spite of this inflated value of foreign capital it continues to get the highest profit rates in the world. A recent estimate showed that returns on American investments in India were higher in India than anywhere else in the world. The survey by Reserve Bank of India published in October 1968 showed that foreign capital in collaboration concerns got a return of 15 to 20 per cent on its investment in India. It also showed that most of the collaboration agreements had restrictive clauses regarding exports. It was plain that the foreign capital here came only to loot the home market.

The total private foreign investments in India are nearly Rs. 1,000 crores. Their burden has increased by 50 per cent since the devaluation of the rupee. The ever increasing concessions to private foreign capital, the higher rate of profit it claims and the constant drain on Indian resources for repatriation of profits have all accentuated the crisis. The total levy imposed by the foreign exploiters is unbearable.

Between 1956-57 and September 1967, nearly Rs. 600 crores were remitted by way of profits, royalties, etc., according to officially admitted figures. It is also known that a substantial part of the addition to foreign capital comes from ploughed-back profits, profits earned in India, and does not constitute addition of new production potential from abroad.

Inflation, High Prices and the Crisis

Another feature which plays a role in deepening the crisis is inflation, deficit financing—the special Indian weapon of securing finances for the capitalist path in India. The heavy taxation of consumer goods forces the prices high and reduces the purchasing capacity of the people. Inflation which perpetuates increasing prices is a weapon to transfer value from the toilers to the capitalists and their brethren. It is a weapon to keep the consumers' capacity in check so that greater and greater capital formation takes place. Its effects are there for all to see. From the Central Government employees to factory workers all are forced to fight against a reduction in their real wage which inflation is forcing down. Combined with shortages inflation creates quite a crisis for the industries. With rising inflationary prices urban and rural masses alike are forced to spend a greater part of their wages on the absolute necessities of life leaving very little surplus for industrial goods. The tribute levied by feudal relations in the shape of shortages of food, and inflationary finance come up against the profit hunt of the capitalists. The cost of production tends to rise constantly taking means of consumption beyond the reach of the common man. Some of the textile mills refuse to produce cloth for common consumption; they concentrate on higher quality cloth catering to narrow sections but with larger purchasing power.

The rapid concentration of wealth and means of production that has been taking place under Congress planning has also served to prolong the crisis. The Monopolies Inquiry Commission found out in 1965 that there are 75 leading business groups or houses whose assets are 46.9 per cent of those of all non-government non-banking companies. The proportion of the total paid-up capital of these groups to that of all non-banking non-government companies was 44.1 per cent. The Commission lists various devices and practices to keep rivals out, to peg prices high, to compel sellers to sell at a dictation price. The Hazari Report on Licensing

has also revealed how the Birlas monopolise licences in order to keep out rivals. Here is an attempt to reap monopoly profits in conditions of low industrial development, stop further progress of industry for the sake of guaranteeing the high profits of previous entrants. This once more imposes a high price structure on the economy.

It is not realised how monopolies and concentration of production levy an exorbitant tribute on the economy, artificially push the prices upwards, and make arrangements to collect the ransom by combinations and agreements. All this narrows the home market making a crisis inevitable. Besides, their hunt for profits through combinations and restrictive practices ruins the smaller competitors and lays waste lot of productive power. How prices are pegged high by keeping out rivals, secret agreements, etc., is narrated in the Report of the Monopolies Commission. It says, "we are convinced that in certain goods of consumer use including drugs, exorbitant prices were actually charged by producers who are either the sole producers of the goods or accounted for such a large share of the production that there was no substantial competition and they acted as price leaders... Another practice restrictive of competition is the insistence of many manufacturers that their goods must not be sold below the price as dictated by them... It is obvious that this kills competition between the actual distributors of the article and often keeps the prices which the ultimate consumer has to pay higher than they would otherwise have been". Even retail prices are fixed by the monopolies. The Commission further states, "Even more widespread than resale price maintenance is the practice of exclusive dealing which many manufacturers enforce. This consists in a manufacturer telling a dealer that he shall not deal in any competitors' goods". "Several instances were brought to our notice of the practice of fixation of prices by agreement between competitors." It is by such practices that monopoly levies its tribute, imposes high prices on the economy, accentuating the crisis. It also retards the progress of industrial development by its

attempts to keep off rivals and ensure the domestic market as its exclusive preserve.

Another important factor which has distorted the economy is the expenditure of the Government of India on defence which runs nearly to Rs. 1,000 crores each year.

According to the figures of the Reserve Bank of India reports, the expenditure has risen from Rs. 289.54 crores in 1961-62 before the India-China border incident to Rs. 842.49 crores in 1967-68 taking nearly 30 per cent of the total revenue budget. From the capitalists to their economists all agree that this has been a heavy strain on the economy diverting capital, resources, inflicting heavy taxation burdens, denying the people necessities of life.

Taxation and Further Robbery

The monstrous taxation of the people to finance the capitalist path is nothing but a forcible transfer of value from the toilers to the capitalist class to foot the bill of their industries. To this has been added the recent bill of Rs. 1,000 crores for defence purposes—a bill arising out of the political class policies of the Congress Government—its anti-China policy which helps it in securing foreign 'aid'.

The total tax revenue of the Government of India was Rs. 875.37 crores in 1961-62. In 1962-63 it was Rs. 1,060.98 crores, in 1964-65 Rs. 1,562.80 crores; in 1967-68 it was Rs. 2,160 crores. The expenditure on defence was Rs. 289.54 crores in 1961-62; it increased to Rs. 425.30 crores in 1962-63; to Rs. 704.15 crores in 1963-64; to Rs. 762.18 crores in 1965-66 and Rs. 842.49 crores in 1967-68.

While the capitalists were given every concession the masses were robbed and fleeced through indirect taxes in the form of excise duties on commodities of common use. Union excise duties which amounted to Rs. 145.25 crores in 1955-56 at the end of the First Plan rose to Rs. 1,231.40 crores by 1967-68. How they push the prices upwards, how they have developed into a monstrous system of robbing the people becomes clear from the following table :

*Percentage proportion of excise duties and
cesses to cost of production*

Industry	1955-56	1964-65
Matches	51.4	60.8
Tobacco	34.7	45.4
Sugar	15.2	15.0
Iron & steel	1.1	15.0
Tea	0.3	6.3
Mineral oils	28.3	31.4

This is one of the important elements in the ever-rising prices of commodities narrowing the market and the purchasing power of the people.

Simultaneously it must be seen how this is a process of robbery of one class by another. The same time that the masses are being fleeced, the capitalists are allowed to loot the public treasury, derive the benefits of the public sector and evade taxes on a huge scale.

Prof. Kaldor estimated that the evasion of income-tax deprived the exchequer of an amount at least equal to that realised by the state. Everyone knows that evasion has become a fine art. The public does not realise how it is defrauded by big business and monopolists who openly state that there is nothing that money cannot buy. Simultaneously these same interests see to it that they are able to purchase the products of the public sector at the cheapest price. The public sector is made to function as the tool of the private sector at the expense of the people. Electricity produced in the public sector is purchased by big industrialists at fantastically low prices. This open loot of the people, this deliberate defrauding of the public sector, has added to the intensity of the crisis.

“A main reason for state investments in power, transport, and other public utilities has been to promote private enterprises. Whereas in India and Pakistan, the state has also ventured into industry on a large scale, it has done so mainly in fields where for various reasons private industry could

not be expected to take the initiative. Furthermore, it has taken this step mainly in order to make supplies of raw materials, or capital goods available to private industry" (Gunar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, p. 2102)

"Even in India, where 'a clear decision has now been made in favour of substantial surplus accumulation' in public sector undertakings, profit rates remain very low. The reasons are those already hinted at: the lingering idea that it is possible and desirable to give incentives to private enterprise by setting low prices on services and goods from the public sector; the opposition of private industry to higher prices, reflected also in the positions taken by the state Governments; and the difficulty of raising administered prices in pace with the rise in the general price level". (*Ibid.*, p. 2107.)

It will thus be seen that the crisis is one of the entire economic and political policies, of their basic foundations and is not one which is either related only to a bad agricultural season or just shortage of foreign exchange. It is possible to have ups and downs even within the basic framework, but that is nowhere getting out of the crisis.

An important result of this crisis is the mad search for export markets—not of a healthy expanding economy which has enough surplus to send abroad after satisfying the minimum requirements of the people and the country but of an economy whose home market cannot absorb the products of the moderate advance registered by its industry in the past. There is no doubt that the bourgeois-landlord economy needs such exports even to earn foreign exchange to keep the wheels of industry running; but at the same time, it screens the fact that the entire production cannot be sold in the home market. That is why there is a race to produce as cheaply as possible at the cost of the working class. This search for foreign markets under the impact of the recession at home and necessity of foreign exchange because of indebtedness, lands India's representatives in the most reactionary company. Nijalingappa, Sanjeeva Reddy, Morarji Desai—all try

to cultivate Japan and South-East Asia as new trading partners. And India prides herself in sending Tata trucks, Bhilai steel, railway wagons to the puppet Governments of South Vietnam and South Korea—parading it as new triumphs of export performance. The exigencies of the capitalist crisis land the 'non-aligned Government' in helping the butchers of the Vietnamese people and at the same time break all trade relations with North Vietnam. The dependence of the economy, its urgent need for exports, is likely to create a reactionary political orientation drawing India more firmly into the imperialist net.

It is because of this dependence that India's trade with independent countries and with the socialist camp is not developing with great rapidity to overcome this one-sided relation with the West. India has kept herself out of the profitable trade with People's China though other countries are vying with each other to enter the Chinese market. Its trade with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe has increased and been helpful in giving it plenty of manoeuvrability. Had it not been for the rupee payment facilities which these countries provided, the Indian position would have been absolutely untenable. And yet when big offers to lift engineering goods, etc., are there India hesitates for fear of the West. It stalls negotiations about purchase of Soviet aeroplanes for air service for bulk purchase of Indian engineering goods. The pressure of the USA is so strong that even this bargain which will save a huge amount of foreign exchange is not easily accepted.

The various economic measures taken by the Government are only intended to ease directly or indirectly the burdens and difficulties of the capitalist class. While it adopts repressive measures against the workers and other sections when they struggle against the effects of the crisis, it adopts measures and policies which give plenty of facilities to the capitalists to pass on their burdens to the toilers. The credit control, the refinance facilities, the raising and lowering of bank rates are all done in the interests of the bigger capitalists,

the victims being not only the toilers but also the smaller sections of the capitalists.

The relaxation of controls, the decontrol of the prices of a number of commodities, the self-control by industries all reveal as opportunities for the bigger sharks to profit at the expense of the common man.

Under the stress of the crisis, private sector capitalists are being given more and more freedom, delicensing is introduced, planning is being reduced to announcing of general targets and the role of the state sector is being reduced. Simultaneously greater pressure is being exercised to give more facilities to private foreign capital, to relax controls over collaboration agreements. Many facilities are being given to the foreign capitalists. And yet a formal announcement opening new avenues for them has not been made. In its bargaining the bourgeois Government seems to rely on an ad hoc arrangement and not a formal change in policy.

Under the stress of the crisis there is strong pressure to yield to the demands of the imperialists and strike an anti-national deal. But the crisis at the same time sharpens the conflict of sections of the bourgeoisie with imperialism which threatens to take a larger part of the loot from the exploitation of the people by intruding into the domestic market. This compels many to play a middle role between the Soviet Union and the imperialist camp to safeguard their own interests. There is a move to coordinate some development targets under the plan more firmly with Soviet planning—i.e., make long-term arrangements with the Soviet Union and there is strong hostility to it also. To counteract the growing pressure from one side—American imperialism—there is a tendency in the ruling circles to hold on to the connections with the other side and refrain from anti-Sovietism. This was seen in relation to the Soviet arms deal with Pakistan and Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. There are voices in the ruling circles and industrial circles as well who would like to enter into a dialogue with China to lessen the atrocious burden of de-

fence spending and exploit the opportunities of trade and commerce with China.

The crisis while creating the danger of an anti-national compromise leads to a certain sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and sections of the national bourgeoisie which seek to continue the policy of playing between the USSR and the imperialism camp to drive a harder bargain with imperialism.

False Claims

The Government and its apologists have started advertising that with the good agricultural season of 1967-68, with agricultural production increasing by 27 per cent over last years' fall, India is on the way out of the crisis. They are advertising that the balance of payments position is improving by six per cent between January and April 1968. While there is no doubt that the situation did somewhat ease after the big harvest, all the other factors from foreign exchange crisis, debt payments, clogging of the home market, export performance remain and the basic causes continue. Besides, again this year there is talk of a fall in production of food-grains. The Government of India is urgently asking Washington to release the balance of PL-480 aid for the year amounting to 3.5 million tons. The stocks held by the Government will be not more than three million tons by the end of September. There is likelihood of a fall in the kharif crop of three million tons. Prices of cereals in September in most states are as high as last year. To keep the economy going an annual rise of seven per cent in exports is necessary and this is beyond achievement. The U.S. foreign aid bill has been cut to the lowest figure in twenty years—1619 million dollars. The House Appropriations Committee gave the following as the reasons for the cut: "the serious fiscal situation of our country, budget deficit, and increasing rate of inflation, the gold outflow to past and present recipients of our assistance and our deficit position in our international balance of payments".

It is in this background that some of the developments paraded by the Government have to be understood. Food-grains output in 1967-68 was 21 million tons more—29 per cent higher—than in 1966-67 a year of low production. It was eight per cent higher than the previous four months of 1968, rose by 6.4 per cent over the corresponding period of 1967 when it had risen by only 1.7 per cent. Over the period July 1967—June 1968, the wholesale prices index (base 1952-53=100) registered a fall of 6.1 per cent as compared with increase of 15.8 per cent, 8.3 per cent during the preceding two years of 1966-67 and 1965-66 respectively. But consumer prices instead of falling have risen. The All-India Consumer Price Index for working class (base 1949=100) showed a rise of 1.4 per cent over the rise of 14.1 per cent during the previous year. The Reserve Bank Report for 1967-68 adds: "The rise of more than six per cent in the index for January-April 1968 is encouraging. The recovery from recessionary trends is, however, partial and tardy and several industries are working below capacity".

These years of crisis have inflicted untold sufferings on the people. The devaluation, inflation, the rising burdens of debts, all have served to shoot prices high and as has been pointed out, prices rose by 15.8 per cent and 8.7 per cent in the last two years of 1966-67 and 1965-66. The price-rise in the three years ending 1966-67 was at an annual rate of 12 per cent. The index of wholesale prices rose from 152.67 in 1964-65 to 191.3 in 1966-67. By September 1967 it reached 221.5. Between July 1967 and June 1968 it registered a fall of only 6.1 per cent.

The Consumer Price Index went on rising. The Working Class Consumer Price Index number (1949=100) was 152 in 1964; it rose to 184 in 1966; it shot up to 217 in October 1967; between July 1967 and June 1968 it has registered an increase of 1.4 per cent; it appreciated by 9.2 per cent in 1965; 10.8 per cent in 1966 and 13.5 per cent in 1967. In this same period per capita availability of food decreased as pointed out earlier; the annual per capita availability of edible

oils decreased from 4.5 kgs in 1964-65 to 3.4 kgs in 1966-67; and of cotton cloth from 15.1 metres in 1964-65 to 13.1 metres in 1966-67.

The full story of privations imposed by the crisis can be understood only if it is remembered that real wages continue to lag far behind the cost of living; that the real incomes of the workers, middle class employees, agricultural workers and poor peasants continue to fall off with the prices making bigger and bigger inroads into them. Official statistics show that the real wages of factory workers today is below the pre-war level of British days. It was only by 1950 that the real wages of the worker were the same as the 1939 level. In recent years, it has continued to fall. Official figures show that by 1965 itself it had gone below the 1949 level which approximately represented the same wage as in 1939.

Year	Index number of money earnings	All-India	Index
		Consumer Price Index No. Base 1961=100	number of real earnings Col. 2 x 100 Col. 3
1962	105.6	103.2	102.3
1963	108.9	106.3	102.4
1964	114.1 (E) (P)	120.6	94.6 (E) (P)
1965	124.7 (P)	131.7	94.7 (P)
		E—Estimate.	P—Provisional.

This is how the burdens of the crisis were being already passed on to the workers. During the last two years, with the continued rise in prices the situation has become unbearable, the working class standard of living drastically reduced, which has accentuated the crisis of the market.

It will be further realised that in the same period the employers opened a big offensive retrenchment to safeguard their profits, that the Government and every section of employers tried to oppose every little demand of the workers and employees and suppress their movements in blood. Immediately after elections the United Front Ministries of

democratic parties did give some relief to the employees and workers, some relief was secured by the workers through their organised strength—central government employees, etc., but a policy of general resistance to the demands of the working class had started.

The number of unemployed on live register in 1965 (December) was 2,469,000; in December 1967 it was 2,738,000; in February 1968 it was 2,799,000; in March 2,703,000. Official statistics (*Economic Survey*) reveal that employment in the private sector went down by three lakhs from 68.1 lakhs to 65.2 lakhs between March 1966 and June 1967, this despite the fact that since March 1966 the coverage has been extended to include establishments employing 10 to 24 workers also. Actually there is a tremendous backlog of unemployment which exceeds 13 million. In the figures registered at the employment exchanges two years ago there are nearly two lakhs of educated employment-seekers—clerks, professional, technical and managerial personnel. The number of unemployed engineers has risen to 39,000. The mounting unemployment of engineering and technical personnel in a country like ours exposes the myth of rapid industrial development. Besides unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the ranks of the unemployed include young college graduates, school teachers, professors, skilled workers whose numbers run into lakhs. This of course does not include the partially and fully unemployed in the rural areas.

The rising unemployment, the rising cost of living and the fall in real wages called forth wide strike actions from the working class. The figures for mandays lost for the last five years were 1962—6.12 million, 1963—3.27 million, 1964—7.72 million, 1965—6.90 million and 1966—13.85 million. Mandays lost on account of strikes and lock-outs during 1967 were 9.92 million (provisional). 1968 has seen strikes and lock-outs extending over months—some lasting for as many as 4½ months. The newspaper workers' strike itself lasted nearly two months and while it showed the determination and strength of the workers, it also saw the arrogant

refusal of the employers to accept the recommendations of the wage board and the sycophancy of the Government towards the newspaper magnates. The one-day token strike of the central government employees was organised in the face of the Central Government's intimidating and repressive policies. It once more showed that under the stress of the crisis the Government like the employers is not prepared to negotiate but is only bent on repression. The crisis has already increased the grimness of the class struggle.

It is against this background that we have to understand the mounting struggles of textile, steel and other industrial workers—the rising ferment among the railway workers, the prolonged struggles of the state government employees in almost all states in India before and after 1964. The newspaper workers' struggle, the central government employees' struggles and the wave of resistance among the entire industrial workers, school teachers, professors, hospital staff, students, show that every section is being pushed into action for its immediate demands by the inexorable burdens of the crisis.

The crisis leads to ferocious onslaughts on the toilers in the rural areas. The Party *Programme* had drawn attention to the concentration of landholdings. During the last few years, this has been accompanied by a concentration of money power, credit, marketing facilities, surplus in the hands of a few people—the vested interests. The ever-rising spiral of prices which continually revises the cost of cultivation is leading to expropriation of the small peasant where he owns land. There is always a big gap between the prices he gets at harvesting time and the prices at which he has to buy his implements. The governmental expenditures on improvement, irrigation facilities, etc., bypass him and at the end of each season he faces bankruptcy and destitution. The agricultural workers who are only partially employed bear the worst burden of the crisis. There is growing gap between the purchasing power of the wages they get in the season—and these are very low—and what they can purchase afterwards. With the cities full of unemployed, with no opening in the

villages for new employment, and with introduction of labour economy measures on the big farms in pursuit of larger profits, the mass of workers is being reduced to pauperisation.

It is out of this situation that we get the big movements in agrarian areas, the movements of tribals, the movements and demonstrations of the landless for land. It is out of this crisis that we get ferocious struggle in the rural areas where every effort is made to suppress in cold blood the protests of the agricultural workers as in Andhra. The development of capitalist relations, the growing production for the market, the application of more capital to land—all on the basis of land concentration and the semi-feudal land relations create the most acute agrarian crisis which manifests itself in the growing expropriation, and unemployment of large sections of the poorer sections. The recession together with the adverse agricultural conditions only accentuated the process creating huge discontent in the rural areas.

For the Government, for the bourgeois-landlord clique, the only way out is to repress the people, force them to accept the burdens of the crisis, force them to reduce their standard of living, restrict their consumption, force unemployment on them and increase the surplus per head of person employed so that the demands of foreign debtors and indigenous profiteers are met, so that Indian goods are sold on the foreign markets at lower prices. No more concessions but further attacks—this is the declared policy of the Government and the capitalists. Therefore every device is used from high taxation on necessities of life, inflation, rise in prices, while holding the wages and salaries in check. Cloth, sugar, tea, tobacco are getting beyond the reach of the common man. Education of their children also is already beyond the means of the toiling classes. With lakhs of unemployed the Government is taking a lead in introducing automation, computers, threatening the jobs of tens of thousands.

This brings official policy directly into conflict with the people and leads to the upsurge in the fight against the present policies of the Government.

The Danger of American Domination

The economic crisis and the developments connected with it fully bring out the warning and analysis given in the *Programme* of our Party about the danger from American imperialism, a danger which no party in this country except ours has been seeing. "The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic 'aid'." They "have become the chief bulwark of neo-colonialism. In these circumstances the penetration of American capital in India and our growing reliance on American 'aid' are creating a dangerous situation for our country also. They are utilising it to wrest more concessions for exploiting our country..."

The economic crisis reveals the increasing dependence of our economy on American 'aid'. At each and every step the economy has to meet one or the other demand of India's donors. Devaluation was forced by them on India. The Fourth Plan was scuttled under their pressure, their refusal to help it. The increased concessions to private foreign capital are being given under their demands. Trade with American satellites is being opened and developed to please them. Trade ties with North Vietnam and Cuba were snapped, once again under their pressure.

The import of American over-produced goods like fertilisers is forced on India in the name of developing food production, imports which are charged at a price much heavier than that obtaining in the international market. To get back their debts they demand that Indian workers and the people should be exploited in the most ruthless manner by the introduction of automation and other devices.

The penetration of American imperialism into our economy and its growing domination are creating new and sharp dangers to the independence of our economy, a danger which the people can neglect only at their own peril, at the peril of their liberty and freedom. Any party which underestimates this danger betrays the interests of our country and our people.

The crisis reveals that the contradiction between the people

and imperialism, mainly American imperialism, has tremendously sharpened and it is directly facing them in the shape of frontal attacks on their standard of living and jobs and of direct imposition of starvation and destitution on millions.

Imperialist Attack on Foreign Policy

The economic dependence on American imperialism leads to direct pressures on India's foreign policy and the events of the last four years fully demonstrate how the bourgeois-landlord Government is yielding to it. In the joint communique issued at the end of her visit to Washington, Smt. Indira Gandhi praised U.S. President Johnson's sincere desire for peace and gave her support to the notorious 'containment of China policy' of the U.S. imperialists.

On the question of Vietnam the Government of India has not abandoned its prevaricating policy. It refuses to go beyond requests for stopping the bombing of North Vietnam and never by word condemns the direct American aggression and its brutal war in Vietnam. On the other hand, under American pressure, it has snapped all trade ties with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Trucks, Bhilai steel, cement—materials which may be used by the puppet Government in its war against the people are being freely sent to South Vietnam. At the dictates of the USA, the Government of India banned the entry of all books describing American atrocities in North and South Vietnam, but it sent medicines worth thousands of rupees to help the puppet troops of the South Vietnam Government.

Again trade is being opened with South Korea which is under the domination of the puppet regime set up by the American imperialists. But socialist Cuba continues to be boycotted.

In spite of extremely valuable help to India from the German Democratic Republic, it is denied full diplomatic recognition under the pressure of the West German and U.S. Governments. Economic aid is sought from the West German Bonn Government and its Chancellor, the reactionary Kiesinger, was specially invited to visit this country.

Of late, the Government of India has taken several steps to cultivate friendly relations with the reactionary regimes in Asia which are either satellites of the USA or supported by it. The Government lost no time in establishing relations with the Indonesian fascist regime. The establishment of the regime was described by India's Foreign Minister as the return of Indonesia to parliamentary democracy. The Vice-President of India paid a friendly visit to Thailand, whose Government is openly participating in the American war against Vietnam.

In this period, the Government continued to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe. The Soviet Union and the other countries rendered economic aid to India which enabled the bourgeoisie to continue to play between the two camps. In spite of this and because of the increased dependence on the USA, there was a reactionary shift in the foreign policy.

The Party *Programme* correctly stated, "The border dispute with China leading to a border war between the two biggest states in Asia and the state of cold war existing since then, have further accentuated this shift in India's foreign policy".

The anti-China policy was consistently utilised to secure more aid from the USA; the same weapon was used to appeal to the USSR. In the bargain it was used to pile up the huge expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores on 'defence' which has tremendously accentuated the economic crisis, a fact which is acknowledged even by many among the bourgeoisie.

The complete loss of initiative in foreign policy, its utter bankruptcy, was seen in the Indo-Pakistan war when the American game to make Asians fight Asians succeeded on the sub-continent. The Tashkent agreement rescued India and Pakistan out of the conspiracy hatched by the imperialist powers.

The bankruptcy of the Government's foreign policy was once more seen when the Soviet Government decided to supply arms to Pakistan. The resolution passed by the Central

Committee of our Party in its Jaipur session stated, "The decision of the Soviet Government highlights the crisis of the foreign policy of the Government of India. This is not fortuitous. It is a part of the crisis of its basic policy of developing the Indian economy on capitalist lines with aid from imperialist powers and collaboration with foreign monopolists. The decision of the Soviet Government to supply arms to Pakistan has exposed the utter failure of the foreign policy of the Government of India", which seeks to utilise the anti-China stand of the U.S. Government and capitalise on the hostility between the USSR and China.

It should be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union has been showing a certain shift in its attitude to Indian claims and pretensions vis-a-vis Pakistan. In the earlier years Soviet statesmen made statements to the effect that Kashmir was irrevocably a part of India. The recent Soviet position, according to the Prime Minister, is that the question is one to be settled between India and Pakistan. It was known that at the Tashkent conference the Soviet leaders strove hard to prevail on the Indian Prime Minister to accept this stand. This shift also is directly connected with the growth of the internal reaction in India and the increased surrender to the USA. The Soviet shift is significant and must be recognised as due to the growth of American influence.

Behind the play between the two camps and professions of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the Government of India was taking certain reactionary steps which did not escape the attention of the Soviet Union and which led to strong comments in the Soviet Union.

In spite of bitter results of putting staggering burdens on her economy, the Government of India pursues its anti-China policy. Now and then one hears some people calling for normalisation of relations with China and relieving the Indian economy of the needless burden of a huge defence expenditure. Some papers owned by big business also sometimes demand a relaxation but as yet the anti-China chauvinism created by the Congress and all other parties is so dominant

that the saner elements are unable to develop concerted pressure. The dependence on the USA only helps the anti-China lobby to strengthen the policy of hostility to China.

At a time when all other countries, faced with recession, are trying to cultivate the Chinese market, the Government of India keeps India away from the profitable trade to please the Americans and thus prolongs the crisis.

During the visit of Smt. Indira Gandhi to Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand more statements were made to the effect that in these areas the main danger was internal subversion, i.e., revolution (or communist revolution as the international monopolists say) and that this should be met by international cooperation and pacts in the region. The main danger to these countries comes from the USA which is carrying on a murderous mission of aggression in Vietnam. Smt. Gandhi did not utter a word about it. The proposal for regional cooperation against internal subversion amounts to a call for a pact of reactionary Governments supported by the USA to crush the revolutionary movement in each country.

Congress President Nijalingappa during his recent tour of Japan said that the two countries should come together for bringing about political stability to the area. This is significant, for the Japanese monopolists and Sri Nijalingappa think that the greatest danger to democracy in Asia comes from People's China. Sri Morarji Desai's tour, it is known, became a scandal when he openly talked about two Chinas and put the External Affairs Ministry in a difficult position.

As a result of his talks with the leaders of Japan's ruling party, Sri Nijalingappa said there had arisen a feeling that the two countries should come together for bringing about political stability to the area. He called upon Japan and India to work closely together "to make Asia safe for democracy so that democracy develops into a way of life throughout the world". Bringing about political stability of the area in cooperation with the Japanese Government has no other meaning than forming a united front with the Japanese monopolists

against the revolutionary popular movements of the region. And to cooperate with Japan to make Asia safe for democracy has no other meaning than forming an anti-China front. For, in the vocabulary of the Japanese ruling class as well as Sri Nijalingappa, the greatest danger to democracy in Asia comes from China and not from the USA.

Sri Nijalingappa is eager to join hands with the Japanese monopolists who are manufacturing huge supplies for the U.S. military command to massacre the Vietnamese. This is what he means by saving democracy in Asia. Can anything be more shameful than this?

And finally during the Indo-American talks, in the last week of July 1968, the Indian side is again reported to have suggested that the security of the region should be ensured by an international guarantee (not by the withdrawal of imperialist forces and stoppage of all American intervention). The Americans are reported to have demanded a written guarantee from the countries of the region—that is, a pact signed and sealed. Thus it seems that while speeches were being made in the Rajya Sabha about flexibility in approach, proposals of how to contain the revolutionary movement in South-east Asia, how to contain China through regional pacts, were being discussed with the U.S. delegation.

These recent shifts have been accentuated by the economic crisis, by the need for earning more foreign exchange, by the urgency for more exports. The mad search for exports necessitated by the recession is forcing the Indian bourgeoisie to seek economic partners in the most suspicious quarters and develop political relations with them. The process is accentuated by the demand of the World Bank that there should be more trade among the countries of the region, by which they mean that India should open trade and commerce with the satellites of the USA.

That is why in recent months, the countries visited by the Prime Minister and others belong mostly to the region under the influence of the USA. South-east Asia, Australia, Latin

America—these have attracted the Ministers of the Government of India.

The Government of India's stand on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is equally suspicious. The non-proliferation treaty is an unequal treaty, a treaty which while it imposes unequal conditions on other and smaller nations, does not in the least affect the death-raising power of the USA. It puts no restrictions on the imperialists, on the piling of nuclear armaments and there is no guarantee against proliferation. At the same time in the name of non-proliferation it makes other nations dependent on the big powers for the research and development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Britain and the USA in co-operation with the USSR are to be the powers that will have the right to dictate to the other countries while there will be no restriction on their capacity to manufacture more nuclear weapons.

It was correct on the part of the Government of India to protest against the unequal conditions and refuse to sign the treaty. It was correct to demand that the big powers accept real restrictions on their nuclear capacity and destroy their weapons.

But the Government of India is at the same time raising a scare about China, pointing to the development of nuclear weapons in China and raising a scare about its own safety, about the likelihood of attack from China. With these pretexts it is demanding the right to be ready for the manufacture of her own weapons or in the alternative some kind of nuclear umbrella jointly provided by the USA and USSR. Thus the initial protests against an unjust treaty are being diverted into anti-China channels and towards securing a nuclear guarantee from the two big powers. The main enemy of the world is forgotten and like the USA, the Government of India is holding China as the main culprit. The USSR is playing a sorry and reactionary role in this, pressing India to sign the treaty and at the same time pandering to its anti-China hostility.

It is this economic pressure that creates the possibility of

further shifts in foreign policy endangering national interests. Besides, the basic internal cause for a reactionary shift in foreign policy has been strengthened in recent years. The Party *Programme* correctly stated, "The growth of monopolies and big business in India and their growing links with imperialist monopolies, which are actively encouraged by the Government, the increasing reliance of its five-year plans on aid from the western countries, particularly from the USA, despite the vital, industrial, technical and economic aid rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries—all these have a tremendous bearing on all the policies of the Government, foreign policy being no exception."

In recent years, it is precisely the strength of the monopolies and big business that has grown.

The danger of its anti-national deal therefore increases. While the crisis itself compels some sections of the bourgeoisie to take a more sober stand on foreign affairs, to be aware of the growing grip of the imperialists, it, at the same time, heightens this danger of further reactionary shifts in India's foreign policy, shifts which may create dangers for the future of the country. The *Programme* calls on our Party to be vigilant and wage a persistent struggle against the reactionary shifts, against the designs of the American imperialists.

People in our country are still oblivious of the growth of the American danger and CIA penetration. Recent events and revelations however show that the CIA is spreading its net far and wide—from the universities and educational centres to the defence forces. It is making preparations for striking at Indian freedom through its agents whenever it requires to do so. The economic dependence and the vested interests round it form its economic base of operation for its neo-colonialist plans. And it is freely using the PL-480 funds at the disposal of the American embassy in India.

As the revelations of an American spy reveal:

"The CIA and U.S. Military Intelligence gained entry to the high-ranking military circles of India, and tried to influence

them. They did not begrudge funds, time or personnel for this purpose.”

“Washington constantly stressed the need for a pro-American group in the Indian army that could take over at the opportune moment. With this goal in mind, the American Intelligence did not confine its activities to the Indian capital. They set up a network that covered the entire country and planted their agents in both the lower and higher echelons of the military. I recall a secret document that arrived from Washington indicating that all military personnel that had close ties with us should be promoted to more influential positions and place an officer at the head of the Indian General Staff who could direct an Indian policy that would be advantageous to us.”

“According to the document, agents in the American consulates in the various cities of India were to concentrate on the higher-ranking officers of the garrisons and find out their political outlook, their attitude to the USA. Ultimately, the best candidates would be recruited for the CIA. The methods used were neither above-board nor subtle. ‘Ralph’ was the nickname of an Indian colonel whom the CIA got in their clutches. They were aware that he had a weakness for the fair sex. So they went ‘fishing’ for him using an American beauty, a CIA agent of course, as bait. The colonel snapped at the bait and was caught, hook, line and sinker. So the CIA added another name to their list of American agents in India.”

“The American Intelligence Agency was constantly broadening its ties with the army and also the political circles of India. Every attempt was made to influence outstanding political figures who could in turn influence government policy or at least, were well informed concerning it.”

The various foundations, the Peace Corps, the World Assembly of Youth, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions have been revealed to be CIA agents and operating with CIA funds. It should be noted that these agencies have been financing organisations like the Youth Congress

with which the Indian National Congress is connected or trade union organizations with which the INTUC and the PSP-HMS are connected. Those who are loud in their profession of patriotism and equally loud in their anti-communism are the recipients of the tainted money. A few months ago the question of CIA's role in India with particular reference to its work among the youth was raised in Parliament. Startling revelations accusing openly the Youth Congress and the World Assembly of Youth's Indian Committee were made. The beneficiaries dared not deny that they were receiving money from the agency.

Last year the Government was compelled to close the Asia Foundation after it was exposed as a CIA front. For eighteen years now the Government of India was operating through the Foundation. It was *New York Times* that exposed it along with the American Friends of India as a CIA agency. But till the last the vigilant Government of India which is busy discovering non-existent communist conspiracies in the country, had no inkling as to the real character of this notorious foundation.

The United States Information Service is another branch of the CIA functioning in India with special facilities granted by the Government of India—the Government allows it to rent tele-type facilities which facilitate its work.

The increasing American grip over the country is seen in the increasing arrogance of American companies and capitalists towards the Indian people and the Indian Government. When American nationals openly defy Indian laws, the law is very lenient and everything is arranged in a way which belittles Indian laws and asserts the superiority of the USA. The American oil magnates who run their refineries in India refuse to obey the directives of the central Government of India, directly attack their workers, retrench them and show utter contempt for the Government committees appointed to investigate the disputes between them and their workers. And when they behave insolently like this, the state Governments lend the help of the police to crush the workers.

It is further known that a number of bureaucrats are in the pay of the USA and they manipulate things to suit their American bosses. In the riots, in the provincial conflicts, in the communal tensions, one often sees the hand of the CIA out to smash the freedom, democracy and unity of the Indian people.

The danger to Indian independence is thus growing and unless the growing dependence of our economy on the USA and the consequent penetration of the CIA is stopped the menace cannot be overcome. The Government is unable to meet this menace because it cannot break away from the policy of increasing 'aid' from the USA. The danger is heightened by the fact that all the other 'Left' parties including the revisionists are either oblivious to it or deliberately underplaying it, thus keeping the masses in ignorance of the U.S. conspiracies.

NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

Our Party, in its Seventh Congress documents, while analysing the economic-political situation obtaining then, clearly indicated the features and the nature of the economic crisis that was gathering momentum, and also exposed the hollowness of the so-called path of independent capitalist development, launched by the Congress Government. In the Political Report, entitled *New Situation and Party's Tasks*, adopted by the Central Committee in April 1967, which carried forward this understanding of our Party Congress after assessing fresh developments, we noted the deepening of the economic crisis and also its projection into the initial stages of a political crisis.

Three important points were emphasised regarding the nature and character of the economic crisis. First, the chronic character of the crisis inherent in the dependent and semi-feudal social order, and the contradiction that has come to exist between the productive forces and the relations of production. Second, the capitalist path of development conceived by the bourgeoisie to overcome the chronic crisis is itself caught in the whirlpool of a far more serious economic

crisis. Third, the present economic crisis is not to be mistaken for an ordinary cyclic crisis of capitalism or a temporary recession, but should be understood as an inseparable part of the world capitalist crisis, the crisis of the very capitalist order which is heading for collapse on a world scale.

Events during the last eighteen months have corroborated these conclusions and reinforced them with additional evidence.

Further, in the same report, we noted how the pursuit of the capitalist path without effecting radical agrarian reforms and relying heavily on foreign monopoly capital, was leading the country to the danger of neo-colonial domination under U.S. imperialism, endangering its national independence, and condemning its people to the cruel exploitation of the imperialists, Indian monopolists and the big landlords. It gave a serious warning to the people that continued hostility with the neighbouring states of Pakistan and People's China was increasing the heavy defence burdens on our economy, and this in its turn, was intensifying the economic crisis, increasing the dependence on imperialism and imperilling the country's progress in every field of activity.

The virtual abandonment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, opening of the floodgates for invasion of private foreign capital and its collaboration deals with Indian big business, the food crisis, resources crisis, foreign exchange crisis, balance of payments crisis, repayment of foreign debt crisis, the planning crisis, in short the crisis of the entire internal and external policies of the Government, speak eloquently of the correctness of our Party's assessment of the economic situation and the warning given on its basis.

The glib talk the leaders of the ruling classes are indulging in that they have been able to turn the corner because of the good harvest in 1967-68 and some other measures and steps supposed to have been taken by them cannot hoodwink anyone who has seen the haunting phenomenon of intensified closures, lock-outs, lay-offs, retrenchment and the rising wave of strikes of the workers and middle-class employees in the last eighteen months after the fourth general elec-

tions. The mounting mass discontent in the industrial centres and rural areas, and the frequent recourse of the Government to repressive measures to meet it, cannot escape the attention of any observer. The apathy with which the Government sat idle feigning helplessness when the newspaper magnates provoked a nationwide strike in their establishments and stopped publication of newspapers for two months, the clumsy haste with which it came down on the proposed one-day protest strike of the central government employees all over India, banning it with a draconian ordinance, and the closures and strikes continuing for months in several engineering concerns and textile factories are typical of the economic crisis and the working class unrest in different parts of the country.

The political crisis that has set in and is being expressed in an open and sharp form following the fourth general elections continues, and all its basic causes remain essentially unchanged despite any change in its form and manifestations. The leaders of the ruling Congress party denied the very existence of such a political crisis and sought to brush it aside as some temporary "instability" that had set in. They have now begun claiming that it has been warded off, stability restored, the conditions that gave rise to such instability, i.e., the coming into existence of non-Congress Governments in as many as eight states, have been set right by dissolving most of these Governments and that the Congress party also is considered by the vast millions of our people as a party capable of delivering the goods, etc. These are deliberately intended as morale-boosters for their own party and as dampers for the rising anti-Congress discontent of the masses. A few glaring facts would convince any political-minded person of the correctness of this statement.

The fact that hardly within a year after the general elections in the country, elected legislatures had to be dissolved and mid-term poll ordered in five states with a total population of 175 million, hardly speaks of political stability, it highlights the crisis in the situation.

The crude and corrupt practices freely resorted to by the Congress party at the states and central level, squabbles centering round the only issue of sharing the spoils of office and in no way connected with programmes and policies, are by no means an indication of tiding over the political crisis, but, on the contrary, underline the depth of the crisis.

Or can anyone dare to assert that the Centre-State conflicts that are corroding the federal structure and challenging the country's unity have, today, disappeared or have been mitigated? It is an issue that no political party can dodge without revealing its real colours. The fact that Congress chiefs from the states play a decisive role in selecting the Prime Minister of the country notwithstanding the concentration of unitary authority at the Centre is highly significant. It denotes the growing contradiction and conflict between the states and the Centre, which is maturing fast calling for a radical solution, but the ruling party, with its reactionary class policies, is utterly incapable of finding such a solution. It also reveals that the ruling party is no longer able to exercise its centralised authority over its state units.

Two definite trends are clearly emerging. One is a dangerously reactionary trend which advocates the setting up of an unalloyed unitary system of state and government, trampling underfoot all the autonomous and democratic rights of states and nationalities in the country, while the other, despite different shades and currents, fights for a genuine federal set-up and free, full and unfettered autonomy for states. The deepening crisis of the capitalist path and its inevitable projection into the political spheres as it matures, cannot but bring about a frontal confrontation between these two distinct forces and trends, and that is exactly what is in the making at the present stage of our political crisis.

Hence, what our Party characterises as the initial stage of the political crisis remains perfectly valid, no matter what the bourgeois leaders assert to the contrary.

But, what is significant and should be taken serious note of is that at the present stage of development the economic

and political crisis is sought to be utilised by forces of extreme reaction for their counter-revolutionary ends. Highly disruptive organisations like the Shiva Sena in Bombay, Lachit Sena in Assam and the like are fanning the worst parochial and chauvinist feelings on a big scale. Taking undue advantage of the continued conflicts with Pakistan and People's China, these dark forces are systematically working for the rousing of communal frenzy on the one side and most heinous anti-communist passions on the other. The growing mass discontent is thus sought to be taken into counter-revolutionary channels. Not only known reactionary forces like the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, etc., outside the Congress and those inside the Congress resort to this; the distressing part is that several political parties and groups who objectively represent the democratic and progressive classes and sections in the country are falling victim to this dangerous chauvinism, and sometimes take the lead in these matters under the cover of nationalism and patriotism. The success of the rabidly nationalist and crudely chauvinist forces can be gauged when we see that a party which calls itself communist, the Right Communist Party under the leadership of S.A. Dange, virtually accepted several of the national chauvinist demands raised from time to time. What is surprising then if parties like the PSP, SSP, DMK, Akalis and the like frequently fall victim to this game and objectively abet reaction and disrupt the democratic unity of the people?

A glance at the history of the last eighteen months would reveal how on several issues, all these parties actually helped the game of the Congress party and other reactionary forces to divert the growing mass discontent and political awakening, born out of the economic political crisis, into disruptive channels. The weakness of our Party and other consistently democratic forces, on a national scale, and the consequent inability to give leadership to the growing mass discontent, are enabling these forces to distort the whole phenomenon and take it in a wrong and disruptive direction. The political crisis and the situation thus created are being utilised more

by the anti-people forces than the popular forces headed by the revolutionary working class and its party. This we should note.

Before concluding this topic, we would like to reproduce a highly instructive passage from Lenin's report to the Second Congress of the Communist International :

“On the one hand, bourgeois economists depict this crisis simply as ‘unrest’, to use the elegant expression of the British. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely insoluble.

“This is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie are behaving like bare-faced plunderers who have lost their heads; they are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom. All this is true. But nobody can ‘prove’ that it is absolutely impossible for them to pacify a minority of the exploited with some petty concessions, and suppress some movement or uprising of some section of the oppressed and exploited. To try to ‘prove’ in advance that there is ‘absolutely’ no way out of the situation would be sheer pedantry, or playing with concepts and catchwords. Practice alone can serve as real ‘proof’ in this and similar questions. All over the world, the bourgeois system is experiencing a tremendous revolutionary crisis. The revolutionary parties must now ‘prove’ in practice that they have sufficient understanding and organisation, contact with the exploited masses, and determination, and skill to utilise this crisis for a successful, a victorious revolution.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 226-227).

It is imperative that all our comrades fully grasp the meaning of this passage so as to be guided by it in their activities.

Hostility of the Government to Our Party

Basing on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class relations obtaining in the national as well as international arena, the Seventh Congress of our Party had worked out the Party

Programme and the *Resolution on Tasks*. These two documents were intended to guide our current political activity among our people and also to go forward in building up the People's Democratic Front to achieve the People's Democratic Revolution, as the only way out for the salvation of our country's problems and people's emancipation. Eighteen months ago, the Central Committee reviewed the progress of our work, self-critically examined the correctness or otherwise of its programmatic and political understanding, assessed the economic and political situation anew and worked out the new tasks corresponding to the new situation that emerged immediately after the fourth general elections.

First of all, it is necessary to recall that the bourgeois-landlord Government of the country had laid a deep conspiracy to tame the once-united Communist Party of India, to cultivate a section of its leadership with cajolery, to reduce it to a parliamentary "His Majesty's Opposition", and to transform it into an appendage of the ruling Congress party. The Government, under the shrewd class leadership of Nehru, pursued this tactic with all the cunning at its command. A section of the leadership at all levels including the C.C. acted as the trusted agents of the Government. Through them the Government was able to secure detailed information about the proceedings of the committees and decide its attitude towards individual leaders of our Party.

The Political Intelligence department could easily make out its first big list of 'who is who' in the Communist Party leadership at different levels in the post-independence offensive against the Party, because of the openly declared positions adopted by all the leaders, in the so-called inner-party discussion of that period. Basing itself on this, it began its effective intervention from within and was closely following the inner-party discussions and developments from time to time. With the deterioration of India-China relations, following the failure of the Tibetan counter-revolution and the Government of India's stand on it, and with the open eruption of the border dispute during 1959-60, the

differences inside the Party got sharpened on the one hand, and on the other, the intervention of the bourgeoisie and its press to influence and shape the Party's policies became more intense. The so-called 'leakages' that were organised, the 'inside stories' briefed by the hidden hand of the Home department, the manner in which the columns of special correspondents of almost all the leading dailies were pressed into service, and the systematic slander campaign and character assassination of individual leaders carried on by the pseudo-Left periodicals like *Link*, *Blitz*, *Mainstream*, and subsequently daily *Patroit*, etc., stand as a veritable record of history for nearly a decade.

All this campaign of political vilification and slander was organised for and aimed at nothing but politically isolating our trend of thought, destroying the image and revolutionary prestige of our leaders in the masses, depicting us as sectarians, dogmatists and advocates of violence, painting us as anti-national, anti-patriotic agents of either Pakistan or People's China, as it suited the occasion, beating us down in the inner-party struggle, and to see, at all costs, that a militant Marxist-Leninist force did not crystallise and get consolidated in our country.

It was this that prompted the Government to detain a thousand of our leaders under the Defence of India Act in the year 1962.

It was again the same design that goaded the central Government to arrest and detain all our state leaders of West Bengal in October 1964, on the eve of the Seventh Party Congress.

It was once again the solid strength of our Party, demonstrated at the Party Congress and the militant revolutionary political line adopted there that became an eyesore for the authorities and another big attack was launched at the end of the year 1964, detaining about 1500 of our leaders and cadres till the middle of the year 1966.

The "White Paper", produced by the Home department and distributed in different languages in lakhs, levelling grave

accusations and aimed at systematic calumny of our Party, was condemned universally, in no time, as a bundle of cooked up lies and politically motivated. Our Party leaders whom the Government conspired to detain for indefinite periods in jails under the hated Defence of India Act had to be released, and the Act itself had to be withdrawn. The mighty popular movement that gathered momentum for their release and for the withdrawal of DIR embraced different democratic sections of the people and parties cutting across all political barriers and compelling the Government to accept defeat.

The same was the Government's aim in rushing through the 'Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Ordinance' in June 1966. It was withdrawn under public pressure, but has subsequently been enacted by Parliament. When the Government was compelled to withdraw the DIR after five years of its continued existence, it armed itself with this law, which contains several draconic provisions including the total banning and suppression of associations. The spokesmen of the Government made it abundantly clear that this dagger was mainly aimed at our Party, notwithstanding the deceptive talk of suppressing 'communal' and the so-called 'divisive' forces to cover up its real purpose.

The Congress party and the central Congress Government continued their concentrated fire on our Party in the post-election period, constantly conspiring to involve our Party in one political adventure or another, so as to facilitate its evil design of destroying it. The bourgeoisie and its kept press systematically propagated that they would tolerate and put up with any non-Congress Government in states by political parties and groups, provided it excluded the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The haste with which and the manner in which the West Bengal U.F. Government was toppled, and the unashamed way the supply of foodgrains is utilised as a weapon to undermine the Kerala U.F. Government highlight their enmity to our Party and all that it stands for.

The present legal existence and functioning of the Party

which we won after years of hard struggle should not deceive any one amongst us into the belief that the Congress Government and other avowed anti-communist reactionaries in the country have abandoned their evil designs on our Party, and have come to respect the democratic rights and civil liberties assured under the Constitution of the country. To understand the degrading depths of their anti-communism, it is enough to recall the unconcealed joy and gratification expressed by these forces over the murderous attack and mass-scale butchery of the Indonesian communists in 1965, and the haste with which the Government had rushed to hug the butcher regime, offering economic aid and hearty cooperation. It is dangerous to forget even for a moment how the class war is tremendously intensified on a world scale and how the propertied classes in their desperate last-ditch battles to perpetuate their decaying, exploiting order, are turning into wild beasts in their behaviour while keeping only their human form. Lenin, as early as 1920, warned communists everywhere of this danger, in his famous *Theses on the Comintern's Fundamental Tasks*, and it is necessary to remember his words to warn ourselves again.

Speaking about the monstrous growth of militarism and violence on the part of the world bourgeoisie and characterising any naive belief in their democratic and peaceful code of conduct and behaviour as 'sheer philistine stupidity' Lenin observed: "That truth consists in the bourgeoisie, even the most enlightened and democratic, no longer hesitating at any fraud or crime, even the massacre of millions of workers and peasants, so as to preserve private ownership of the means of production."

Further, exposing the democratic pretensions of the bourgeoisie, he stated: "Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the Government of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois democratic system is most 'stable', are already systematically and secretly drawing up black-lists of communists and constantly violating their own constitution so as to give secret

or semi-secret encouragement to the whiteguards and to the murder of communists in all countries, making secret preparation for the arrest of communists, planting agents-provocateurs among the communists, etc, etc.”

India-China Question

—Party Upholds Banner of Internationalism

The bourgeois-landlord Government and its leaders, riding on the wave of rabid national chauvinism and relying on their stupid calculations, were the most vociferous denouncers of our Party and its political line, the line of advocating negotiated settlement of the dispute with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and People's China, instead of indulging in their dangerous policy of continued confrontation with Pakistan and 'containment' of China.

This political line of ours was dubbed and slandered as anti-national, and yet our Party leaders all over the country preferred imprisonment under the DIR, doggedly defending our line, and counter-accusing the Congress party and Government with betrayal of real national interests and treachery to the common people of our country than yielding before the threats of force and violence by the Government.

Our demand for ending the Indo-Pak war and for negotiated settlement of the Kashmir problem was denounced by the late Prime Minister Shastri as an attitude "totally opposed to the national policy and united opinion in the country" and as "double-talk". He went to the arrogant length of warning our Party, in his scurrilous speech at Aurangabad, saying, "if they persist in this attitude of questionable loyalty to the motherland, why should they stay at all in the country".

Three weeks of the shooting war between India and Pakistan, the cease-fire forced by the Security Council resolution, the newly dawned wisdom to accept the offer of the Soviet Union's good offices to meet the representative of Pakistan at Tashkent and the signing of the Tashkent Declaration totally exposed the utter political bankruptcy of the

Government's tirades against our Party. The line that our Party advocated and continued to advocate stood the test of time and proved to be the only correct way out.

Let us see what happened to the political line of the Government and other self-styled "nationalist and patriotic" parties in relation to the border dispute with the People's Republic of China. The dispute first came into the open and burst into a serious conflict between the two countries in 1959, with the Tibetan developments and the Chinese armies coming to the borders. It is nearly a decade since then. From the day this dispute came into the open, we had been advocating a peaceful political settlement, through negotiations and talks between the two Governments, and were against all bellicose declarations and acrimonious claims on the disputed spots. This was denounced as a line emanating from the so-called 'China Lobby', as an anti-national line of surrendering our territory to People's China, etc. Nine years are over, scores of armed border clashes took place, a regular war broke out and a humiliating military debacle took place, the defence budget has enormously increased and reached over a thousand crore of rupees, dependence for military hardware has hundred-fold increased, the vaunted policy of peace and non-alignment has been emasculated, the economic crisis has been aggravated, the earlier political-military confrontation since 1947 with one neighbouring country, Pakistan, had extended to a dangerous confrontation with both the neighbouring countries, People's China and Pakistan, dragging the Government into accepting the bankrupt U.S. policy of 'containment of communist China', a policy which is meeting ignoble defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people.

The country and the Congress Government have become a pawn in the hands of different kinds of anti-China statesmen, to be played by them on the international chess-board, while they deceive themselves all the time thinking it is they who are playing the game. Everyone, without exception, in the anti-China lobby in our country realises that it is next to impossible to secure a settlement of the border dispute through

a war with China, and yet the rabid chauvinists, ultra-nationalists and confirmed anti-communists stand as one to oppose even the smallest move for a peaceful settlement. What is the game? The game is clear—it is to serve reaction and counter-revolution at home and imperialist reaction abroad. A section of the Congress party and the central Congress Government faced with the deepening economic crisis, confronted with the fast-losing bargaining and manoeuvring capacity in the international field, and belatedly realising the utter futility of the confrontation policies that are being pursued, are, now, rethinking and timidly putting across the need for a reversal of these dangerously damaging policies. But they are mortally afraid of the ghosts of bellicose chauvinism and ultra-nationalism that they themselves have been rousing. Hence they dare not reverse these policies. As many as 125 members of Parliament belonging to different bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties came out in the open aggressively advocating adherence to the same old bankrupt anti-China policies and even wanting to take it to the extreme limit of aligning with the U.S. stooge, the Taiwan regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Thus the Government stands a prisoner of its own policies. That is how matters really stand, and yet the nonsensical slander against our Party by the Congress leaders, echoed by the Jana Sangh, Swatantra, PSP, continues with still more vehemence and shamelessness. But the history of the last half a decade demonstrates that there is no other solution to the continued conflicts and disputes with the neighbouring countries, Pakistan and People's China, than the one our Party has been consistently putting forth despite all the opposition and persecution it had to face. The day is not perhaps far off when this correct line of ours completely triumphs, debunking all the so-called "nationalists" and "patriots" who have landed our country in the present impasse.

What is required is not to rest content and satisfied with the correctness of the line, but to carry on a consistent and persistent struggle to mobilise ever wider sections of our

people around this correct line and build a powerful mass political movement to break the present impasse. The national and international conditions for the success of our line, today, are objectively far more favourable than at any time during the last several years. With redoubled confidence and courage our Party will have to go into action and mobilise mass sanctions for the line.

The Congress leadership and the central Government roused national chauvinism to politically isolate our Party, discredit its political line as anti-national, adventurist, etc., and forge a front against the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Our Party armed with the political understanding given by the new Party *Programme* and *Resolution on Tasks*, had concentrated its main fire against the Congress leadership and the Government as the chief representatives of the big bourgeois-landlord reaction, and worked for the forging of an anti-Congress democratic front with all those democratic parties and groups who were prepared to ally with our Party, isolate the Congress party and inflict political blows, both through the weapons of extra-parliamentary mass activity as well as parliamentary elections, etc.

Events have shown that the Congress leaders did not succeed in their political line—they could neither prevent the mighty united mass struggles in the pre-election period, nor escape defeats at the hands of the people in the fourth general elections which showed their growing loss of influence and they are even now continuing to lick the wounds. In this, the significant political role played by our Party has to be noted—a role which no honest political worker dare deny.

The Struggle Against the Revisionists and the Tasks Still Facing Us

The struggle against the revisionist leadership of the united CPI, carried on inside the Party for years, finally culminated in our deliberately breaking with it and convening our Seventh Party Congress on our own in October-November 1964. A month after our Congress, the revisionists, too, held their

Congress and called it their Seventh Congress. The two Congresses came before the public with two distinct, sharply opposed programmes and political lines, each claiming and asserting that its programme and political line alone were genuinely Marxist-Leninist and really communist.

It is interesting to recall that as many as twentyfour delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties under revisionist leaderships came running post-haste to attend the Right Communist Congress at Bombay, the CPSU leading them, and the renegade clique of the League of Yugoslav Communists included in them, to greet this revisionist ramshackle congregation. A number of other parties led by revisionists obliged them with messages. This itself showed that a big international crowd had solidly rallied in support of the revisionist clique of Dangeites, who assembled to denounce our Party as 'splitters', 'renegades', 'dogmatists', 'sectarians' 'adventurists', 'Chinese agents' and 'betrayers' of the cause of communism in India, and to adopt a new programme and political line in opposition to the programme and political line adopted by our Congress at Calcutta. We had despatched to all these fraternal Parties all the relevant documents adopted at our Calcutta Congress, with a covering letter explaining the real and factual situation inside the Indian communist movement.

All the same, they all attended and blessed the Dangeites' Congress. This was not all. It is particularly interesting to recall the profuse praises showered on these revisionists by the CPSU delegation for their Marxism-Leninism, whose utter hollowness now stands glaringly revealed. We cite only two of them to show their sham character in retrospect. B. N. Ponamarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, heading the CPSU delegation, in his speech at the Right Communist Congress said :

The Communist Party of India [Dangeites' party] is fighting for the unity and cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; it comes against dogmatism and 'Left'-sectarianism as well as against reformism and right-opportunism."

“Your party is a *distinguished detachment* of the international communist movement. Acting on the basis of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings it contributes to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, for the unity of the world communist movement.” (Emphasis added.)

Such were the praises showered on and certificates given to their revisionist counterparts by the revisionist leaders of the CPSU in 1964. During the last four years, life and events have shown how every syllable of these praises and certificates of Marxism-Leninism has been proved false and how they were deliberately meant to bolster up the revisionists in India. But the Indian revisionist leaders, holding up these certificates in both hands, went about the country, challenging our Party on every count, contesting every basic formulation of our Party *Programme* and counterposing to it their Bombay programme as a piece of ‘creative Marxism’, and countering our Party’s political-tactical line with an alternative line of theirs. What happened to that Bombay programme, and what fate their political-tactical line met is now the common knowledge of every politically thinking person in our country, notwithstanding the fact that there are several credulous people among the revisionist following who are still being duped by their leaders. Our Party, in a number of its writings and documents, had laid bare the bankruptcy of the revisionist programme and policy, and it is redundant to repeat all of them here, in detail. And yet, a brief resume of the revisionists fiasco, during these years, cannot but find a place in the present Political Report to the Party Congress. This we shall attempt and touch upon a few salient and basic questions.

The Indian revisionist leaders boast that they alone are the real Marxist-Leninists and communists in our country, and their Bombay programme is the creative revolutionary programme for the Indian working class! What ‘revolutionary’ changes had these ‘creative Marxists’ introduced in their programme? The first basic change that they made was to

substitute the concept of 'National Democratic Revolution' for the till then existing concept of 'People's Democratic Revolution', a concept accepted and current in our Party since 1948.

Class Character of the State and National Democracy

The revisionists, in their draft programme, published in the middle of 1964, came out with the following profound definition of the state and its class character in India :

"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 often wields considerable influence."

"The national bourgeoisie compromises with the landlords, admitting them in governmental composition, especially at the state levels and giving them concessions at the cost of the peasantry." (*Draft Programme of Right C.P.*, p. 21)

The 'Marxist-Leninist' wisdom they attained during the six months of inner-party discussions made them keep intact the first two paragraphs of this definition but incorporate a small but round-about amendment in the third paragraph which reads as follows in the finalised programme :

"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 reforms and further enables them to secure concessions at the cost of the peasantry."

Another three years of experience has further enriched their 'Marxism' and they have now completely discarded the last two paras mentioned above from the definition of state power, and amended the first clause in their Eighth Party Congress, in the following manner :

“The state in India is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie as a whole, in which the big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence. This class rule has strong links with landlords. These factors give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power.”

For the benefit of our readers and also to do proper justice to the revisionist authors of this programme, we should be permitted to highlight the new in this twice amended definition of the state power.

For the first three and a half years since July 1964, the revisionists considered that “in the formation and exercise of governmental power, *the big bourgeoisie wields considerable influence*”. It is now amended to say that on the state in India, “*the big bourgeoisie holds powerful influence*”.

If earlier the ‘national bourgeoisie’ “compromises with landlords, admits them into the ministries and governmental composition, especially at the state levels”, etc., now it is discovered that “the class rule has strong links with the landlords”!

What do all these factors add up to? “These factors give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power”! What, then, are these revisionist revolutionaries expected to do to carry out their ‘National Democratic Revolution’? They should eliminate these factors that give rise to reactionary pulls on the state power, and then that state power freed from the reactionary pulls once again sets on its “revolutionary journey”!

Here, the cat is out of the bag! The National Democratic Revolution of our revisionist gentry has nothing to do with the state and state power, but it is only a revolution against the ‘reactionary pulls’ on the present state power in India.

We ask them a straight and simple question, what is the concrete class character of the state power in India, at present, to which class or classes does state power belong and who is leading that state power?

We ask them another pertinent question: all right, state power belongs to the whole Indian bourgeoisie. But which stratum or section is leading that state power and has placed

itself in commanding heights? They say that they do not know, and repeat once again, the whole bourgeoisie!

Further, what is their so-called 'National Democratic Revolution' and against the state power of which class or classes is it directed? They again prevaricate. If the state power belongs to the whole of the bourgeoisie, are we to understand that their revolution chooses as its target of attack the whole bourgeoisie, big and non-big, peasant bourgeoisie as well as landed bourgeoisie, etc.? In that case it would be a cent per cent proletarian socialist revolution, at its highest and final form. This, of course, is remote from their thinking and one should be fair enough not to accuse them of such a crime. Their dogged resistance to admit that the big bourgeoisie and big landlords are in possession of state power, that the big bourgeoisie is the leading force in it, is not born out of ignorance, but emanates from a calculated and deliberate class collaborationist policy, a policy to ally with the present state power. They, therefore, depict it as a popular democratic state power where neither the big bourgeoisie nor the landlords have a place, one which foolishly allows itself to be "powerfully influenced by the big bourgeoisie" and to have "links with the landlords". The revisionists do not build any real case for revolution against the existing state power, nor do they mean it seriously when they use the word revolution.

It is not accidental that the revisionists when they define the class character of the state nowhere mention collaboration with imperialism. Had they done so, their entire structure of class collaboration would have fallen to pieces. Reading their characterisation, one gets the impression that it is a state which does not contain any class interested in collaboration with imperialism. In our characterization, we have precisely stated that it is led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism. But the revisionists keep silent on the basic issue leaving themselves free to cooperate with the bourgeois-landlord alliance. Their praise of the Government's foreign policy, their opportunist

understanding about planning, all flow from this vitiated outlook.

Is it not mockery to talk of National Democratic Revolution as an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly revolution, when, according to them, neither the feudalists nor the imperialists and Indian monopolists are in state power ?

The revisionist muddle on the class character of the counter-revolutionary state power extends to the class character and content of their revolution, too. Just as they prevaricate, dodge and avoid answering the question, "who is in the leadership of the counter-revolutionary state power", they repeat the same trick and try to wriggle out of answering the equally important question, "who is to be the leader of the revolution".

It is again ABC of Marxism-Leninism that in the present-day world, there are two hostile classes on the stage of history, the capitalist class and the working class; that the struggle between the two will decide the destinies of mankind, the former representing decaying capitalism and the latter leading the victorious cause of socialism, while all other classes and strata thrown in between the two, in the final analysis, have no other go except to choose to follow one of these two classes. Another Marxist-Leninist truth, firmly established and repeatedly proved, is that all social revolutions in the present historical era, whatever the different stages they have to pass through in different countries depending on the degree and maturity of the class forces, and by whatever names they are called, are different currents in and form an integral part of the world socialist revolution. From these two irrefutable premises springs the concept of proletarian hegemony for the present-day revolutions, which alone guarantees the successful leading of these revolutions to their destination, while the hegemony of no other class can accomplish the revolution, other classes when they assume hegemony will betray the revolution at one stage or other.

To depart from any of these truths or to revise any of these propositions is nothing but opportunism and revisionism, a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Describing the class alliance of the National Democratic Revolution, the revisionist programme states that "*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.*"

After three full years of "rich" experience and newly enriched "Marxism-Leninism" of theirs, the revisionist leaders incorporated another amendment to elaborate the concept, as they claim, by adding the following:

"The leadership of this alliance belongs to firm anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly forces." The confusion thus is worse confounded, and the Marxist-Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony is given the final go-by under another subterfuge.

Who leads the state power? The 'whole bourgeoisie', reply our revisionists and add, we don't agree with the CPI(M) that the big bourgeoisie is the leading force in it.

Who leads the Indian revolution? The "whole revolutionary front and all the firm classes in it", and we don't agree with the CPI(M) that the leadership cannot but be that of the working class, reply the Right Communists!

Can anybody beat them in this revisionist clap-trap?

This shameless revisionist lot refuse to realise that a Communist abdicates all claims to Marxism if he is shy of propagating fearlessly the concept of proletarian leadership of the revolution. Without fearlessly propagating this scientific concept and boldly rousing the working class to the historical mission that it has to discharge, without raising their level of political consciousness to organise themselves to fulfil this great task, and without telling the working class and other toiling masses that they can only discharge this responsibility by building a powerful Communist Party capable of leading the class as well as the class allies of the revolution, the concept of proletarian hegemony can never be realised in life and actual reality. This is what our Party upholds, and what our Programme proclaims.

But the Right Communists, in line with their modern

revisionist counterparts in the international arena, have abandoned this concept of proletarian hegemony, since according to them, it was originally conceived wrongly and has become quite obsolete in the present epoch. The notorious Earl Browder theory of dissolving the Communist Party of the USA and converting it into an association or a club, the discredited thesis of Tito of Yugoslavia to merge the Communist Party into an amorphous front of all classes and to transform it into a 'league' of some kind, and the infamous *Action Programme* of the Czech Communist Party under Dubcek's leadership which elevates the so-called National Front to the foremost place in the state leadership while demoting and virtually denigrating the leading role of the Communist Party—all these constitute, in essence, one single pernicious chain, the theme of opportunist revision of the concept of proletarian hegemony. This is not all.

The leaders of the CPSU who are now denouncing Dubcek's theories of giving up the leading role of the Communist Party and are now declaring that they even risked the step of armed intervention to defend leading role of the Party and safeguard the gains of socialism in Czechoslovakia, are no less guilty of this crime, the crime of undermining the Leninist concept of proletarian hegemony over the class and national revolutions of the present era and advocating utter revisionist theories.

Revisionists and Socialist Aid

The revisionists were singing panegyrics to the capitalist path that the Congress Government had embarked upon, describing it as an independent path of economic development, as a path that reduces India's dependence and strengthens its independence, as a path to lay the foundations of an industrial India, a path which contained ingredients that can put India on the road of a non-capitalist path, etc.

The state sector and socialist aid to it were characterised by the revisionists as a sort of wonder drug that cured all the ills that the Indian people were afflicted with under the present

social order. They spared no efforts to tell our people that socialist aid would be a miracle weapon to beat down foreign monopoly capital, to set the country on the high road of industrial revolution, to curb big business in the country, and even as a vehicle to put the country on a non-capitalist path of development. To put it in their own choice words, they were saying that socialist aid "enables the recipient country to reach the position of self-reliance as early as possible", and it creates the "material technical base of non-capitalist and independent economic development, the augmenting of Indian democracy" and the like.

One may ask these Indian revisionists, after full thirteen years of getting this bountiful aid how much "weakening of imperialism and its agents in India" has taken place, and how big a base for "non-capitalist and independent economic development" is laid, and why they are, of late, shouting from the housetops about the increasing danger of U.S. neo-colonialism in the country and the threat to its independence?

We are also interested in knowing from them what had happened to this 'miracle drug' of Soviet aid, which was administered in heavy doses to the Indonesian Government under Dr. Sukarno, and why it "did not weaken imperialists and its agents" in Indonesia, and put that country on the road to "non-capitalist path".

Can they explain why, despite heavy Soviet arms aid and economic aid to Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries, the U.S.-inspired Israel state with a population of only two million could inflict a devastating military debacle on the hundred-million-strong Arab fraternity. How is it that this aid did not come to the rescue of Ghana's N'Krumah or Kaito of Mali from the military coup against them? The list is too long and it is not necessary to reproduce it here.

The talk of Soviet socialist aid and its "revolutionary" effects without relating it to which class state and government is taking it, to which class purposes it is put to use, to the growth of which social-political forces, in the final analysis, it is assisting, etc., is the characteristic of people who be-

lieve in non-class socialism, about whom Lenin rightly remarked that they should be put in a cage along with the Australian kangaroo to be exhibited all over the world. It is the height of folly to describe socialist aid as a magic-wand to effect class transformations of states and governments, and to depict its effects one sidedly as though the recipient states and governments are just boobies awaiting the trap. Socialist aid to the backward countries and states under the rule of the capitalist and landlord classes, notwithstanding the *momentary effect* of intensifying the conflicts and contradictions between them and the imperialist states and the strengthening of the oppositional tendencies of the national bourgeoisie in *certain measures* cannot alter the basic class laws in operation. The truth that this aid while in some measure strengthens the oppositional trends and tendencies of the bourgeois ruling classes, also strengthens them *vis-a-vis* their exploited masses, should not be lost sight of. Socialist aid injected into the body of the fast decaying capitalist and landlord order does not rejuvenate it or transform it into a "non-capitalist" order, but invariably in the final analysis, goes to buttress it. Here again the stock-in-trade argument that even strengthening of capitalism in these countries is objectively fostering anti-imperialism, etc., ceases to be any more valid in the epoch we are passing through, the epoch of the collapse of capitalism on a world scale, and the experience gained during the last ten to fifteen years, all over the world, confirms this truth.

Revisionists on Foreign Policy

Then coming to their attitude to the Government's foreign policy, it is no less treacherous than the one adopted by them to the internal policy of the Congress Government. If the class analysis of state power and Government had gone absurdly wrong, as seen so far, nothing need surprise us when their programme gloats over the foreign policy of the Government and servilely rallies behind it. The Bombay Programme opens its chapter on foreign policy thus:

“The foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment 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.” (*Rightist Programme of 7th Congress*, Para 61).

It ends with the appeal: “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 ...Progressive forces in the country continue to defend this policy and combat the reactionary pressures against it.”

It is all the more amazing that the same is repeated word for word in the year 1968, in their amended programme at their Congress of Patna, where they were proclaiming from the housetops that they were determined to overthrow the Congress Government, because of the reactionary policies it was pursuing. Does it not look ridiculous in the extreme to take a stand, as the Right Communists do in their programme, that the internal policies of the Government have become so reactionary and counter-revolutionary as to endanger independence and increase the threat of neocolonialism, while the foreign policy, pursued by the same class Government, still remains a “Policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism”, that it “meets the needs of India’s economic development”, that it “has strengthened India’s political independence and also enabled it to obtain resources for peaceful construction”, and that every progressive force in the country has “to defend this policy”, etc.?

Plight of Revisionist Political-Tactical Line

It is not difficult to understand what sort of political-tactical line comes out of such a bankrupt class analysis of the state and Government, and such opportunist ideological and theoretical positions adopted by the revisionists. If you look into

two or three amendments introduced at the Patna Congress to their Bombay Programme, and read the explanations offered by them, they reveal the utter fiasco of the political-tactical line they adopted at their Seventh Congress.

In chapter 8 of their Bombay Programme, where the path of revolution was discussed, it was originally stated in para 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, along the path of non-capitalist development.*"

To put it clearly, they were saying that the Congress Government was "building independent economy" but was "incapable of implementing" the "national democratic programme".

How is it amended at Patna? "But this programme cannot be implemented unless the rule of the national bourgeoisie and the capitalist path which it is pursuing are ended and National Democracy is established."

It looks, at first sight, very innocent and innocuous, but it is not really so when the mischief behind it is seen properly.

The first thing they silently drop is the clause about the bourgeoisie "*pursuing the path of building independent national economy*", which they were praising to the skies for years and were doggedly contesting with our Party when it was pointed out how the Congress path, in the final analysis, was a path leading to precarious dependence on foreign capital, etc. Do they not owe an explanation to the public why they now calmly drop this clause, which they so deliberately incorporated in their Bombay Programme?

The second point in the amendment is really "revolutionary", and even doubly "revolutionary"! It categorically declares that they are going for a revolution to carry out the national democratic programme, and to do it they will have to overthrow the "state power of the whole bourgeoisie", because such a "*programme cannot be implemented unless the rule of the national bourgeoisie*" is "ended"!

When it is a question of defining the class character of the state and its power, they doggedly and passionately argue that it is neither a bourgeoisie-landlord state power nor do the big bourgeoisie and big landlords have any share in that state power, not to speak of the big bourgeoisie having a leading role in it.

When they talk about revolution, they are out, to “end” this state power which, according to them, “is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie”.

Thus, the present state power is not in the hands of reactionary and counter-revolutionary classes and yet it requires to be overthrown by their national democratic revolution—such is the queer logic of the revolutionist amendment!

Why did their Patna Congress introduce this “ultra-revolutionary” amendment? The authors explain thus: “*Nowhere in our party programme had it been expressly stated that the Congress rule must be overthrown and replaced by a democratic government, representing anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal classes and forces, etc. This amendment makes clear and explicit what was implied in the original formulations, viz., the overthrow of the Congress from power.*” (*New Age* March, 10, 1968).

How brazen-faced and shameless one should become to offer this atrocious explanation, full three years after the adoption of the Bombay Programme? A programme for a revolution omits to make a mention of overthrowing the rule of the Congress which wields the state power for an unbroken period of twenty years; and the explanation is that it was implicit there, and now they are making it explicit. Can political dishonesty go any further?

The reality is that they were all along advocating a tactical line of united front with the Congress party, they were advocating the discredited thesis of danger from the so-called extreme reaction and the need to build a front against it, they were, at the same time, apologetically pleading that it was not a general united front with the Congress, that they were working to ally and collaborate with the state power,

a state power in which they say, there would be neither “exclusive leadership of the bourgeoisie nor that of the proletariat”, etc.

It was on the basis of this tactical line that they were analysing and assessing the class character of the political parties in the country, and a whole chapter was written on it in their Bombay Programme.

Now, when they find that this whole class collaborationist tactical line has been blown up by life, they delete the whole of this chapter at their Patna Congress, and offer the public another ridiculous explanation to hide their bankruptcy. They say: “Chapter 9 of the party programme which deals with political parties has been altogether deleted from the programme. It was felt that there was no need to have a chapter characterising and describing the various parties in a programmatic document.” Why? Because, “fluctuations in the parties and their positions will occur”, and, “some parties break up, some parties even disappear and new parties come up”. (*New Age*, March 10, 1968).

The single biggest example of the “fluctuations in the parties and their positions”, etc., is the very party which serenely theorises about them, the party of the Right Communists.

The opportunist theory of the “most important division in our democratic forces today” being between the masses following the Congress and democratic opposition is silently put back in their brief-cases, and along with that, their advocacy of a front with the Congress is abandoned.

The bankrupt theory of “making ceaseless efforts to forge unity with *the progressive forces within the Congress*” and building a front with them, with the simultaneous deceitful talk that this “front does not mean progressive parties merging with the Congress or entering into formal alliance with the Congress”, etc., ended in a fiasco, and in its place the slogans of anti-Congress democratic front and Left front have been brought to the forefront.

Next comes the analysis of the Swatantra Party and the

revisionist' attitude to it. It was defined as "the open party of the monopolists and feudal classes" which "acts as the centre of pro-imperialist conspiracies" and tries to unify "all anti-national reactionaries against the progressive aspects of Congress policy". But in practice all this black reaction did not come in the way of their joining hands with sections of the same Swatantra Party in Uttar Pradesh, with a change in the Swatantra signboard for a while, as in the Bihar Front Ministry, or a tacit understanding with the Swatantra Party as in the Bhavnagar municipality when the post of chairman was offered to the Right Communist representative.

Third come the Jana Sangh and RSS. As described in the Bombay Programme they "are not only communal, but also aggressively chauvinistic organisations wedded to Hindu revivalism", "foment communal fanaticism against the minority society and organise communal rioting" and the RSS part of it, in particular, is "organised along para-military lines and with a semi-fascist ideology, committed to violence against all progressive elements".

But their 'landmark' Congress at Patna deleted this, may be they have discovered "fluctuations in positions" in the Jana Sangh, too! The revisionists who shamelessly entered into alliances and fronts with the Jana Sangh in U.P., Bihar and Punjab and joined the non-Congress Governments in these states, even before the stand of their Bombay Programme on the Jana Sangh was discarded, have found that stand inconvenient for their treacherous and opportunistic deals with these reactionary forces, and deleted it from their programme, after a year of happy honeymooning with the Jana Sangh in these three state Governments. The story does not end with this ignominious act of the revisionist crowd.

When this has come to be ridiculed even by their international patrons of modern revisionism, and when they are pilloried by the progressive forces at home for this heinous alliance of theirs, the General Secretary of their party does not feel ashamed to trot out, in public, an excuse for this counter-revolutionary crime, and state that their party is

compelled to ally with the Jana Sangh by the pressure of the Samyukta Socialist Party! But the depth of their degradation can be more clearly seen when the Right Communists' state unit in Punjab is, even today, pleading on bended knees for an alliance with the Jana Sangh, where even the shameless excuse of SSP's pressure on them is totally absent. It is for this type of unprincipled, opportunist and politically sinful deeds that the revisionists wanted to clear the path, and the real reason for deleting the class definition of the political parties from their programme lies here. If it was a matter of correcting their characterisation of parties, it should have encountered no difficulty, and the need to totally abandon it would not have arisen at all.

Last comes the revisionist class assessment of and attitude to the Muslim League, Akali Party and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu. All these parties were condemned outright as nothing but communal, separatist, reactionary organisations, the DMK "indulging in Left demagoguery" and aiming to "divert and disrupt the democratic movement in the south". It declared war on these parties and announced a "no-truck" policy with them. This was some four years ago.

When our Party was saying that in these three parties mentioned above, it was not enough or correct to see only the separatist tendencies in the DMK and the exclusive championing of communal and religious minorities of Muslims and Sikhs in the Muslim League and the Akali Party, but it was also necessary to know the democratic classes and sections they represented, the policy they adopted towards the ruling Congress party and, above all, their readiness to unite with the Communists, shedding or shelving their anti-communism, the revisionists had nothing but ridicule and denounced us as people engrossed with "blind anti-Congressism", as those who refuse to fight "extreme reaction" as the main enemy, and as a party going in for all sorts of opportunist alliances against the Congress party. What has happened to all this now?

Everybody who has been observing their behaviour with these parties, and reading all that they write in their press can understand that all this was thrown on the dunghill, and they, today, have transformed themselves into staunch admirers of these parties, extolling them to the skies and even going to the extent of licking their boots if it helps the revisionists to attack our Party. Not a word of criticism against any of these parties is heard, and non-class hugging of them has become a normal practice. The demagogic slogan of Left unity is mouthed and the most disruptive practice of allying with anybody and everybody to isolate our Party, to disrupt and discredit, has become their confirmed and consistent practice.

If the revisionists in this game of theirs have not succeeded in any appreciable measure it is despite them. They did their utmost to do this in the electoral struggle in the fourth general elections, and the record of their treachery in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and the whole of North India stands as an irrefutable proof of it. Their whole party programme and the political-tactical line was blown into smithereens, and yet they were eagerly striving to disrupt our Party. They do not hide this when they openly gloat over the recent Left defections from our Party and forecast its imminent disintegration. They, even today, shamelessly repeat the slanderous charges contained in the infamous "white paper" of Home Minister Nanda who together with it met his inglorious political end. Recently, the General Secretary of the revisionist party, in his press talks in Kerala, came out with the provocative slander that the "Lefts" rebelled against our Party because our Party did not keep to its alleged promise of starting an armed struggle. He does it deliberately to shield the utter bankruptcy of his party's programme and political line and the total fiasco his party is facing.

The collapse of proletarian internationalism and the ascendancy of national chauvinism in the Right Communist Party, which got reinforced with their anti-China and anti-Pakistan policies in the Indo-Pak and India-China disputes and conflicts, are now tearing the last shreds of their

communist mask and the same has been seen on the issue of Soviet arms to Pakistan, and even more glaringly on the Czechoslovak developments and the Soviet armed intervention of that socialist republic.

The real characteristic of the revisionists, the servility to one's own bourgeoisie, has now come into head-on conflict with the Soviet leaders who manoeuvred themselves into the position of armed intervention in Czechoslovakia to rout it, and to destroy it root and branch remains the score in the anti-fascist war. If the entire international revisionist fraternity is caught in a crisis, the Indian agency alone cannot escape it, and that is what we witness today. They, typical of their opportunism, support Dubcek's liberalisation and democratisation campaign which is denounced as counter-revolution by the Soviet leaders, and do not by a word lend their support to Soviet action.

However, it would be the height of political ignorance to think that revisionism, with all these defeats, has ceased to be the main danger to the Indian communist movement. It is there still alive and kicking, drawing sustenance from the bourgeoisie inside the country and formidable support from the modern revisionists abroad. A relentless battle to rout it, and to destroy it root and branch remains the foremost task before the Party and the revolutionary working class of our country.

RISE OF "LEFT"-ADVENTURISM AND ITS DISRUPTIVE ROLE

Our Party, immediately following the electoral battle, was seriously occupied with assessing the political forces and on that basis working out the tasks facing it in the new post-election situation. The April 1967 meeting of the Central Committee addressed itself to this task in the main, and its resolutions indicating the line of further advance for our Party and the revolutionary movement in the country are there before all our Party members. It was at this time that the "Left"-adventurist assault on the Party, its Programme

and political line was unleashed by the Naxalites in West Bengal, powerfully supported and backed by the Chinese communist press and radio. In no time, this "Left" infantism spread to some other state and district units of our Party, developed into another serious challenge to the Party, diverting the main attention of the Party from the mass political tasks it had set before itself.

The ideological-theoretical stand and the political line of the "Left" were examined in detail by the Burdwan Central Plenum in April 1968, and the Polit Bureau's *Ideological debate summed up* and *Letter to Andhra Comrades* contain the relevant material. Another Central Committee document dealing with the nature, origin and character of these "Left" defections in special reference to Andhra is before the Party and hence we do not propose to cover in the present report all the ground covered by these documents.

But there are certain important points and development to be noted in connection with the "Left" line, so that the Party is armed adequately for the sustained struggle against this menace. It would be extremely wrong to think that the "Left" line has been defeated and no more represents a serious danger to the Indian communist movement. "Left" opportunism has not ceased to be a serious threat to our Party and the revolutionary movement in our country.

First, the "Left"-opportunist trend in our Party, which began openly expressing itself from May-June 1967, did not reveal all its cards then. It pretended basic allegiance and loyalty to the Party's Programme and political line making out that differences were confined to individual propositions in the Programme and certain tactical positions taken by the Party. It manifested first in West Bengal, and rapidly spread to different parts of the country. The interesting thing is that during the Central Committee meeting of April 1967, when the work of our Party during the thirty months since the Seventh Congress was reviewed and assessed, and on that basis the report on new situation and Party's tasks was presented, there was not a single dissenting voice either in the

Central Committee or the State Committees whose views were reflected by the Central Committee members heading these State Committees. In fact, initially, the political report and other resolutions of the April 1967 meeting of the Central Committee were welcomed and supported by all the units, and no dissent or criticism was heard till September-October 1967. Starting with the Naxalites' infantile revolt in West Bengal in May-June, it gathered rapid momentum, reaching its breaking point in January-February 1968. It acquired its main inspiration and political courage to frontally challenge the Party line and organisation from the aggressively open attacks on the Party line launched by the Chinese communist press and radio, and their encouragement and open calls to rebel against the Party. We should take serious note of this and draw the necessary lessons from it.

Second, the present "Left"-opportunist deviation is not just a national phenomenon, peculiar to our country or Party, but an international phenomenon. To either miss this aspect or under-rate its significance is fraught with grave consequences for the future of the Party and its political line and handicaps the Party in its struggle against both the right and "Left" opportunist errors and deviations. The present "Left" opportunism carries with it all the fundamental features pointed out by Lenin, in his work *'Left' wing Communism—an infantile Disorder*. Just as modern revisionism seeks to revise the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the Communist Party, the principle of democratic centralism, the concept of proletarian internationalism, and the principle of class struggle, replacing it with class collaboration, class peace, etc., "Left"-opportunist now rejects all alliances and agreements with other political parties, denouncing them as unprincipled compromises, negates the need to participate in bourgeois parliaments, is opposed to work in the reformist trade unions, decries the need for the building of the Communist Party, substitutes the advanced revolutionary vanguard for the revolutionary classes and masses, and advocates premature 'insurrections'. Further, it

distinguishes itself in virtually negating the role of the working class in the world proletarian revolution under cover of "ultra-revolutionary" slogans of "peasants' people's war", "world villages encircling the world cities and liberating them", and "national liberation revolutions playing the decisive role in defeating world imperialism and achieving world socialist revolution". Finally, it has evolved its own analysis and assessment of the world alignment of class forces and arrived at the conclusion that a big part of the socialist camp, including the Soviet Union, has already been liquidated due to revisionist policies, and these socialist states, the Soviet Union in particular, have become allies of world imperialism for world domination, and excepting one or two Communist Parties and some splinter groups, no world communist movement exists since the majority of the Parties have gone under revisionist leadership.

Third, the Left defectors when they were engaged in their polemics against the Party line before and during the Burdwan Plenum, were hiding their real political views and convictions. They have now revealed that every charge made by the Party against them—looking on the Soviet Union as an imperialist power, revising the assessment of the alignment of class forces in the world, liquidating the socialist camp, advocacy of armed struggle as a slogan of action, lack of loyalty to the Party—was correct.

This "Left"-adventurist trend appeals mainly to the militant and fighting sentiments of the petty-bourgeois youth and student sections, and also can for some time attract some really fighting and honest individuals and groups. It is totally wrong to underestimate the dangers it poses to organising and consolidating the Communist Party and revolutionary movement in the country. The bourgeoisie which utilises right-opportunism and revisionism from one end to disorganise and disrupt the communist movement, does not in anyway hesitate in utilising "Left"-opportunism and adventurism for the same purpose, of course, in a different manner. The world capitalist class schooled and tempered in

hundreds of years of its exploiting class rule, assiduously learning and systematizing their experiences of all revolutionary movements in the world, is today the most adept at playing every counter-revolutionary trick with the revolutionary working class and its Communist Parties. If by exploiting the right-opportunist mistakes, the bourgeoisie seeks to undermine the Communist Party politically and ideologically, thus killing its revolutionary soul, it does not hesitate to exploit the "Left" and "ultra-Left" deviations inside the communist movement to disorganise, disrupt and even physically destroy the organised revolutionary movement. This is what history teaches us repeatedly, and a careful analysis of our own past history and present experience completely confirms this truth.

The "Left" danger should not be viewed and estimated only from the defections that have so far taken place, which itself constitute not a small damage, but also from the angle of the potential dangers it poses for our Party. This aspect gets all the more emphasised, if we bear in mind that it is raising its ugly head in our revolutionary movement and beginning to gather momentum in a big way under the impact of the deepening crisis, that it is finding expression in a country with a preponderantly petty-bourgeois population which is subject to extreme moods of revolutionism alternating with defeatism and demoralisation before the enemy's offensive, that it is emanating in the background of revisionist treachery and the consequent disgust and hatred against it, that it is attacking the Party which is not yet, by any standards, politically and ideologically well-consolidated, and above all, that it is being backed and supported by a big Communist Party, holding state power in the biggest and largest populated country in the world. To underestimate it is grievously wrong and fraught with dangerous consequences.

However, the patently absurd political-ideological positions "ultra-Left" opportunism is adopting on international questions, positions that land it into equating imperialism and socialism on the plea that the latter is under revisionist

leadership, would enable many honest people who are misled by it to get disillusioned of this extremely erroneous path and render our task of exposing and isolating it comparatively easier.

Our Party while not for a moment forgetting the fact that modern revisionism still remains the main danger in the world communist movement and also is confronting us directly in the form of a well organised Right Communist Party, besides the reformist legacies still haunting us, will have to carry on a principled and sustained struggle on both the fronts, i.e., against right revisionism and also "Left" and "ultra-Left" opportunism and adventurism.

Congress Conspiracy against U.F. Ministries

The four-year period since the Seventh Congress of our Party can be divided into two distinct stages: one prior to the fourth general elections and the second the post-election phase which covers the last eighteen months. It was after reviewing our work till then that the C.C. had worked out the political report, *New Situation and Party's Tasks*, in the middle of April 1967. It is now necessary to examine the major developments in the subsequent period and note the achievements and shortcomings in our work during this period.

The ruling Congress party, which suffered devastating political blows at the hands of different opposition political parties in the fourth general elections, which lost the monopoly of its control on as big a number of states as eight in the country, and whose majority in Parliament was drastically cut down, did not take these defeats lying down. Taking undue advantage of the power it still monopolises at the union centre, and exploiting the weaknesses and vacillations of several opposition parties which entered into different fronts and alliances against the Congress during and immediately following the elections, the Congress party launched its counter-attacks on the political opposition in the country to dissolve the non-Congress Governments, in particular those with a decisive democratic character and to once again re-

establish its monopoly political control over all the states in the country.

The people, the opposition parties and the democratic parties have been putting up a stiff resistance to and carrying on a bitter struggle against the Congress attempts at crushing their political opposition, and the political battle between the Congress party and Government on the one hand and the anti-Congress democratic forces on the other is a marked new feature present in the Indian situation during the last eighteen months.

The political strategy of the Congress party during this period was once again to concentrate its main fire against our Party and single out for attack the two U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, in which our Party happened to be the decisive force.

The Congress has succeeded in toppling the West Bengal state Government, but miserably failed either to regain its hold on the Government through a puppet regime or to stage a come-back to office by the back-door. It conspired and did everything it could to disrupt the U.F., isolate our Party and then gain the upper hand in the state's political scene. In this game, too, it was foiled, thanks to the politically awakened people of West Bengal. The Congress party with its power at the Centre and the material resources of the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes at its disposal no doubt, could purchase some elements in the Bangla Congress and some other groups who were associating with the U.F. But it could not escape disruption in its own ranks and today finds itself more corroded with factional strife than ever. Above all, the Congress, which was mortally afraid of submitting itself to the people's verdict in a mid-term poll, has been compelled to face the electorate once again. This time, to its great shock, it is confronted by a single United Front of democratic opposition unlike in the fourth general elections.

The political balance-sheet of the eighteen months of battle between the Congress party and the democratic opposition is decidedly in favour of the latter, the former having lost

heavily its political image among the people. While this is the common victory of the U.F., our Party has no doubt played a decisive role in the course of these eighteen months of sustained struggle against the Congress conspiracies and attacks, and in forging people's unity and sanctions behind the U.F. Our Party's political-tactical line had come for severe test in this field of people's struggle in West Bengal, and it has stood the test with credit.

Next comes the U.F. and its Government in Kerala, another important target of attack by the Congress party and its central Government. Here, the utter rout of the Congress party as well as the Kerala Congress dissidents in the fourth general elections did not provide that manoeuvring room for the Congress toppling operation and it has to take recourse to other methods. The chief method the central Congress is pursuing there is to starve the state through the reduction of rice supplies to it by half, and then try to discredit the U.F. Government, and in particular, the CPI(M) which happens to be the single biggest force both among the people and in the state legislature, for failure to provide minimum food rations to the people. The central Government neither takes the responsibility of supplying foodgrains to the state, nor permits it to purchase it in other states. It also stopped the long established system of central subsidy to the state which is deficit in food to the extent of fifty per cent of its minimum requirements. And then it puts the local Congress party and its other agencies in the field to constantly malign and attack the U.F. Government, with special concentration on the CPI(M) and the Chief Minister and Food Minister who are its nominees in the U.F. Cabinet, for starving the people and raising the price of rationed foodgrains—a thing which the Congress party itself has forced on the state Government and the people.

The Congress party and its stooges did not hesitate to utilise the services of the Right Communist leaders, using them as pawns in its game of systematic smear campaign against our Party and its representatives in the U.F.

Government, to discredit our Party, to disrupt the U.F. and, if possible, to set up a Government with Congress and Kerala Congress backing, excluding our Party from the United Front and Government. It is as a part of this nefarious game that the Right Communists slandered and attacked the CPI(M) for failure to supply food to the people, at the same time shamelessly opposing a struggle against the central Government which is the main culprit, and egging on some other vacillating elements in the other constituent parties of the front to do the same.

This game of the Congress and the complicity of the revisionists was exposed, the unity of the front was saved, and the Congress and its allies were politically isolated. This cannot be said to be the first or last game of the Congress party in Kerala, and the situation there does not permit any complacency on our part with regard to the unity of the parties in the present U.F.

The central Congress leadership, in desperation, is resorting to other aggressive methods against the Kerala U.F. Government, like its attacks on the state's autonomy, even in the matter of maintaining law and order which is entirely under the jurisdiction of the state Government. The arbitrary deployment of the Central Reserve Police in the state, the insistence on implementing the central Ordinance against the central government employees' one-day protest strike in strict accordance with the interpretation of the central Home Ministry, and the crisis they seem to be precipitating over the issue of Centre-State relations are, definitely, ominous signs. We should take serious note of this and mobilise the democratic forces in Kerala and the entire country, consolidate the U.F. and carry forward the struggle for the defence of the democratic and autonomous rights of the states and their peoples.

Anti-Congress Fronts in U.P., Bihar, Punjab

The Congress conspiracies against the fronts and their non-Congress state Governments in Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab and the manner in which these conspiracies were fought

back by different fronts and parties, and the balance-sheet of these struggles present a totally different picture.

The first thing that should be noted in this is that the non-Congress fronts in these states were blown to pieces under the attacks and undermining activities of the Congress party, and when these front Governments were toppled one after another, there was hardly any public protest. The manner in which these fronts came into existence and the correlation of forces they represented demarcated them from the United Fronts in Kerala and West Bengal. In the latter two states the fronts came in the wake of mass struggles led by our Party in West Bengal in cooperation with some other Left parties; in Kerala by ourselves alone. In the electoral front in Kerala and in the front forged in post-election period in West Bengal, our Party, because of its position among the people, was the leading force. The activities of the front hence could be influenced and guided by us along democratic channels.

In these other states the fronts that were formed did not centre round our Party, our Party being a weak force among the people. The dominant force came from other parties, some of whom for a few parliamentary gains, joined hands with the notorious Jana Sangh and, while in ministerial office, behaved in a thorough-going opportunist manner.

Where parties like the Jana Sangh or Swatantra which are in no way ideologically or politically different from the bourgeois-landlord Congress party dominated the non-Congress front or the Ministry, the anti-Congress discontent got distorted and the enthusiasm for removal of the hated rule of the Congress started getting dissipated. The alternatives present before the people of these states, in the absence of a solid core of consistently democratic and revolutionary parties, was only to choose one set of opportunist combination under the signboard of the Congress party or another set of combination called the "non-Congress fronts", neither of them really democratic nor loyal to the common people and their democratic aspirations.

The second important point that emerges from the experience of these fronts and their state Governments is their signal failure in drawing the masses into political activity, their failure to harness the growing anti-Congress mass discontent for democratic advance, and the most unseemly and disgusting floor-crossings indulged in by several amongst these parties with no other aim than getting into ministerial offices, which produced mass apathy among the people. The marked difference can be easily seen as to how in West Bengal our Party together with allied parties took the people into confidence, exposed every treachery—whichever the quarters from which it came—before the people, mobilized them in millions on a series of occasions against the Congress conspiracies, and foiled by mass political action and struggle the game of the Congress to perpetuate the puppet regime of P. C. Ghosh. This was conspicuously absent with the other fronts and Governments. The failure in Punjab by the main political parties in the front to mobilise the masses against the installation of the puppet Gill Ministry, the manner in which the Front Ministry in Bihar was allowed to be toppled and the Paswan Ministry installed, and the opportunist rallying of parties, again, around it without bringing the masses into the field for effective intervention, speak eloquently of the fiasco of these parties and fronts in this crucial regard. The whole drama was enacted by parties and their leaders behind the scenes, and not before the people's audience and on the open political stage, with issues sharply posed before the people. The contemptuous bourgeois concept of these parties that people are to be called into action when their votes are needed and after that political parties and their leaders are free to indulge in their opportunist political game, has played havoc with the democratic movement, its progress and consolidation in these states.

Some of the parties that formed these fronts, alliances and non-Congress Governments like the Jana Sangh, BKD and such other groups which had factionally broken away from the Congress, could by no stretch of imagination be

called democratic and their anti-Congressism was shallow, deceptive and in certain respects extremely reactionary and counter-revolutionary. National chauvinism and jingoism, dominant Hindu communalism and anti-communism are the sheet-anchor of these parties. Anti-Pakistanism and anti-Chinaism have become the bedrock of their foreign policy. Their strong ideological and social links with feudal and semi-feudal landlord classes are patent and unconcealed. Is it conceivable that these parties can ever form a part of the democratic forces in the country and become a democratic alternative in the country?

The other big parties that formed the backbone of these fronts in U.P. and Bihar are the SSP, PSP and the Right Communists. If the SSP and PSP, particularly the SSP, had placed their hopes on the Jana Sangh for their struggle against Congress rule, that would reduce itself to anti-Congressism minus any democratic content. Further, the "respectability of democracy" these alliances confer on the Jana Sangh undermines the cause of democracy, pampers and encourages Hindu communal reaction, and helps the growth and consolidation of the Jana Sangh. In fact the political results of this alliance with the Jana Sangh and formation of non-Congress Governments in cooperation with it go to show that greater gains were garnered by the Jana Sangh and not by the democratic parties and groups. Such alliances compromise the position of secular and democratic forces in the eyes of the people, and conceal the arch reactionary character of the Jana Sangh. The communal riots that were engineered by the Jana Sangh in places like Ranchi, Allahabad and other areas while these so-called non-Congress Governments were in office are the biggest condemnation of every democratic party in these alliances. And yet, the alliance with the Jana Sangh continues, and even now the SSP and PSP aggressively pursue it, while the Right Communists go for underhand deals with it and do not hesitate even to have open alliance if agreed to by the Sangh.

The leaders of the PSP and SSP are not only conciliatory

to and compromising with the Jana Sangh's Hindu communalism and revivalism, but in the matter of foreign policy, particularly with regard to the neighbouring countries of People's China and Pakistan, they vie with the Jana Sangh in their anti-China and anti-Pakistan attitude and try to outbeat it. Added to this, their anti-communism also finds an ally in the Jana Sangh. The PSP, SSP and Jana Sangh leaders, in the matter of foreign policy and specially regarding relations with Pakistan and China, actually find themselves to the right of official Congress policy. Their programme of democratic-socialist demands and aims on the economic front stand in total conflict with their political and ideological convictions.

It is quite natural that such conflicting and self-contradictory programmes and policies are bound to face rough weather as the social and political crisis deepens, as the social contradictions get sharpened, and as the mass democratic revolutionary movement assumes sweep and tempo. In fact such is the developing situation today that it is putting these parties and their policies to severe test: their anti-Congressism with democratic economic demands on the one side and their pro-Jana Sangh chauvinism and anti-communism on the other are pulling them in two diametrically opposite directions. The PSP and SSP, today, are being pulled in two different directions, the PSP leaders more inclined to go towards the Congress, and the SSP leaders due to their marked anti-Congressism are moving closer to the Jana Sangh. Neither of these is a democratic option, it is only choosing between two reactionary and anti-democratic positions. The fact that where the communist movement is strong and commands an independent mass position of its own the SSP, and sometimes the PSP, too, are drawn into anti-Congress democratic alliances and fronts with our Party, should not blind us to the more basic orientation of these parties to alliances with the Jana Sangh. This feature will have to be seen in the context of another reality, that is, the SSP and PSP happen to be strong in UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and the North

where the *Jana Sangh* also is a powerful force. In West Bengal, Kerala and the South, our Party is a sizable independent political force, and neither the *Jana Sangh* nor the PSP and SSP have any real political-organisational bases.

It is in this background that the role of the Right Communist Party in these states and fronts has to be examined and judged. How is it that the leaders of the PSP and SSP, particularly of the PSP, oppose and are averse and allergic to any front with our Party, while they are all too eager to join with the Right Communists? How is it that the Right Communists, too, in all the states mentioned above, are extremely eager to ally with these parties and join these fronts? The reason is principally political. The Right Communists with their modern revisionist theories and practice, with their bourgeois-nationalism and chauvinism and with their anti-Pakistan and anti-China policies, find themselves more happy in the company of the PSP and SSP and join the front and non-Congress Governments with the *Jana Sangh* as their allies. This opportunist alliance has its root in the right-opportunist political and ideological policies of the revisionists.

The anti-Congress upsurge could not be directed into democratic channels and anti-Congress fronts could not be consolidated in the states of Bihar, U.P. and Punjab, not because the Congress party had a greater hold over the masses there when compared to West Bengal and Kerala, but because of the weaknesses of the democratic forces. Let it be noted that results as revealed in the fourth general elections show that in Kerala the Congress party and the Kerala Congress together polled as much as 43 per cent of the total votes; and in West Bengal the Congress party polled 40 per cent of the total votes polled. But in U.P. the Congress could secure only 32 per cent, in Bihar 33 per cent, and in Punjab 37.5 per cent of the total votes polled.

The experience of the last eighteen months demonstrates that there are two distinct political contents to anti-Congressism, two distinct types of anti-Congress fronts and Governments, with two distinct consequences and results. One

category is that of U.P., Bihar, Punjab, etc., and the other of West Bengal and Kerala. In the former states our Party is a weak force and in the latter it is the decisive force in the fronts; in the former the main parties and groups that constitute it do not adhere to consistent democratic programmes or practice and even ally with the avowedly anti-democratic and Hindu communal Jana Sangh, while in the latter the main constituent forces are generally democratic, despite the class prejudices and vacillations of some parties. In the former the Congress intrigues were sought to be countered with similar counter-intrigues, while in the latter the Congress intrigues were met and defeated with popular mass mobilizations and intervention. Consequently, we are faced with two different kinds of results: whereas against the non-Congress fronts of U.P., Bihar and Punjab the Congress scored a measure of success, in West Bengal and Kerala, the U.F.s could foil these foul attempts and put up a sustained struggle in defence of popular anti-Congress unity and democratic united fronts.

This the ruling central Congress leaders understand well, and that is the reason why they insist on the exclusion of the CPI(M) from any democratic front Government if such a Government wants to enjoy "tolerance" and "preference" at their hands.

But our Party, in its advocacy of united action, united front and programmatic alliance with political parties and groups, was always principled in its approach, and was never guided by opportunist and barren anti-Congressism in forging fronts and alliances. It took enough precautions on the eve and in the course of the electoral struggle in 1967, not to permit any of its state units to have any agreements, tacit or open, with parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra. In states where it was not a decisive force, the Party insisted mainly on electoral adjustments, rather than forming of fronts with a programme with other democratic parties and groups. After the election results were known, it analysed the class character of the different non-Congress state Governments, and decided that except in West Bengal and Kerala, our

Party should not participate in any other non-Congress Governments such as those in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab and even withdraw its state units from the legislature fronts where they initially were tempted to join. Further, we openly announced that our Party in these legislatures will function as an independent group and offer critical support to the non-Congress Ministries, though it was a Left revolutionary opposition and never to be confused with the reactionary Congress opposition. Wherever it offered its cooperation, it was strictly conditional and from issue to issue.

It should also be noted that the leaders of the PSP and SSP not only were guilty of these opportunist alliances and formation of all sorts of non-Congress Governments in UP., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc., but they also played a highly disruptive role on an all-India scale, in their vicious campaign against the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, making the main force of these Governments, our Party, as their target of attack. On the issue of workers' 'gherao' movement, the peasants' land struggle in the Naxalbari area and other struggles, they were in the van of anti-communist propaganda and assisted the Congress central Government in its false cry of "law and order in danger" in West Bengal and Kerala. Thus the role they played instead of carrying forward the anti-Congress democratic upsurge that was in a big way expressed during and immediately following the fourth general elections, actually disrupted this upsurge and objectively assisted the Congress in relatively stabilizing its extremely shaken political position in the country.

Today, after eighteen months of non-Congress Governments in eight states, after many of them have been toppled by Congress conspiracies, betrayals of certain front partners, etc., the discontent and political opposition to Congress rule continues to grow and spread. The Congress party and its central Government are unable to arrest it since the economic and political reasons behind this growing discontent are far deeper and beyond the control of bourgeois-landlord class policies. But the democratic unity of democratic par-

ties lags far behind to utilise the situation and the opportunities to strengthen the growing mass discontent against the Congress so that the democratic revolutionary movement is consolidated and taken forward to new heights.

The political situation in our country, today, is such that it sharply poses two alternatives: either the economic-political crisis created by the bourgeois-landlord class policies of the Congress is utilised by the progressive and democratic forces in the country for bringing about radical political changes or it is allowed to be exploited and distorted by the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces to plunge the country into the dark regime of repression and reaction.

Either the democratic and revolutionary parties, groups and individuals forge a really united, powerful democratic front with a really clear-cut, consistent agreed democratic programme of action, or allow the essentially reactionary opposition parties to play their opportunist game with the popular anti-Congress fronts and in the bargain disrupt the democratic anti-Congress upsurge and enable the bourgeois landlord classes to perpetuate the misery of the masses and prevent the progress and well-being of the nation.

In other words, either allow the unhealthy and harmful currents noted above in the anti-Congress united fronts of Bihar, U.P., Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, etc., to invade, overwhelm and undo the United Fronts and their progress in states like West Bengal and Kerala, or the U.F.s in these states with their rich experiences exercise their healthy impact and influence on the rest of the states where the Congress has lost and is losing heavily, but where the democratic forces are unable to utilise the situation to the people's advantage to any appreciable extent.

These alternatives are posed before all democratic and progressive parties and groups in the country. Either each party is awakened to this reality, acts up to the needs of the situation, establishes its democratic and revolutionary bona fides with the people, and grows in strength and political stature or it faces stagnation, disintegration and demise.

Our Party should strive to fulfil its part of this great responsibility, and the initial successes scored in West Bengal and Kerala, and the confidence these successes give us, should inspire us for a sustained and intense struggle to build and consolidate the unity of the democratic parties and groups, the democratic classes and strata, and the entire progressive and forward-looking forces in our country. It is true that it cannot succeed in this until and unless it grows into a significant political force, not only in one or two states, but also in the different big and small states in our country. It is equally true that it does not grow and develop into such a political force unless the correct political line of forging class unity of the working class, the unity of different democratic classes and parties that represent these classes and masses is pursued with vigour.

The long accumulated experience of the national and international revolutionary movement teaches and the eighteen months of experience in working both in the U.F.s and the anti-Congress democratic U.F. Governments also confirm that this struggle to forge the united democratic front registers progress and scores success only if we adhere to some tested principles and implement them in earnest.

The first factor is the working class party, its class and mass consolidation as an independent political force. Without this no other democratic class or any political force representing it would either respond to the calls of united front building or find it necessary to unite with us. The very concept of a real revolutionary united front loses all its meaning and significance if the working class and its political party around which alone such a front can and should be built, is not consolidated as an independent force to command confidence and inspire enthusiasm in other classes and masses objectively interested in the front. The present serious lag in this respect should be overcome.

Our Party can and should never abandon its right to criticise the programmes and policies of other allied parties both in terms of our fundamental class point of view and also in

terms of the accepted minimum programme and its implementation by all the parties in the front honestly and faithfully. It should respect the same right for other parties and should not deny it, as long as the front and parties remain in operation, reflecting the class realities.

The third principle we should strictly adhere to is that whenever differences arise between the constituents in the front on the programme or other connected issues, and if they are not resolved in the framework of the agreed programme and party-to-party talks and friendly discussions, the issue and the differences should be squarely placed before the people, for free discussion and conclusions, and should never be hidden from the people, nor confined only to behind-the-scene confabulations among the top leaders of parties.

New Situation and Party's Tasks anticipated the conspiracies of the Congress party and other reactionary forces to torpedo the united fronts formed with our Party in the van, and also viewed the possible developments in this regard.

As already noted, these conspiracies of the ruling classes have not fructified so far and we were able to defeat them in West Bengal and Kerala with the assistance of other allied parties. But it should not lead us to any complacency in this regard. There are many weaknesses still persisting in the fronts and constituent parties, and a sustained prolonged struggle is required to overcome them and consolidate the fronts and their programmatic cohesion.

That document also pointed out another important feature and the tasks following from it. That feature still remains and the tasks are further emphasized and underlined in the present circumstances. That task is the task of fighting boldly for an alternative democratic programme, and favourable conditions are present to carry on that fight with greater determination and tempo.

Recent developments show that the battle over policies and ideology is overdue, and in this respect our Party is lagging behind, and we should make up this lag as quickly as possible. So far no fundamental critique of the programmes

and policies of reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and Swatantra has been made, let alone of other democratic parties which happen to be partners in the U.F.s of West Bengal and Kerala but with whom our Party has big differences on several basic political questions. It appears that we are taking too much for granted when we think that the people understand the reactionary parties and their role, and are content with casual exposures in general agitation-propaganda work. It is time we wake up to the urgency of a fundamental critique of these parties, what role they are playing and what dangers they present to our democratic and revolutionary movement, and draw the public into as wide a discussion and debate as possible. If a concerted attack on the reactionary parties is not made, and their bogus opposition to and real complicity with the Congress rulers are not thoroughly exposed, the danger they represent to democratic advance can neither be understood by the people nor can it be averted.

Equally important is the urgency and necessity of opening a public debate with the SSP, PSP and other democratic parties on how some of their positions and stands regarding the internal and external policies of the Government contradict the democratic demands and aspirations of the people, how their anti-Congressism thus is deprived of much of its democratic content, and how their anti-communist stances play into the hands of reaction and damage the unity and united struggle against the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress. No doubt this should be done in such a manner that it does not injure the existing fronts with them or alienate these parties, but it cannot be avoided if we have to consolidate the fronts, to raise their quality and cohesion, and further advance to wider and wider areas and states in the country.

Our Party in West Bengal and Kerala U.F. Governments

Our Party, immediately following the fourth general elections, assessed the class character and composition of all

non-Congress Ministries in the eight states, and clearly laid down its attitude towards each one of them in detail. It placed the two state Governments of West Bengal and Kerala in a special category and stated that the role our Party plays in these two fronts and Governments, at the present stage, is of crucial importance for the entire Party and its future advance.

The Right Communists were indulging in all types of opportunist slogans, characterising the non-Congress Governments as transitional governments and stepping stones for their National Democracy, and issuing calls for immediate overthrow of the central Congress Government, and its replacement by a so-called coalition Government, which in their fantasies they described as "urgent central slogan", "rallying point of the day", "the central slogan of the party", etc. It is needless to discuss this arrant nonsense in detail, as everything around this talk of "parliamentary insurrections" and "coups" has been proved to be abundantly hollow and bogus, as only the reflections of their revisionist parliamentary illusions nourished over the years.

Subsequently, within a month or two after the formation of the non-Congress democratic Governments in West Bengal and Kerala, an "ultra-Left" adventurist trend arose, which, claiming to comprise of "real revolutionaries" in our Party, began attacking the party line as 'neo-revisionist', characterized our Party's participation in these fronts and Governments as something born out of its "parliamentary cretinism". They declared the slogan of "boycott of elections and legislatures" as the only correct revolutionary slogan and advocated "armed peasant struggle" and "people's war" as the slogan of the day. The experience of the last eighteen months has amply demonstrated how "Left"-infantile this political line was, how unreal, utopian and romantic was its assessment of the situation and how it only played into the hands of the reaction to disrupt our Party and its struggle for winning the masses to its political line.

In the present report of ours we propose neither to

exhaustively deal with these right and "Left" opportunist attacks on our political line, nor to give a detailed account of the working of these two U.F. Governments, and our Party's role in it. That, obviously, is out of the scope of the present report. Hence, we confine ourselves to the examination and review of two key propositions made by our Party regarding these two U.F. Governments and how we look upon them. One proposition made by us was: "In a word, the U.F. Governments that we have now, are to *be treated and understood as instruments of struggle* in the hands of our people, more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power, that can materially and substantially give relief to the people." The second was: "In clear-class terms, our Party's participation in such Governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the cause of People's Democracy and at a later stage for socialism." (*New Situation and Party's Tasks*, p. 70)

The point to be assessed is how far our state units working in these respective U.F.s and Governments have been consciously working according to this understanding.

Before we proceed to assess the two aspects of the West Bengal and Kerala U.F. Governments, let it be made clear that different parties have different illusions about the real nature of the political power these state Governments possess, different understandings of their utility, and totally different estimations of the conflict between the nominal autonomy of states and highly centralised authority of the Centre. It is for our Party, as the conscious vanguard in these fronts and Governments, to understand the fake character of the power invested in the state Governments, and strive "to treat them and understand them more as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people", than be led into the reformist delusion that they have either "adequate powers" or they can "substantially give relief to the people". There is an ocean of difference between declaring them straightaway as "instruments of struggle" and the direction

to strive to utilise them as "instruments of struggle". This should be borne in mind.

In the nearly ten months the U.F. Government was in office in West Bengal, our state unit and its representatives in the legislature and Cabinet did earnestly strive to carry the understanding given by the Party, and utilise the Government both as an instrument of struggle and as a specific form of struggle to win more and more people and allies to the Party's political line. There was a systematic attempt on the part of the central Congress Government, by utilising the weakness of certain parties and groups in the U.F. state Government, to reduce it to a docile instrument to merely carry out its orders, written and unwritten, in the name of maintaining "law and order". But our Party's representatives in the Cabinet and the state's legislature mobilized as many allied parties and groups against such attempts, and together with them also mobilized the people to fight back the central interference and high-handedness. Even in the midst of a highly complex situation created by the Naxalites' adventurist slogan of "armed struggle for liberation" on the one hand and the incessant pressure for armed suppression of the Naxalbari peasantry by the central Home Ministry on the other, our state unit did not lose its independent initiative in fighting back this offensive, notwithstanding certain initial errors and vacillations before certain moves and steps of the other partners of the U.F. Government. Our Party's firm stand against the use of police against the popular struggles strengthened the democratic forces. The widespread working class "gheraoes" to redress some of their long-standing grievances and demands, peasant struggles in several districts against evictions and for taking possession of Government's 'surplus' and wasteland from the illegal occupation of big landlords, the relief secured by the middle class employees of the state Government and the civil liberties ensured for their legitimate trade union activity, etc., were examples of how different oppressed sections of the people were utilising the presence of the U.F. state Government

for carrying on their just struggles, and how our Party and others cooperating with it were assisting them in this struggle. It is this factor that increasingly endeared the U.F. Government to the people and made them stand with the U.F. in its struggle to resist the imposition of the puppet Ghosh Ministry on the state, and finally scotch the conspiracies of the Congress party to stage a comeback to the state Government through the backdoor.

In the matter of giving relief to the suffering people, the biggest relief could be secured by the state government employees which they were refused for years under Congress rule, though it was not adequate and the resources at the state Government's disposal would not permit more. The exclusion of the poor and middle peasantry from the oppressive grain procurement system imposed on them by the Congress regime, the take-over of the tramways management in the city of Calcutta and the Government's refusal to increase tramfares, and a number of other measures taken by the U.F. Government in the very short period it was in office, cannot be brushed aside as of no significance. Apart from this, another important factor that often misses the attention of the critics of the U.F. Government, is the flat refusal of the Government to impose additional burdens of taxation on the oppressed sections of the people. Burdensome taxation has been the practice under the rule of the Congress party and these taxes would have increased further if the Congress was allowed to get into the state Government once again.

The important fact that should not be lost sight of is the extremely limited and curtailed powers and resources of the state Governments as they are at present constituted under the present Indian Constitution. The devastating effects of the deepening economic crisis on the working class, toiling peasantry and the middle classes, today, are such that they cannot be removed by the meagre ameliorative relief measures that a state Government can provide, they can only be redressed by a radical and revolutionary change in the entire

social set-up. It is the increasing awareness of the people and their political consciousness of this truth that constitutes the acid test of whether the U.F. state Governments have been utilised as instruments of struggle or not in the people's revolutionary struggles for a revolutionary change. Judged from this angle, one can safely assert that from the ten months of the U.F. Government's functioning and our Party's role in it, the popular anti-Congress democratic forces have gained considerably, that the U.F. parties which acted up to their pledges have enhanced their political prestige, and our Party as the leading force has endeared itself to increasing numbers of people, placing itself in a far stronger position than it was during the February-March elections of 1967. This truth is now accepted by all and even our class enemies dare not dispute it. How far this has been solidly consolidated, organised, etc., is another matter with which we are not dealing just now.

Our Party's strength in the Kerala legislature is relatively large and the Chief Ministership and Home Ministership in the state Cabinet are held by our Party's representative unlike in West Bengal where they were held by the representative of the Bangla Congress. Secondly, unlike in West Bengal, it was not the first time that the people of Kerala were having a communist-led state Government. A decade earlier, in 1957, there was a state Government virtually of the Communist Party which could boldly undertake some radical legislative measures like agrarian reforms and unleash class and mass enthusiasm in a big and spectacular manner. The third important factor is that the state of Kerala is a chronically deficit state in the matter of foodgrains, a deficit to the tune of 50 per cent of its requirements unlike West Bengal where there is only a partial deficit. The present Kerala U.F. Government is called upon to constantly contend with the Centre's discrimination over food supplies, and that, too, during the stage of acute food crisis in the country as a whole as a part of the deepening economic crisis. Fourthly, Kerala is not an advanced industrial state like West Bengal.

which fact has its own additional advantages and disadvantages, particularly in the face of a deepening economic crisis, which provokes attacks from the bourgeoisie on the working people in order to shift the burdens of the crisis on to them, and in the bargain, also, invites mounting popular discontent and widespread organised resistance from the industrial working class and middle class employees.

These factors have their own bearing and should not be ignored or overlooked while examining the work and progress of the Kerala U.F. Government, and our Party's role in it.

The first thing to be noted is that as far as the relief to the people is concerned, facts go to show that it is greater in terms of budgetary allotments and quantum compared to West Bengal—the food subsidy, increment in the wages and emoluments of state government employees and other relief measures being not unimpressive. Of course, it does not meet the needs nor is it expected to satisfy the people. The main suffering of the people, the suffering caused by drastic reduction of rice supplies by the Centre and consequent conditions of food scarcity and rise in market prices, has so overwhelmed mass feelings and sentiments as to relegate all other relief measures to the background. The cut in rice ration imposed as early as May-June of 1967 was continued for nearly one year till June-July 1968, and the United Front was utterly complacent about the simmering mass discontent, while it was drawing on people's goodwill expressed during the general elections. Further, some of the parties in the front including the Right Communists were opposed to launching a sustained and powerful mass movement against the central Congress Government for its starving of the people of Kerala, and were utilising the discontent trying to divert it against our Party, and at the same time insisting on wrong policies of procurement and control of grain movements in the state. Our Party, while noting this phenomenon, instead of critically exposing the parties and groups in the front which were opposed to unleashing a powerful movement unitedly, drifted for too long, involved

in top-level talks and the delaying tactics of certain leaders of other parties in the front.

The damage this drift cost to the front's political prestige, and to our Party as the leading force in it, and the moral courage and boost this situation gave to the Congress and Kerala Congress were clearly reflected in the municipal elections, where the people who supported the front, were found apathetic and the Congress and Kerala Congress could capitalise it to their advantage. It is only after this sad experience and shake-up that our state leadership boldly moved into independent action to mobilise the people against the central Congress policies of starving the Kerala people, and also to expose those parties and groups in the front which objectively were playing the game of the Congress. The situation then began improving and the trend of isolating our Party is somewhat reversed.

This failure on the part of our Party is born not only out of the reformist understanding of the relations between parties in the front, the failure to appreciate the role of independent mass mobilisation and the loss of live contact with the mass mood and temper, but also partly due to another reformist tendency which held that the U.F. and its Government in Kerala were stable enough, and that the Congress and Kerala Congress were reduced to an insignificant minority in the legislature, that the central Congress conspiracies would not easily work in Kerala, and that the U.F. Government would be allowed to last its full term with minor difficulties and some impediments. Such an understanding, obviously, discounts the deepening economic crisis and maturing political crisis in the country, and pays scant respect to the propositions that the U.F. Governments should be treated and looked upon as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people, that it is a specific form of struggle to mobilize increasing numbers of people behind the Party's revolutionary programme and policy. The conspiracy of the Congress and Kerala Congress to cultivate the Right Communists and certain other allied parties in order to exclude

the CPI(M) from the Government, and work for a Congress-supported so-called "non-Congress Government" in Kerala shattered this illusion amongst some of our comrades and awakened them to the dangers.

Apart from the shortcomings and errors cited above, it is seen that sometimes beneficial steps and actions were delayed and their good impact was lost and certain bunglings by ministries held by representatives of other parties were becoming a cause of anxiety and worry to comrades all over India with the result that the good record of work of the Kerala U.F. Government was overshadowed by these shortcomings and errors. This should be borne in mind by our Kerala state unit and it should conduct itself with additional care and attention.

In the recent months, starting with our independent mass activity against the anti-people policies of the central Congress, the proposed Agrarian Relations Amendment Bill, the Debt Relief Bill and, above all, the bold and democratic stand taken during the central government employees' struggle, the good image of the U.F. Government as well as of our Party, as the leading force in it, is rapidly being recovered. But it would be wrong on our part to think that we are out of all troubles in running the U.F. and its Government in Kerala, and the corrections are stable and ensured. Our Party unit in the state is a long way off from liquidating the legacies of the right and reformist past, and overcoming the Left-sectarian trends that are on the increase in the recent period. The Party's state leadership is earnestly engaged in the struggle to overcome these serious shortcomings and there are definite signs of progress in that direction.

But one thing we should always bear in mind is that the type of parliamentary struggle we are conducting and the U.F. Government and work in it with allied parties are terribly slippery ground and unless our Party is doubly conscious of it, always conscious of the reformist and constitutional illusions it breeds, the principal aims and objectives with which our Party is participating in this activity will be

lost sight of and great harm will be done to the Party and revolutionary movement.

Some of the criticism coming about the U.F. Government are correct and we should receive it and correct our mistakes. But there is another type of criticism both from the extreme right and from the extreme "Left" that the Government is not doing some "big" things. Such a criticism comes from the failure to understand the extreme limitations imposed on a state Government and that, too, a coalition of several parties, and from the lack of realisation that state Governments under the present set-up have neither real autonomy nor adequate powers to undertake any radical and really effective measures of relief and reform. To do that, a revolutionary change is required and nothing short of it can meet the situation.

To conclude, the experience gained in running the U.F. Government in Kerala does not conflict with the main propositions which our Party has laid down about running these Governments and the utility of these institutions for the advancement of the democratic movement.

Party and its Progress in the Rest of the Country

Barring the two states of West Bengal and Kerala, our Party, in no other state, has acquired that independent mass strength and stature to decisively influence the political developments in the state it is working. Even in these states there are differences in the strength of party membership, its mass political influence, etc. After these two states of West Bengal and Kerala, three other state units, which command considerable strength and mass position, are in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Punjab.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, where the party membership was on par with that of West Bengal and Kerala and its mass base, too, was sufficiently wide when we broke with the revisionists in 1964, the progress of our Party and the revolutionary movement has got a severe setback since then; As noted in the *Election Review* of April 1967, the disruption here from

the revisionist party was far greater compared to Kerala or West Bengal. Out of the total votes polled, about sixteen lakhs, by our Party and the Right Communists, they could mobilise as many as six lakh votes as against our ten. The division and disruption, thus created, resulted in the defeat of both in 25 constituencies, sixteen of our Party and nine of the revisionists. In the post-election period, the Andhra unit was again faced with a serious "Left"-adventurist attack which finally resulted in a split in the Party, further disorganizing and disrupting the Party as well as the mass movement. The causes and reasons of this setback have been examined separately, and we do not propose to deal with it here, once again.

In *Tamil Nadu*, our state Party unit and the mass movement under its leadership have registered a steady advance, since our break with the revisionists in 1964, and the same trend is observed during the last eighteen months of the post-election period, despite "Left" disruption in certain pockets like Madras and Coimbatore. The revisionist political-tactical line of sometimes equating the Congress and the DMK parties and at other times lining up with the Congress against the DMK in that state had done havoc to the communist movement in the past, and finally smashed the revisionist party when it persisted in the same line in the 1967 general elections. Our state unit learning from this costly experience and guided by the Programme and political line of the Party, chalked out at the Seventh Congress, decisively broke with this bankrupt revisionist political line. The progress registered was noted in the *Election Review and New Situation and Party's Tasks* of April 1967, and the political line and future tasks were laid down there. Notwithstanding the two tendencies coming up frequently—the tendency of uncritical support to the DMK and the tendency of attacking the DMK as no better than the Congress, perhaps even worse—the State Committee is struggling to put through the Party line and fight these two harmful tendencies. Basing on its independent work among the working class and peasantry

and on the successes registered in both extra parliamentary work and parliamentary elections, and taking advantage of the big split in the bourgeois-landlord classes in the state in the shape of the Congress and DMK, the state Party unit is currently steering its course of political-organisational activity with considerable success. The extension of trade union activity and a number of strike struggles it led during the last one-and-a-half years, the reactivation and extension of the Tanjore peasant and agricultural labourers' movement to other areas, and the numerous big peasant struggles and mobilizations made in this period, and the growth of membership and organization registered since the Seventh Congress do, certainly, inspire confidence.

However, our comrades in Tamil Nadu are aware that considering the forty million population of the state, our Party's base and political influence are still very weak, that the DMK's hold on the urban and rural poor is still preponderant that our mass peasant activity is still confined to one or two districts alone, that the legacies of right reformist tendencies inside the Party are far from liquidated, and that the ultra-"Left" trends, though they have not taken the disruptive form of defection and split, cannot be underestimated and have potential dangers.

Our state unit will have to pursue the present line in the state, while not for a moment forgetting the fact that it should scrupulously maintain its independent position, not permitting any uncritical support to the DMK and its Government and giving no scope to the Party in any way being tarred as tailing behind the DMK. Further, it should also note that as the crisis deepens and the masses are on the move to fight back its evil effects on them, the DMK Government, however democratic when compared to the Congress, tends to use the state machine against the militant working class and peasant movements—there are enough indications of this already during the last one year, and we will have to resist such offensive and fight back. While doing so, every care should be taken to see that our opposition to the DMK

Government's anti-people steps and actions does not play into the hands of the reactionary Congress opposition, because such a mistake will compromise our position in the eyes of the people as one of combining with the Congress. This will objectively help the Congress party on the one hand and the DMK on the other, instead of demarcating ourselves from both and advancing independently.

In the state of *Uttar Pradesh*, the communist movement did not and could not secure a firm mass base, and had always remained an insignificant political force during the last forty years. Even today the Congress, Jana Sangh, PSP and SSP dominate the political scene of the state, and neither the Right Communist Party nor our Party is anywhere near those four political parties, though the Right Communists have an edge over our Party which has been further accentuated and emphasized due to the big "Left" defection organised by a section of the state Party leadership.

Our Party had hardly recovered from the serious electoral defeats, and reverses suffered in the first quarter of the year 1967 when the ultra-"Left" faction in the State Committee forced a split on the Party, dividing the Party by half and disrupting the existing mass movement. The Party unit there could not take advantage of either the rapid disintegration of the Congress party or the discrediting of other opposition parties in the masses due to the highly opportunist policies pursued by the non-Congress state Government that these parties set up and functioned in the state for a year. The entire energies of what remained of the state unit of the Party were more directed to defending the Party organization and the very political line of our Party, than going into the masses and implementing the line. It has been reorganizing the district and local Party units and has not yet been able to overcome the disastrous effects of the "Left" disruption. The coming mid-term poll in the state affords an opportunity for the state unit in U.P. to go to the people with its independent political line, to reforge contact with the masses in the traditional bases of the Party, and in that process

regroup and reorganize our Party on sound lines, unlike in the past when it remained nebulous with frequent ebbs and flows in its membership. This is possible if our state leaders realistically estimate the situation in the state and our strength at present, if the limited aims and objectives they set before them in these elections are realistic and concrete, and if they look upon these elections and the opportunity they give to us to go to the wider sections of the people as preliminary and preparatory ground work to be continued and sustained in the post-election period. Any attempt, knowingly or unknowingly, to play high politics in the state, under the influence of bloated notions, which used to be entertained earlier about our Party's mass influence by some of our leaders, should be resisted, and efforts at concentrating our limited energies in certain specific areas, fronts and trade unions should be made.

Bihar: When the split took place with the revisionists, the entire leadership at the state level and two-thirds of the total membership had gone over to the revisionists. Only a few leading comrades with a third of the then existing membership came over to our Party and its political line. Despite all revisionist attempts in complicity with other allied parties to squeeze out our Party from the political scene of Bihar, our Bihar unit stood the ground, fought the general elections, and secured five seats in the Assembly, besides sizable votes in some other constituencies. In the course of advancing our work on the basis of the electoral results and the actual realities of the situation, a small group of "ultra-Left" elements arose and defected from the Party. These defections, though not big in numbers—about three hundred in all—did harm our bases in Jamshedpur and Dhanbad and also some good start made in the students' front has been disrupted. This "Left" adventurist section in Bihar dares not fight any other political party, but factionally concentrates on disrupting our mass activity in the pockets in which we are working. The state unit of Bihar, while grappling with the problems it is faced with, is once again drawn into

the mid-term poll, where the revisionists are trying their usual game of allying with anybody and everybody to bypass us and squeeze us out if possible. Our comrades in the state, during the recent period, have extended their activities in the tenants and agricultural labour sections of the peasantry, leading their struggles for the occupation of forest lands and other wasteland under Government's possession. Without relying on doubtful electoral alliances and undaunted by the revisionist conspiracies, and basing on their independent work and political influence among the masses, they are concentrating on a limited number of seats in the mid-term elections, while popularising the concept of democratic front; against the Congress and readiness to join such a front, exposing the opportunist alliances with the Jana Sangh and the like.

Punjab: The communist movement in Punjab has its rich traditions though the partition of the country which divided the state had disrupted it in a big way. The post-partition conditions provided ample opportunities for the spurt of communalism, Hindu communalism, exploited by the Jana Sangh and Sikh communalism by the Akali Party. Our Party in Punjab, a state situated on the Pakistan border with direct impact of the Indo-Pakistan conflict over the Kashmir issue, under the three-pronged attacks of the Congress, Akalis and Jana Sangh, was unable to register big progress, and the same unit had, once again, to face the revisionist split in 1964. It should also be noted that the demand for a separate Sikh state, though communal in character, was aggressively championed by the Akali Party, and our Party with its correct stand demanding a linguistic state of Punjab within the Indian Union found itself opposed by the Congress and Jana Sangh on the one hand and by the Akali leadership on the other from a different angle. The leadership of Sant Fateh Singhi, no doubt, had to change the original Sikh state demand, and veer round to the demand of a Punjabi state, on the lines we were advocating. But it should be admitted that the political credit for fighting and winning a separate Punjab

state was capitalised by the Akali Party under the leadership of Sant Fateh Singh, thus giving it an additional edge over our Party, besides enabling it to exploit Sikh communalism and appeal to the rising rich peasant and rural intelligentsia.

It was in this background that our Party had gone into the fourth general elections, and in the struggle to forge an anti-Congress democratic front our independent strength formed quite inadequate to pressurise the Akali Party into a just and reasonable agreement on the allocation of seats, thus losing the initiative completely to the Akali Party and its opportunist alliances. But the outcome of the general elections was such that the strength of the Congress and anti-Congress democratic front was evenly balanced and the Jana Sangh with its nine members was in a vantage position to bargain. The Akali leadership plunged for an agreement with the Jana Sangh to get into office and keep the Congress out. The Central Committee of our Party, as clearly laid down in its April 1967 decisions, was opposed to joining either that front or that front's Government, and asked our Party to lend its critical support without opening itself to the charge of helping the Congress party to come into office by withholding such critical support to the Akali-led front.

In order to meet the situation the Central Committee of our Party clearly laid down in its April 1967 resolution that "our Party cannot afford to keep aloof from the Sant Akali Party in its struggle for setting up a non-Congress Government on the plea that it is joining hands with the Jana Sangh to achieve the same; lastly when the people see the prospect of ousting the Congress and setting up a non-Congress Government there, with hopes of getting some relief from these Governments, it would be hazardous to reject our support to the formation of non-Congress Governments and risk the responsibility for objectively helping the Congress party to reinstall itself in the state Governments. But when we examine the extremely weak position of our Party both in the Assemblies and people outside, we will have to lend our support in order to enable the other alliances to form the

Governments. Joining these 'united fronts' and agreeing to participate in these ministries, even on the ground of an agreed programme, is not permissible."

The state leadership of the Party which correctly decided not to accept ministerial posts in the Akali-led alliance, accepted the post of convenorship of the Coordination Committee of the "United Front" with a Polit Bureau member acting as the Convenor. This step was criticised by the C.C. and P.B. The P.B. directed that we should resign from this position and continue to give critical support to the Ministry. There is no doubt that the key position we were holding with our three-member strength, the political prestige our P.B. member was commanding as convenor of the Coordination Committee, had helped in the survival and functioning of the Gurnam Singh Ministry, and also got a measure of relief for the people. Notwithstanding these immediate gains, this step of our State Committee carried with it elements of compromising our political position vis-a-vis the Jana Sangh and the opportunist alliance of the Akali Party, Jana Sangh and Right Communists. The State Committee, a month after the receipt of the C.C.'s directives, extricated itself from the convenorship of the Coordination Committee, and this time gap was allowed by the P.B. to implement the decision, as the retreat from a wrong step also had to be made without doing serious damage to the then existing front Ministry.

Our Party during the last eighteen months has resumed its mass activities, and it has made considerable progress during the last six months. Its influence among the employees has increased. Its work among the students has made good progress, and its activities are being steadily extended to the tenants and to the agricultural labourers' movement. It has also increased its activities in the trade union movement.

As seen elsewhere, the Right Communists are vigorously working for an Akali-Jana Sangh-Right Communist alliance in the ensuing mid-term poll, to which we are firmly opposed. We have been advocating an electoral front and

adjustment of seats between the Akali Party, CPI(M), Right Communists, Republicans and other progressive groups and individuals, excluding the Jana Sangh. It is yet premature to forecast how things will finally shape.

There is also a small "Left" disruption, but the state unit was alert in meeting it and defeating it.

The Rising Wave of Mass Struggles and Tasks before the Party

The most important feature of the political situation in the country today is that the growing discontent of the people is finding expression in an unprecedented wave of mass struggles—struggles which embrace every section of the people and are waged around issues of an economic, political and social character. It is this wave of struggles that invests the political developments in the last four years—developments preceding and following the fourth general elections—with the character of an ever deepening political crisis. Had it not been for this wave of mass struggles, the defeats suffered by the Congress in the fourth general elections would have remained a purely electoral defeat and the Congress would have been able, through its own electoral manoeuvres, to retrieve the ground lost at the polls.

The Congress leadership did in fact resort, after the general elections, to various manoeuvres at the level of parliamentary and legislative action. Taking advantage of the ideological-political differences within the opposition in Parliament and within the united fronts in those states where non-Congress Governments had come into existence, the Congress leaders tried to isolate some and befriend other opposition parties. Using the prejudice which many of the constituents of the united fronts nurture against the Communist Party of India (Marxist), they launched a vicious offensive against the Party.

It was on this basis that they very nearly succeeded in breaking the U.F. in West Bengal, weaning the Bangla Congress away from the United Front. After that effort was defeated

by the timely intervention of our Party and other progressive democratic elements in West Bengal, they succeeded in breaking the U.F. and used Dr. P. C. Ghosh to topple the U.F. Government. In Kerala, too, they did their utmost to isolate the CPI (Marxist) with the slogan of "a non-Congress Government without the Marxists". Such efforts were made in every other state. Even at the Centre, they tried to get closer to such parties as the Swatantra, Jana Sangh and PSP with whose support a reactionary front directed against the CPI (Marxist) and other radical democratic forces was sought to be built up.

These efforts would have succeeded to a very large extent had it not been for the fact that the non-Congress united fronts had to base themselves on the wave of struggles which broke out all over the country—struggles at whose head our Party stood wherever it is a significant political force. Undaunted by the wholesale arrests and detention of its leading cadre and by the vicious propaganda offensive launched against it, the Party took the lead in Kerala, West Bengal and other states in organising struggles for food, trade union demands, civil liberties and so on. The initiative taken by the Party at the time of and after the 1965 mid-term election in Kerala to launch such struggles inevitably drew other Left and democratic parties into a countrywide struggle which reached its climax in the glorious 1966 struggle of West Bengal, forcing the hands of the central Congress Government to release the detenus and relax the operation of the Defence of India Rules.

It was the unity built in the course of developing these struggles that culminated in the formation of various united fronts in various states. The result was that even in those states where there was no U.F. the non-Congress parties had to base themselves on the social and class forces which were engaged in these struggles.

This background of mass struggles invested the electoral victory of the non-Congress forces in the two states of Kerala and West Bengal with a unique character. Not only did the

traditional Left parties in these two states have a predominant voice in the formation of non-Congress united fronts; even the other constituents of the U.F.s had to orient themselves to the wave of mass struggles which was responsible for raising them to the position of ruling parties. Further, the strongest constituent of the U.F. in both these states was the CPI(M) which had the clearest vision and perspective of the direction and manner in which the victory won in the elections had to be consolidated and further carried forward. As the Central Committee of the Party stated, "these two Governments should be looked upon as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people".

The formation of these two non-Congress Governments, with the CPI(M) as the strongest partner in the coalition; the existence of other non-Congress Governments which too from the very nature of the situation had to adopt a relatively friendly attitude towards militant organisations of the working people; the increasing difficulties of the people due to the recession in industry, food shortages, high prices and so on — all this made it inevitable that the post-election period should witness a still higher wave of mass struggles than in the pre-election period. Strikes and gheraos of workers, the unprecedented wave of demonstrations and strikes organised by the middle-class employees, various forms of direct action into which the students and urban youth were drawn—these are the most significant developments of the last eighteen months. The prolonged strike of the newspaper employees and the September 19 token strike of central government employees are the most recent incidents in the chain of these struggles. The fact that tens of thousands of central government employees defied the most draconian ordinance issued by the Congress Government and faced the most brutal police attacks leading to twelve deaths and serious injuries to hundreds, together with the fact that almost all the opposition parties came out in support of the employees and against the Central Government, shows that the mass discontent arising out of the difficulties caused by

the anti-working class policies of the Government is finding organised political expression.

The way in which these struggles are breaking out and developing shows both the strength as well as the weakness of the democratic mass movement in the country; it shows the strength and weakness of the traditional Left parties in general and of the CPI(M) in particular. Some of these struggles burst out spontaneously; even though some of these struggles are consciously organised by the CPI (Marxist) or other Left parties, by the AITUC or other mass organisations, they are in fact far bigger and embrace much wider sections of the people than can be rallied by any of these parties and mass organizations singly or by all of them together. Further extension and development of these struggles is inevitable under the present circumstances because they are an expression of the deep discontent felt by the people, even though large sections of them are still outside the sphere of influence of the traditional Left parties and mass organizations.

While this shows the strength of the mass movement, whose growth and development cannot be prevented by the ruling classes, it contains within itself the basic elements of its weakness: being often spontaneous, it cannot lead to a conscious movement which will transform the electoral defeat inflicted on the Congress party in the fourth general elections into a political defeat for the ruling classes as a whole. In the absence of a conscious political leadership, provided by the vanguard of the working class basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the spontaneous discontent felt by the mass of the people cannot be directed towards a well-organised assault on the socio-economic and political policies of the ruling classes; the vaguely-felt aspirations of the people cannot be transformed into a positive programme of transformation of society.

It is against this background that the CPI(M) should examine its work of building the UF and building the mass organisations and building the Party. The general lines along which these two tasks have to be discharged have been outlined by the

Central Committee in its resolutions on *Tasks on Trade Union Front, Tasks on Kisan Front, New Situation and Party's Tasks and Tasks on Party Organisation*. It is to the extent to which the tasks outlined in these resolutions are implemented that the Party will be able to play its positive role in directing the growing mass discontent towards a united assault on the bourgeois-landlord regime, as well as in drawing the best elements in the ranks of fighters against the regime towards the Party and into the Party.

Our links with our masses are still weak. We depend on spontaneity and are trailing behind in consolidating even the mass influence we have into political and Party forms leave alone further developing it. In this context the building up and strengthening of mass organisations of workers, agricultural workers, peasants, students, youth, women, etc., need hardly be stressed. It is imperative that the Party takes up this task seriously if the existing weaknesses are to be removed and the Party is to be enabled to lead the rapidly growing mass movement.

It is to be realised that the correctness of the policy of the CPI(M) and the bankruptcy of the policies of other parties are all tested in the concrete manner in which everyone of these parties goes into action in organising and leading the spontaneous wave of mass struggles, giving it the political character of an assault on the regime.

The demands formulated by the various sections of the people, who launch struggles; the bitter struggles that they have to wage in order to secure even limited demands; the firm determination with which the ruling classes and the Government resist the people's demands and try to suppress their agitations and struggles—all these make it clear that in waging these struggles, every section of the people comes face to face with the bourgeois-landlord regime. Dearness allowance and need-based minimum wage around which the struggles of industrial workers and middle class employees are being fought; land distribution, wage increases, fair conditions of work, end to the social oppression of harijans

and other backward castes, etc., around which the agricultural labourers are fighting; reform of the educational system and employment opportunities for which the students and urban youth are agitating; completion of land reforms and such other demands for which the peasants are fighting—all these bring to the forefront the basic issues of policy. But, unless and until the mass movement is raised from spontaneity to the level of an organised movement with a conscious aim and objective, the struggles will remain confined to the narrow limits of economism. Struggle after struggle will be waged for particular partial demands, but those who participate in them will not acquire an awareness of the need for changing basic policies and for that purpose changing the regime itself.

They are even likely to develop into movements which can be used by the ruling classes to set one section of the people against another, such as peasant against agricultural labourer; harijan against the upper caste; agricultural labourer; the small property owner against the propertyless and so on. Within the working class movement itself the ruling classes will be able to set the manual labourer and the intellectual worker against each other. Together with the caste, communal, linguistic and provincial animosities which the ruling classes are consciously instigating and utilising in order to divide and disrupt the unity of the people, the narrow economic framework within which the mass struggles are being waged can well form the basis of dividing the fighting people into several antagonistic groups. This will mean the frittering away of the militant energy of the people and directing it into fratricidal conflict within the ranks of the people, thus saving the regime from the united assault of the working people.

It is therefore obvious that if the spontaneous wave of mass struggles is to be consciously led and directed towards a political struggle against the regime, the CPI (Marxist) will have to undertake the work of the extensive and systematic ideological-political education of the entire people.

Every issue around which any section of the people are fighting for any partial demand, every incident in the course of the struggle, every success or failure or compromise which results in these struggles—all this is to be related to the character of the regime, to the policies pursued by the ruling classes and its various sections and strata and so on. The class character of the regime, the bankruptcy of the capitalist path pursued by the ruling classes, the hollowness of the “parliamentary democratic” claims and pretensions made by the ruling classes, the fiasco of everyone of the national policies pursued by the ruling party and the basic alternatives placed before the people by the Party in its Programme of People’s Democracy—all this has to be related to the issues of current policies around which partial struggles are fought and tactical differences arise within the ruling circles. Such a concrete education of the entire people on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete conditions of the economy and policies of our country is the only way in which the spontaneous wave of mass struggles can be raised to the level of a conscious political movement of the working people led by the working class.

It is from this that the importance of the independent functioning of the CPI(M) as the party of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism arises. Any tendency to submerge the Party in an amorphous united front, any failure to criticise, expose and try to correct the mistaken views and practices of parties and groups adhering to alien ideologies, will make the mass movement susceptible to all sorts of divisive and disruptive influences which the ruling circles try to inject into the ranks of the people. It therefore prevents that very process of uniting the mass movement in the interests of which the Party is asked to submerge itself into the united front. Far from giving up the independent work of the Party, therefore, its independent work of educating and organising the people should be expanded manifold. The weakness arising out of the spontaneous character of the mass movement can be overcome only if the Party grows

still stronger in those places where it is relatively strong and expands into those places where it is weak or even non-existent. A conscious plan of exposing the policies of the ruling circles, explaining the alternative policies advocated by the Party, criticising the policies of other Left and democratic parties and educating the millions of people on the programme of replacing the present landlord-bourgeois regime by a new regime of People's Democracy—such is the basic political task, the fulfilment of which will enable the drawing in of tens of thousands of new militants and their education and organisation as the Marxist-Leninist cadre of the Party.

Such an expansion and strengthening of the Party, however, is impossible unless the existing units, members and sympathisers of the Party throw themselves heart and soul into the work of organising and leading the present spontaneous wave of mass struggles. It is here that the main weakness of the Party has revealed itself. The heritage of a long period of revisionism has so divorced the Party from the militant mass movement of the people that the basic principle of Party organisation that every Party member should devote his energies to the building of mass movements and struggles has been forgotten. The result is that, even though the Central Committee laid down the correct lines along which the trade union and peasant movements are to be organised, the resolutions giving these guiding lines have, by and large, remained on paper. Only a small minority of Party members and sympathisers engage themselves in the work of building mass organizations and leading struggles. Even out of them, the overwhelming majority function within the framework of narrow economism and fail to raise the ideological-political level of the masses whose struggles they are leading. The Party as a whole neglects the tasks of taking the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the working class and peasantry; applying the fundamentals to the concrete conditions and problems of this country; throwing the intellectuals who come towards the Party into the work of

educating the working class and peasantry on Marxism-Leninism as well as in applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and problems; raising increasing numbers of Marxist intellectuals from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry; and so on. The result is that the task of politicalising the working class and the peasantry is neglected; even those sections of the working people who are formally under the leadership of the Party and who may even vote for Party candidates in elections are ideologically and politically under the influence of bourgeois-landlord ideologies.

Another defect in the work of the Party in the trade union and peasant fields is that the supreme importance of united action is often neglected. The Central Committee in its resolutions has pointed out how, despite the political and organizational differences that undoubtedly exist within the working class and peasant organizations, it is not only necessary but possible that struggles are waged on the basis of unity of all the parties and organizations that have some following among the people. Division and disruption is the biggest weapon which the ruling classes wield against the fighting people. The struggle for the unity of our class must be carried through united actions and organization. The struggle for unity of mass organization must be waged.

This, of course, is not easy since the revisionists and other parties and groups who are working in the trade union and peasant organisations are interested in keeping the movement divided. They create all sorts of difficulties, put various obstacles, which make it extremely difficult both for preserving the unity of existing mass organisations as well as for evolving a programme of fighting united struggles. It is therefore necessary for the Party to realise that division and disruption are the weapons of the class enemy and that united struggles with a view to the formation of united organisations under favourable circumstances are the weapon of the working class and its allies.

All this applies as much to the field of political action as

to that of mass action on economic issues. It was the coming together of the various non-Congress Governments that led the ruling party to the serious political crisis in which it finds itself today. The preservation and further strengthening of this political unity of the non-Congress forces is therefore an essential condition for the transformation of the growing political crisis into a revolutionary crisis. It is idle to hope that the failure of Congress policies to solve the national problems, the further aggravation of the economic and political problems of the nation and the rapid organizational disintegration of the ruling Congress party will all automatically create the proper political conditions for the replacement of the Congress by a democratic alternative.

It is equally idle to hope that the united front that has emerged in the political struggle against the Congress regime can be maintained and further strengthened if only our Party refrains from criticising the other constituents of the U.F. On the other hand, our failure to conduct a firm and principled but fraternal struggle against the incorrect ideologies and policies of the partners of the United Front will help only to strengthen disruptive ideas and thus prevent the maintenance of even the existing unity. At every stage, when either before or after the fourth general elections, differences cropped up within the united fronts, they got accentuated and led to a near crisis in the U.F.s whenever we failed to conduct a firm and fraternal struggle against incorrect approaches and policies. On the other hand, struggles help the resolution of differences whenever they are waged with a view to resolving the differences and further cementing the unity. A combination of struggle and unity both in the field of class struggle for the solution of economic issues as well as for political struggles is thus the direction along which the Party has to direct its activities.

Comrades, in the preceding discussion we have explained at length the political significance of the electoral front against the Congress and the significance of the United Front Ministries led by us. In describing the shifts in the political

situation, these acquired much importance and therefore had to be dealt with in detail. It will be however thoroughly opportunist, thoroughly anti-Marxist-Leninist to forget that these fronts and Ministries and the success scored by them depended directly on the united action forged in class struggles, on the part played by the Party in unleashing and leading these struggles. The electoral front and the ministerial fronts which we participate in are the products of mass struggles, of the correlation of forces created by us in the direct struggle of the masses. In the struggle for People's Democracy the parliamentary front is an auxiliary weapon of our struggle, the main weapon being the direct revolutionary struggle of the masses. It is the revolutionary struggle that is primary, it is here that the vast masses become politically conscious, become class conscious and earn the capacity to use all other auxiliary and subsidiary weapons of struggle. The fatal blow to the existing regime will be delivered not in the parliamentary arena but in the arena of direct revolutionary mass struggle. The former will only hasten the process of the basic conflict.

That is why for our Party the movement of the masses, their struggle against exploitation and for political advance leading to capture of political power is of supreme importance. It acquires added importance today when with the passing of the economic crisis into a political crisis the masses are poised for huge struggles of unprecedented dimensions against the present order. To anticipate these struggles, to prepare for them and lead them is the primary task of our Party. It is these that provide the Party with the flexibility, the manoeuvrability and capacity to utilise all other fronts and transform the latter also into arenas of revolutionary conflict.

That is why the utmost attention has to be paid to the developing of the mass fronts, organizations and struggles. And that is why the Party's line of united action, of united front, assumes tremendous importance in the present context. To transform the situation, to hurl back the Government's offensive, it is necessary to organise total class resistance to

the ruling classes. Without this the decisive battles of the coming period cannot be fought, the interests of the masses cannot be protected and the way to rapid democratic advance cannot be opened. And to mobilise the strongest resistance of the masses it is necessary to rally all sections of the masses owing loyalty to different democratic organizations and political parties. Hence the basic importance of the call for united action.

At the present stage of development of the democratic movement and the alignment of political parties, utmost stress is to be laid on unity in action, from issue to issue, on all the questions affecting the day-to-day life of the people. The course of this struggle for united action and the successes scored by it in uniting the people will help the process of building the People's Democratic Front of the future. The workers' and peasants' alliance must growingly form the core of this united front.

The main tasks and slogans around which such united actions and struggles should be conducted are the following:

1. A national food policy as enunciated by our Party, providing for monopoly procurement of the surpluses of big landholders; state monopoly of wholesale trade in foodgrains, dehoarding and equitable distribution of foodgrains through people's committees. Such a policy alone will end the humiliating dependence on PL-480 food imports;

2. Stopping of all evictions of peasants; breaking of land concentration; distribution free of cost to landless labourers and poor peasants of all cultivable wasteland and wasteland in Government and private forests and of all surplus land of landlords and land in the illegal possession of landlords by *benami* and mala fide transfers; adequate wages to agricultural labourers and debt relief to them and poor peasants; facilities to peasants to increase food production;

3. Full employment, no retrenchment, no automation, need-based wage and full neutralization of the cost of living for the working class and employees; central assistance to states to take over and run industrial units in crisis and give relief

to unemployed workers; for full freedom of organisation of the trade union movement, right to strike, trade union recognition, withdrawal of all anti-strike legislations;

4. The demands of the central government employees and state government employees, and repeal of the Essential Services Act and other anti-strike laws and of the law penalising railway workers for strikes;

5. End of police terror against the fighting people, expansion of democratic rights and civil liberties and repeal of all repressive and anti-democratic laws;

6. Full guarantee of the democratic rights of the national and religious minorities, harijans and tribal people;

7. Demands of the students, democratic management of the universities with voice for the students, legal prohibition against the entry of police into educational institutions, complete overhauling of the education system, economic help to poor students, guarantee of employment; fair deal to teachers;

8. Firm measures against the ever-rising prices by taking steps to end deficit financing, and for ceiling on income and corporate profits;

9. Drastic reduction in the defence expenditure and in the heavy tax burdens on the people;

10. Widest autonomy for the states of the Indian Union, to begin with (a) 75 per cent share of all the centrally collected taxes to go to the states, (b) most of the subjects in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution to be transferred to the states, and (c) all officials belonging to the all-India service like IAS, IPS, etc., to be completely under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Governments of the states in which they serve;

11. A just and democratic solution of the problem of the border nationalities and the tribal people;

12. Nationalization of foreign capital; nationalization of banks and foreign trade and monopolist industries;

13. Moratorium on all foreign debts and service charges and repatriation of foreign capital;

14. Fight against the growing U.S. penetration into our

economy and social life: fight and defeat the U.S. neo-colonialist threat to our country;

15. To resist growing U.S. pressure on our country's foreign policy, demand that the Government give up its anti-China policy and take immediate steps for settlement with China; for strengthening friendly relations with all socialist countries; and for full support to Vietnam and all anti-imperialist struggles;

16. For friendly relations and peaceful settlement of disputes with Pakistan;

17. For abolition of princely privy purses and privileges immediately.

The analysis and assessment made so far of the present national and international situation sharply bring before us the following tasks:

—The necessity and urgency of mobilising the widest anti-imperialist democratic forces and building a powerful and broad-based anti-imperialist movement to defeat the chief aggressor and world gendarme, U.S. imperialism, and its imperialist allies.

—The necessity and urgency of unleashing a mighty solidarity campaign and building a broad-based solidarity movement in support of the heroic Vietnam liberation forces who are fighting the vanguard battle for democracy and independence of nations against U.S. imperialist aggression and in defence of socialist North Vietnam.

To organise movements of solidarity with people fighting against imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

—The necessity and urgency of fighting for the principled unity and defence of the world socialist camp, the camp that is destined to play the decisive role and objectively placed in the position of defeating the threat of imperialist aggression and war and emancipating humanity from exploitation and wage-slavery..

—The necessity and urgency of fighting for the principled unity of the world communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

—The necessity and urgency of solidly uniting our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, beating off the attacks from the right revisionists as well as “Left” adventurists and going forward to building a strong Communist Party capable of discharging the tasks that are confronting it today.

—The necessity and urgency of seizing every opportunity to encourage, support and realise unity of action against imperialist by all the socialist states, Communist Parties and other anti-imperialist democratic and peace-loving forces.

Such in short are the national and international tasks before our Party today.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE POLIT BUREAU AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Seventh Congress was the culmination of the fight against revisionism inside the CPI. The struggle for a correct line inside the Party now merged with the struggle against international revisionism.

The Congress marked a programmatic and organizational ideological break with revisionism accompanied by a complete demarcation on tactics.

Internally the Congress marked the reassertion of the Marxist-Leninist outlook of proletarian internationalism repudiating the anti-China chauvinism of the revisionists, and also the Leninist principles of conducting a democratic revolution in the period of developing world socialist revolution—the hegemony of the proletariat, the vanguard character of the Party, the rejection of the parliamentary path, rejection of the opportunist concept of a state of National Democracy and assertion of People’s Democracy, led by the working class, based on the workers’ and peasants’ alliance.

The Congress repudiated all the revisionist formulations in relation to the Indian situation and correctly described the character of the state (bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism) and the stage of the revolution following from it. It

analysed correctly the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. It repudiated the revisionist attempts to underplay the danger from American imperialism, removed illusions created by exaggerated conceptions about Soviet aid, correctly characterized the growing process of compromise and surrender by the big bourgeoisie; removed all illusions about bourgeois planning, traced the non-alignment policy and its shifts to the class needs of the bourgeoisie and to the rise of monopolies; it foretold the inevitable crisis of the Indian economy under the capitalist path.

It warned against an anti-China policy and the danger of growing isolation from the camp of socialism and democracy.

It regarded the Congress and its Government as the main target of attack whereas the revisionists in the name of fighting right reaction screened them.

International revisionism boosted the revisionist line, encouraged anti-China chauvinism, screened the capitalist character of the plans, boosted one-sidedly Soviet aid, supported illusions about the parliamentary path, and endorsed the tactics of concentrating on 'right' parties other than the Congress.

The Party Congress did not also accept the stand taken by the Communist Party of China. It did not accept that the Nehru Government was a puppet of foreign monopoly capital. It did not accept that "externally it relies on the U.S. imperialists behind the facade of the policy of nonalignment". It focussed attention on its growing surrender and connected it with the increasing collaboration of the monopolists with the imperialists.

Immediately after the Party Congress the revisionist and the Marxist-Leninist lines were tested before the people in the Kerala elections. All the issues — from China to the attitude to the Congress and the Muslim League — were in the forefront. The main issue was of course the question of anti-Congress democratic united front — the question of regarding the Congress as the main enemy, with a challenge

to the entire politics of the Congress. The revisionists attacked electoral understanding with the Muslim League thereby hopelessly miscalculating the depth of discontent among the people against Congress rule.

The ruling party equally miscalculated, attacked us on the charge of being pro-China and anti-national and got a rebuff.

The formation of the United Front — with the SSP, etc.—itself showed that chauvinism had for the time being ceased to be a weapon of fighting us. We had lived it down.

The success of the U.F. showed that the masses in Kerala looked upon our Party as the leading organization in the fight against the Congress. The Kerala elections constituted a big victory for the new line which stood four-square on rejection of chauvinism, assertion of proletarian internationalism and the complete rejection of revisionist internal policies, and advocated open battle against the Congress as the main enemy. The electoral understanding with the Muslim League came in for wide criticism from bourgeois circles and from certain democratic circles, but soon the anti-Congress front was to be accepted by all though by some in a thoroughly opportunist fashion.

The new international outlook was again tested during the course of the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. Every other party including the revisionist party went completely chauvinistic—the revisionist party surpassed even the Government in its war-mongering, and refused in the beginning to welcome the Tashkent negotiations. Ours was the only party in the country that stood for peace, for Indo-Pakistan amity, for the unity of the toilers of the two countries. Our independent stand created a profound impression on many sections. At this stage, when the leadership was in jail and when our own comrades outside were valiantly carrying on the work, the tendency of blind faith in the Chinese leadership leading to the echoing of its entire stand on the Indo-Pakistan conflict appeared in our Party. In some cases there was failure to see the reactionary character of the Pakistan

Government, there was also opposition to the Tashkent declaration, etc. There was also a tendency among a section of our comrades to succumb to chauvinism and line up behind the Government. There were even some open expressions of this tendency. Yet, on the whole, our stand was based on a correct appreciation of the role of the two Governments and rejection of chauvinism.

Our comrades outside and our committees carried on the work valiantly. Party organs were brought out in Bengali, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, Punjabi, Kannada, Marathi, etc. *People's Democracy* was brought out and with the Party underground, big mass battles were fought in West Bengal and Kerala and the Kerala elections were won. The Party waged an incessant battle against revisionism. The revisionist programme passed at their Bombay Congress was exposed. There was no relaxation of the ideological battle against revisionism and in the various jails the Party's ranks were steeled in the struggle and prepared to face revisionism in the actual battle for the masses.

In this period, because the Party could not finalise its stand on the issues of ideological disputes in the international communist movement, there developed a tendency both inside and outside the jails to uncritically accept whatever came from China on the international differences. This was due to the faith developed in the CPC because of its courageous fight in the struggle against international revisionism.

There was thus a distinct Left-sectarian swerve in international matters. The tendency was also in evidence in internal matters. Immediately on release of the comrades from jail these tendencies found expression in (1) an uncritical attitude to the Chinese stand and refusal to examine the changing Chinese statements leading to its virtual denial of the existence of the socialist camp, and (2) an unwillingness to form united front in the elections with the revisionists. In effect this was refusal to lead the anti-Congress discontent during the elections.

However, the Party was saved from such derailment. In

West Bengal, before the release of Party leaders, the ideological struggle had already started against the extreme "Left" trend which talked of adventurist forms of struggle. The first meeting of the Polit Bureau and following it of the Central Committee at Tenali took up the question of (1) differences in the international communist movement, and (2) election policy and tactics.

The former was discussed in the CC but the discussion was postponed in view of the elections. Some comrades were not yet in a mood to see the defects in the line advocated by China. The General Secretary and some of the PBMs drew the attention of the Central Committee to these mistakes of the Chinese Party. The document submitted to the meeting of the CC in June 1966 by Comrade M. Basavapunniah raised the major points of difference with the CPC while rejecting the line of the Soviet revisionist leaders. It criticised the CPC's opposition to joint action for Vietnam and its rejection of such action in principle. It also criticised the CPC's formulation that the Soviet leaders were collaborating with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony and for redivision of the world into spheres of influence and that a U.S.-Soviet aggressive alliance had been formed. It also stated that this was a serious departure from the class analysis made in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and put forth a new strategy and tactical line.

Regarding election alliances and tactics, the PB and the Central Committee evolved the correct tactics of having electoral adjustments with democratic parties against the Congress for breaking the Congress monopoly of power, of overall electoral alliances and advancing slogans of alternative Ministries in certain states and at the same time making it incumbent on Party candidates and committees to popularise the entire *Programme* of the Party and the Party's *Elections Manifesto* including the Party's stand on the India-China question. Correctly sensing that the anti-Congress economic discontent of the previous period will seek to express itself during the elections, the Party strove to rally all anti-Con-

gress democratic forces, attack the Congress monopoly of power in states and raise the slogan of alternative Ministries in some states. On this basis, the Party was able to take a proper attitude towards the DMK in Tamil Nadu, the Muslim League in Kerala, the Sant Akali Party in Punjab, while taking an irreconcilable attitude towards the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra.

Between the Tenali session of the CC and the elections, the PB and the Central Committee directed their attention to evolving a correct revolutionary line on two major mass fronts — the kisan and the trade unions. The *Programme* had correctly seen, unlike the Programme of the revisionists, the growing differentiation inside the peasantry due to the growth of capitalist relations. It had analysed the role of the different sections in the revolutionary movement. But the understanding had not been applied to the concrete building of the kisan mass movement. This was done in the document on *Tasks on Kisan Front* which negated and repudiated the revisionist fallacies and opportunism and called for a rebuilding of the peasant movement based on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata—agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

The document on *Tasks on Trade Union Front* which analysed the revisionist outlook and practices of the past and called for a class outlook on trade union problems while emphasizing the need of defending class unity against the offensive of the capitalists, it attacked economism, placed the danger from the U.S. imperialists in the forefront, attacked the revisionist neglect of building the Party, called for democratic functioning of the trade unions, and emphasized the need for building the workers' and peasants' alliance and popularising the aims of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The election line and tactics of the Party were based on the understanding that the electoral battle was a continuation of the great wave of struggles of 1965-66 and that the masses would be using it as a political outlet to express their discontent against Congress rule. The resolution of the

Tenali session of the CC stated, "The people have raised their voice against these policies of the Congress Government which jeopardise the independence of our nation. Above all, they have fought against the policies which have imposed direct suffering on them. The great food struggles of West Bengal, Kerala and Bihar, the widespread mass actions of all sections in all parts of the country, have been the heroic reply of the people in defence of their interests. By their blood, their sufferings, their martyrdom they have repudiated Congress policies in action. The election offers another opportunity to the people and democratic parties to reject the anti-popular policies of the Congress."

To give expression to the gathering political protest of the masses against the holders of political power, the resolution outlined the electoral tactics of the Party as follows: "The Party will strive generally for electoral adjustments with opposition parties, so that opposition votes may not get split and the defeat of the Congress party may be ensured in the maximum number of constituencies" to lead to the breaking of the Congress monopoly of power and secure the following results: (1) the reduction of the Congress party into a minority and the formation of alternative Governments wherever possible; (2) its defeat in as many constituencies as possible and reduction in the number of its members in all legislatures and Parliament; (3) enhanced representation of the Communist Party and to strengthen the democratic opposition in Parliament and state legislatures."

"In the states, particularly where the Communist Party is the leading opposition force, and where there is a possibility of the Congress party being defeated, the Party will strive for electoral alliances with all those parties that are willing to shed their anti-communism and fight the Congress party jointly with CPI. For forging such electoral alliances, the Party will join with other democratic parties to evolve a common minimum programme of immediate relief to the people while popularising its own *Programme*. Such alliances are necessary not only for defeating the Congress at

the polls but also for forming and maintaining non-Congress Governments." "Against the background of the growing crisis, the Central Committee considers it the paramount duty of the Party to run the election campaign as the biggest political campaign against the Congress Government as the main enemy of the people, and against its basic policies, both home and foreign. The Party will also expose parties like the Jana Sangh and the Swatandra Party which advocate variants of these policies."

The Central Committee also directed that in considering choice of seats for electoral contests the needs of future mass struggles should be kept in the forefront. It asked the District Committees to decide the seats which we must contest on the basis of political and mass influence and organizational strength, concentrate their attention in big cities of industrial and educational importance and in the contiguous rural constituencies round about those centres, stretching it to as great a depth or distance as possible, till we reach the next important centre. The seats were to be chosen in such a way that it gave the Party a contiguous mass base to carry on the struggle; the CC was not satisfied with just winning a number of seats at random in far-flung isolated localities.

The understanding of the character of the electoral battle and the tactics adopted in pursuance of it proved to be entirely correct. There were sectarian voices inside the Party which opposed united front with the revisionists and other parties saying all alliances with bourgeois parties were reactionary. Of course, there were some opportunist mistakes committed in carrying out the line, failure to popularise our *Programme*, failure to stick to the criteria laid down by the CC in choosing candidates.

But on the whole, the Party went unitedly into the electoral battle and carried out the line. The failure to understand the election as the continuation of the mass struggle, the failure to develop united front and give organised democratic expression to the discontent against the Congress, would have isolated the Party from the masses. Apart from its effect



on the elections, it would have hampered the forging of new ties and broadening the Party's mass base.

The correctness of the Party's line was seen in the rout of the Congress in a number of states — even in states where it was least expected and where the Left parties and democratic movement were weak. It spoke of the spontaneous welling up of the discontent in wide sections of the masses, who precisely, like the Party, placed the Congress as the main enemy though they were unable to distinguish between the Jana Sangh and the Congress. This was an important political event, an important political experience for the masses. It led to the growing disintegration of the Congress as an organization; it also shattered the Congress monopoly of power in the majority of states and became a great unsettling event for the ruling party. As a consequence it compelled the Congress to resort to unconstitutional steps to topple the non-Congress Ministries, adopt intrigues, exploit the provisions of the Constitution to suit its selfish aims thus exposing and unmasking the class character of the Constitution. In the present level of mass consciousness this was a big advance.

The election tactics not only correctly understood the political background, they also advanced the image of the Party as the most fighting organization against the Congress in states where the Party had accumulated strength. In Kerala, the rout of the Congress by the U.F. under our leadership was complete, leading to a big galvanization of the radical forces — the Right Communists learning from the experience of the 1965 elections had to fall in line and enter the U.F. In West Bengal, though the rightist party succeeded in splitting a common front, our Party was still able to forge a front of Left parties and emerge as the biggest force in the Left front and among opposition parties. The Rightists who relied on fragmentation of the united front could get only a few seats, one-third of what we got. West Bengal also showed how even in this advanced state a wrong step in relation to the U.F. and the anti-Congress discontent would have led to the isolation

of the Party. When the break came with the Bangla Congress and the Rightists, it was our Party which was put on the defensive for some time, the bourgeois papers having made the people believe that we were responsible for the split in the opposition forces. The West Bengal results also showed that had the Rightists not succeeded in splitting the front, the defeat of the Congress would have been more impressive, the U.F. would not have been at the mercy of a handful of opportunists and the struggle between the popular and anti-popular forces centering round the U.F. Ministry would have intensified, accentuating all the contradictions.

In Tamil Nadu, because of the correct and firm approach towards DMK, making the Congress the central point of attack, the Party was able to gain electoral successes, activate its own mass bases and extend and consolidate them. It was able to expand its mass base as was seen in the subsequent period when the Party had to lead mass trade union and kisan struggles with the DMK Ministry in office. The electoral successes only served to intensify and broaden the mass struggles. But for the correct line, again, the link between the Party and the mass discontent for the next step of the struggle would have been snapped.

In other states, where the Party was not so strong and a popular united front could not come before the people, the success of the democratic forces and the Party were extremely meagre. It once more showed that the people regarded the election as the continuation of their struggle against the regime and those parties which were already before them as opponents of the Congress got the benefit of their vote.

The election results were soberly analysed in the PB statement from Trivandrum. The move away of the people from the Congress was seen, as well as its immature character, as seen in the vote for the Jana Sangh, etc., where the democratic forces were weak. The sense of victory of the people, their sense of expectations following the electoral victory was noted and indications of the line to take the discontent to the next stage were given.

Immediately after the elections there was a tendency to be influenced by parliamentary opportunism, forget the connection between the electoral successes with the mass struggle, the necessity of fighting the opportunism of the partners of the united front and lapse into parliamentary tactics. The proposals for a united legislature party in Kerala, the uncritical attitude towards the partners of the U.F. who were just out for parliamentary opportunism were instances and the PB and the CC had to bring them to the notice of the comrades and reject such moves.

Taking into consideration the position of the Party, its mass strength and its capacity to influence other parties, the PB and the CC worked out a line regarding the Party's participation in the alternative ministries. In West Bengal and Kerala, the Party decided to join the Ministry. In Punjab, where we had only three members in the Assembly and mass pressure also could not be worked, our comrades were asked not to participate in the Ministry but only to give critical support to the U.F. Ministry against the Congress. The State Committee had decided to join the Coordination Committee of the ministerial parties with our comrade as the convenor. The PB directed that we should resign from this post.

In Bihar also, where we had won four seats and where our Party was offered two seats in the Ministry, we declined to join the Ministry, though we agreed to support the front Ministry on the basis of specific demands. The PB instructed the Party to sit in the opposition.

Besides, in these cases, the consideration was that the united front included the Jana Sangh and Swatantra with whom we could not associate in any Ministry.

As regards Tamil Nadu, the CC assessed the situation as follows: "The attitude our Party has adopted and our state unit of Tamil Nadu has been pursuing, both during the course of the general election and after the formation of the DMK Government is correct. Ours is conditional support to the DMK Government. No idea of joining the Ministry should be entertained, even if such an offer is made by the DMK

and our Party's place in that Legislative Assembly cannot be on the treasury benches but on the opposition benches. The principal guiding line for such an attitude is based on the correlation of forces obtained in the state both in the Assembly and among the people. Our Party is weak and encounters serious danger of reducing itself to a camp-follower of the DMK, and losing its independent identity among the people....unlike in Kerala and West Bengal where our Party's mass position is on a different footing and higher level."

It will be seen that the PB and CC instructions were once more in line with the consideration of developing mass activity and capacity to move the masses. With our weakness among the masses, our participation in these Ministries would have meant our paralysation before the opportunists. This would have tied us down and hampered our freedom to activate the masses.

The entire political situation was reviewed after the general elections and the Central Committee outlined a policy for the post-election period including the formation of the Ministries. It drew the following conclusion from the electoral defeat of the Congress and its economic background: "The crisis and the consequent mass upsurge have thus opened a new chapter in the history of the post-independence revolutionary mass movement of India. An ever-increasing number of common people are being drawn into the vortex of political life, with a new class and mass awakening. It offers tremendous opportunities to the working class and its Communist Party to take big strides forward in building and consolidating the united front of different democratic classes and in defeating the class policies of the big capitalists and landlords and opening the bright prospects of replacing the present Government by an alternative People's Democratic Government."

On the results of the elections, it stated, "The maturing economic crisis, as the post-election scene evidently demonstrates, has passed into the political sphere, ushering in a

political crisis. The political parties and groups of the ruling classes, find themselves in utter disarray fighting against each other, while their premier class party, the Congress, which has been built over several decades in the past, is disintegrating with a vengeance." The resolution also noted the sharpening of the relations between the Centre and the states under the stress of the crisis and attached great importance to it.

In this background, the Party called upon comrades to regard the two Ministries — of Kerala and West Bengal — as instruments of struggle in the hands of our people more than as Governments that actually possess adequate power, that can materially and substantially give relief to the people. "In clear class terms, our Party's participation in such Governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people, and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies, in the struggle for the cause of People's Democracy, and at a later stage for socialism."

Calling upon Party members to build mass struggles, to use the Ministries as instruments of struggle, the document called attention to the extremely weak state of Party organization and mass organizations and warned that the favourable political situation for advance cannot be utilised without overcoming these weaknesses.

Once more there was demarcation from the revisionists and reformists who wanted to tread the parliamentary path and had illusions about running Ministries in alliance even with reactionary parties, who hopelessly miscalculated the need of the ruling party, in view of the deepening crisis, to re-establish its control over the states and from the secretarians inside the Party who in face of the anti-Congress vote of the masses wanted to reject all participation in legislatures and act as if the masses had voted for insurrection. Both would have led to the complete delinking of the Party from the developing mass consciousness and struggle.

The post-election review gave an opportunity to the CC to examine the correctness of the basic assumptions of the Party

Programme. The events since 1964 completely substantiated the basic formulations, disproved the revisionist formulations and showed that the latter had to change their opportunist formulations in face of the realities of the situation.

The *Programme* correctly described the state as a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie increasingly collaborating with imperialism in contrast to the revisionist characterization as only a state of the national bourgeoisie *excluding the landlords, and the big bourgeoisie* and its collaboration with foreign imperialism.

The mounting agrarian crisis and the Congress opposition to any kind of radical land reform suggested by any of the United Front Ministries have not only proved the correctness of the Party's understanding about the bourgeois-landlord alliance in the state but have compelled the revisionists to modify their own characterization.

It became patent everyday that the big bourgeoisie was dominating the Government and the revisionist ostriches who buried their heads in opportunist sand had once more to modify their stand.

Our formulation correctly stated that the leading force in the state—the big bourgeoisie was increasingly collaborating with imperialism—a truth not recognised by the revisionists. We also correctly stated, "with the emergence of the world socialist system, while utilising socialist aid for building certain heavy industries, it actually uses it as an extremely useful bargaining counter to strike more favourable deals with the imperialist monopolies". We recognised the conflicts between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and noted the dangerous compromising method of solving it. "It (the big bourgeoisie) seeks to utilise its hold over the state and the new opportunities to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand and on the other to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and feudalism by pressure, bargaining and compromise. In this process, it is forging strong links with foreign imperialists and sharing power with the landlords."

The events since 1964 have confirmed not only the class character of the Indian state, it has also proved the growing collaboration of the big bourgeoisie with imperialism. Notwithstanding Soviet aid the country is today more dependent on American loans and has to incur new loans to pay off old debts. The danger to the country's economic independence and political freedom grows everyday in contrast to the rosy picture of the revisionists about independent economic development.

The devaluation attack on the people, the abject dependence for loans for running industries, the search for markets with imperialist help and strong pressures on foreign policy, the scuttling of the fourth plan at the dictates of the USA for want of western loans, the growing intervention of the CIA in Indian life—all these have highlighted the American danger which our Party alone has been putting forward and which every party including the revisionists seeks to conceal. Following the Soviet-American collaboration in international affairs, in the name of preserving world peace, there has been a strong tendency to cover the American penetration. We alone have been warning against it. Now with all the revelations about the CIA and American economic domination, many parties are forced to accept it.

We alone held the Congress Government responsible for this and our warning has come true. The fiasco of the entire economic policy of building capitalism with the help of American and Western aid now stands revealed as the danger to our economic and political freedom grows.

We stressed the dual character of the bourgeoisie and its policies. This dualism was exposed also in seeking Soviet aid and bargaining for more American aid. It was seen in taking from the Soviet Union big industrial and heavy engineering complexes while perpetuating and increasing the dependence of the country on the West for the running of other industries, for maintenance imports, for transport, etc. It is seen today in the negotiations with the USSR for export of Indian engineering goods while simultaneously running

after the consortium for loans and debt-relief. The point was again correctly stressed in *New Situation and Party's Tasks*: "In this connection, mention must be also made of the fact that the big bourgeoisie is still banking upon utilising the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist camps. It would be grievously wrong to presume that the strength and scope to utilise it is already exhausted as the big bourgeoisie has now become weak, economically and politically. This tendency of utilising the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist worlds, at least in the immediate future, may acquire added vigour because of their efforts to defend themselves against increasing U.S. pressure and their eagerness to stave off the economic crisis."

This understanding is borne out by facts.

The rejection by the *Programme* of the non-capitalist path and the path of National Democracy is fully borne out by events. The National Democracy of the revisionists has been revealed to be just formation of ministries under the bourgeois-landlord Constitution. The *Programme's* rejection of the capitalist path and of bourgeois planning and its anticipated collapse under the inevitable crisis have again been proved to be correct. "Experience of the three plans demonstrates beyond a shadow of doubt that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, particularly when it has entered a new acute stage, it is futile for underdeveloped countries to seek to develop along the capitalist path." The *Programme* further correctly stated the need of interim slogans to take the mass consciousness forward. "While keeping before the people the task of dislodging the present ruling classes and establishing a new democratic state and government, based on the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the Party will utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people. The formation of such governments will give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people and help the process of building the democratic front."

The *Programme's* analysis and warning on the foreign policy of the Government have again been borne out. Avoiding the revisionist error of giving a general certificate to the foreign policy, or the sectarian error of regarding it simply as an instrument of realising the plans of U.S. imperialism, the *Programme* stated, "its increasing reliance on western monopoly aid to fulfil five-year plans of capitalist development, its growing economic collaboration with foreign finance capitalists, its continued membership of the British Commonwealth and as a result of all this, its prevarication on a number of anti-colonial issues in the recent period, objectively facilitate the U.S. designs of neo-colonialism and aggression and lead to India's isolation from the powerful current of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism. . . It is thus evident that neither the policy of non-alignment nor its genuine implementation can be taken for granted with the big bourgeoisie leading the state and pursuing anti-people policies." Recent events—the apologetic pleading for stopping of bombing but not condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the trade with South Vietnam, snapping of trade ties with North Vietnam and Cuba, Indira Gandhi's tour of South-east Asian countries, Australia, etc., echoing the talk about containment of China — have borne out this characterisation.

Ours was a lonely voice warning against a policy of hostility to China which had accentuated the process of further reactionary shifts. That policy has landed the country into an unbearable military expenditure devastating the economy and intensifying the economic crisis. Today even the revisionists are forced to plead for an understanding with China. We carried a lonely fight and now some sober elements from among the ruling classes also realise the ruinous character of the policy.

Regarding Pakistan and friendly relations with that country, despite the reactionary character of its rulers, we have been the most consistent advocates, warning that tension and hostility between the two enable the imperialists to

intervene in the Kashmir dispute. Only after a bloody war some people have started realising it. All the parties, including the revisionists, turned war-mongers during the Indo-Pakistan conflict.

Our Programme alone made an analysis of the growing differentiation among the peasants and understood the roles of the different sections. Recent mass activity has fully confirmed the correctness of relying on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata and building a peasant movement based on them. If all the State Committees had seriously taken the question the result would have been startling. But wherever the line has been applied, it has shown that these strata form the fighting sections and without them in the forefront neither a militant peasant movement can be built nor will the democratic revolution be successful.

Some of the recent conflicts in the United Front Ministry arose precisely from the fact that some of our partners represented interests hostile to the toiling masses, leading to a lot of inner conflicts and vacillations.

Following the April Resolution, the Central Committee at its Madurai Session reviewed the political situation in the country, the working of the United Front Ministries in which the Party was participating and worked out slogans for all-India campaign. The CC resolution stated, "Under conditions of further deepening of the world crisis, the imperialists are making the utmost efforts to transfer the burdens of the crisis to underdeveloped countries. The economic crisis in India has further deepened driving millions of people on the verge of starvation. Closure of industries has led to widespread unemployment among the workers. Price rise in the period has been the highest the country has seen in the post-independence period. The central Government refuses to change its food policy, refuses to enforce monopoly compulsory procurement from the big producers in the states and continues its abject dependence on the imports from the USA. The country is thus thrown open to further imperialist pressures which were seen in the recommendations of the

Bell Commission's report and the arms-twisting by President Johnson. The danger of the Government of India surrendering to these pressures grows."

It further noted that the joint communique issued by India's Finance Minister and the Japanese Government which dreams of a 'co-prosperity sphere in Asia' and helps the USA to contain China confirms that the Government of India is bent upon continuing its basic policies including its policy of hostility towards China.

It noted that the attacks on people continued and the Central Government cut the aid to the state Governments by over a hundred crores when these Governments required new finances to meet the demands of their employees consequent on the inflationary rise in prices due to the policies pursued by the Centre.

It came out with campaign slogans which included a national food policy, stoppage of evictions of peasants and agricultural labourers, debt relief and adequate wages to agricultural labourers, moratorium on foreign debts, employment and minimum wages to workers, reduction of military expenditure, steps to prevent U.S. penetration, wider autonomy for states.

It further said, "The CC calls upon the entire Party members to arm themselves with this understanding; it calls upon all Party units to reinforce their activities to the task of mobilizing the people for the realisation of these demands." "It must be realised", the CC said, "that the working class and other sections of our people are already on the march . . . The Party must forge the unity of the trade unions and other mass organizations and through these struggles come forward as their unifier, and give direction to them so that they may all coalesce and become part of the struggle for the defeat of the basic policies of the central Government and for alternative democratic policies." It reiterated what it had stated in the April resolution, viz., "The U.F. Governments that we have now are to be treated as instruments of struggle in the hands of our people more than as governments

that actually possess adequate power, that can substantially and materially give relief to the people." . . . "The Party must come forward as the mobilizer of all patriotic sections to stave off the danger of increasing surrender by the Government of India to the dictates of the imperialists thereby facilitating their design to impose neo-colonialism on India."

The Central Committee at the same time reviewed the work of the West Bengal and Kerala Ministries. Separate documents on the functioning of those Ministries were circulated. The CC's opinion was embodied in the resolution on the political situation.

The Central Committee recorded the fact that the finances of the two Governments were in a perilous state, all the more so due to the new restrictions imposed by the Centre. Nonetheless the U.F. Government in West Bengal met a large number of demands of its employees, of employees of local boards and teachers, incurring an annual expenditure of Rs.15 crores; victimised employees were reinstated; recognition was granted to employees' organizations, etc.

The employers launched a very big attack of large-scale retrenchment and also refused to implement awards of industrial tribunals and wage boards. This was answered by a series of gheraos and strikes.

"The Central Committee is happy to note that despite tremendous pressure from the Central Government and the vested interests, the U.F. Government stood firm on the side of the workers and refused to use police to suppress the legitimate struggles of the workers and peasants."

The CC noted that "our Party and our Ministers played an important role in getting these progressive policies accepted by the Government and in their implementation . . . However, the state Government's record of procurement was far from creditable. It had failed to seize from the big landholders the surplus it could have done even at that stage with courage and determination."

"The CC is of the opinion that although our Party outside had campaigned for correct measures on the food question,

and although our Ministers had taken a correct stand from April, they should have taken a firmer stand to overcome the resistance of the Food Minister and others inside the Ministry, who were virtually advocating free trade. It calls upon our Party to be vigilant and ensure that these decisions are not sabotaged by the vested interests and their supporters in the administration. On occasions, the directives of the Cabinet on the use of police in popular struggles have been violated, as in Naxalbari; on every such occasion, the Party came out in protest. It is the heightened consciousness of the common people and their continuous mobilization by the U.F. in which our Party played a leading role that has so far foiled the attempt of the vested interests and the central Government to topple the U.F. Governments."

Regarding the Kerala Ministry, the CC noted the special difficulties in Kerala and the measures taken by the Ministry headed by our Party to give relief to the people. Though the central Government withdrew the rice subsidy the Kerala Government refused to raise the price of rice till recently. It increased the dearness allowance of the state government employees and teachers to the level of the central Government employees; reinstated hundreds of policemen and others victimised by the Congress Governments and abolished the pernicious system of police verification before getting a job under the Government.

The CC at the same time criticised our Party in Kerala for its failure to mobilize the people independently. "It must be admitted that the Party in Kerala was not alive to its responsibilities to independently mobilize the people for correct solutions of problems. Our Party's representatives in the United Front have been putting forward from time to time only such proposals as are likely to be immediately accepted by other partners. This was seen in the fact that they did not raise the question of state monopoly trade in foodgrains and put forward concrete proposals to implement it for a long time. Neither did the Party independently campaign for it. Lack of vigilance led our Ministers to agreeing to the Industrial

Policy Resolution, drafted by the Industries Ministry". The CC called upon the Party units in Kerala to "mobilize both independently and jointly with the other partners in the coalition in the struggle against the vested interests".

It will be thus seen that the CC continued to maintain the link between mass struggles and the functioning of the Ministry and use the latter as a lever to develop the former. Also it said that the mass struggles were on the rise and called upon the Party to lead them in all the states.

The Madurai session of the CC further passed three important ideological documents. The first one dealt with the differences in the international communist movement in which the CC rejected the ideological positions of the international revisionists. At the same time it rejected the Chinese formulation that the Soviet Union was collaborating with American imperialism to share world hegemony and divide the world into spheres of influence — a formulation which liquidated the socialist camp by equating the Soviet Union with imperialism. It also rejected the Chinese opposition to unity in action with the Soviet Union in defence of Vietnam. The draft was circulated to Party units for discussion.

The Central Committee also passed a document on our differences with the CPC. This was necessitated by the continued attacks of the CPC on our Party, our Programme and its current line. The CPC's assessment of the Indian situation fundamentally differed from ours and the CC considered the CPC assessment to be wrong and harmful. "The assessment of the CPC leads one to conclude that the new Indian state is not a bourgeois-landlord state led by the big bourgeoisie, which pursues the capitalist path of development in collaboration with foreign monopoly capital, but a puppet Government, led by bureaucratic capitalism, run by them principally in the interests of imperialism, while reconciling themselves to live as parasites, depending on the crumbs thrown by their foreign masters."

"If such a premise were to be accepted, then the national liberation aspect of our revolution stands in the forefront,

the edge of the revolution will have to be directed against the foreign imperialists, the contradiction between alien imperialists and the nation as a whole assumes the principal role, and a corresponding strategy of general national united front will have to be substituted in place of the present class strategy incorporated in our Programme. The concept of concentrating the main fire against the bourgeois-landlord state power with the agrarian revolution as its axis will have to be given up."

Equally wrong has been the CPC's estimate of the current situation. The CC document stated, "As a matter of fact, the overestimation of the situation in India, as pointed above, was reflected in earlier writings of 1959-1960, which led them to conclude that the social contradictions in our country were sharpened to such a degree that the Indian bourgeois-landlord Government had finally gone over to imperialism under the threat of imminent class revolution. The same line is now being put across much more bluntly and openly."

The CC had the following to say on the question of fraternal relations: "Now the comrades of the CPS.... have chosen to denounce our Party and its political line through their press and radio."

It was at this meeting that the Central Committee gave serious consideration to Left danger that was raising its head inside the Party. In West Bengal, the Naxalbari elements were already challenging the Party's line and the Party had to wage an ideological struggle against them and discipline them. The bourgeois press was boosting them; Radio Peking was certifying them as revolutionaries. It was necessary to nail down their anti-Leninist heresies and tear off the mask of revolution from them and expose them as opportunists objectively helping the bourgeois-landlord Government. The Central Committee's resolution on "Left Deviation", was intended to achieve this. It stated that "the 'Left'-opportunists challenge the Party Programme itself. They challenge the basic current line including the Party's participation in

Ministries: They also challenge the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist party, viz., its unity, discipline and democratic centralism."

"The 'Left'-opportunists reduce the hard task of unifying the masses, developing proper tactics for it, fighting against the disruption of the reformists and revisionists who undermine the morale of the working class and the peasant masses, paralysing their resistance to the state's policies including violence—to the organization of force. Thus neglecting the main task of building mass organisations, by refusing to fight for every little relief for the workers and peasants, by not paying serious attention to the immediate demands and to simultaneously raising political consciousness, by a mere reliance on organization of force once more leads to a band of select individuals indulging in militant actions, under the pretext of defending or revolutionising the struggles, and bringing disaster to the mass movement".

"The 'Left' deviation is not just confined to a few cussed individuals. It is also an ideological disease of frustrated individuals and it affects also young militants whose militancy is not tempered by the fire of class struggle and disciplined by Marxist-Leninist outlook. Inside our Party there are many militant honest young members who are drawn towards the pseudo-revolutionary line because it appears to be militant. Especially in the wake of our election reverses in many places, many turn with revulsion from patient and sustained mass work and find in armed struggle a new solace.

"But the main cause of the attraction is that due to the growing economic crisis and desperation, impatience and frustration are growing and the mass struggles as yet have not developed to that pitch where they could be seen as the effective means of fighting the present regime. Lack of Marxism-Leninism, failure of the Party to transform this militancy into revolutionary fervour — all create a situation in which the appeal of Left doctrinairism remains."

"Besides when the masses are moving quickly into action, when big battles are impending, there always arises a

trend which seeks to impose its subjective slogans and forms of struggle instead of learning from the masses.”

“Left deviation will thus be a constant source of danger in the coming period and it will have to be consistently fought. But just because of the situation and the factors mentioned above it cannot be fought only by taking organizational measures. In fact, the main fight against it must be conducted ideologically by patient explanation and propaganda.”

The Central Committee took the fight against the Left-sectarian trend buttressed as it was by support from the CPC. The defections and desertions which took place after the Madurai CC meeting showed that the Left deviation was assuming serious proportions in some states. Following the Madurai decisions, and after repeated violations of the Party line, the Central Committee had to expel Shiv Kumar Misra, CC member and Secretary of the U.P. Committee. This was later followed by the expulsion of the entire leadership of the Kashmir unit and the dissolution of the unit itself. The leaders of the unit had openly embarked upon anti-party propaganda in their local journal and in the bargain were pursuing harmful policies in the partial struggles which were smashing whatever mass organizations there were in Kashmir.

The experiences in the elections and the organizational theories propounded by the ‘Left’-deviationists revealed the deep-rooted heritage of revisionism and reformism in the organizational sphere, the methods of Party functioning, the quality of Party membership, the faulty class composition of the Party, the lack of cadre policy, the lack of Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, the wrong relations between the Party and mass organizations, the neglect of various mass fronts, etc., the neglect of democratic centralism, the growth of federalism. The Party could not expect to fulfil its responsibilities and its role as the vanguard without eradicating this revisionist outlook and reorganizing itself on the Leninist principles. This presented a big problem, for it demanded a

concrete understanding of the Party structure from top to bottom as it existed, its methods of functioning in different states, its uneven development in different states and remedies based on a concrete understanding of the situation.

The Calicut session of the Central Committee was devoted to this major task. The resolution it adopted nailed down the revisionist and reformist influences in the sphere of organization, traced the growth of organizational revisionism and the opportunist political line of the old Party and gave immediate tasks to overcome these pernicious influences.

The Central Committee made the following observations while reviewing the growth of revisionism in organization inside the old Party. "A legalistic outlook had grown in the Party to such absurd proportions that not a single measure or step was either conceived or implemented to safeguard the Party and its continuity against the surprise attack of the class enemies and 'general round-ups' by the police. Not even the defence of the big strike struggles of the working class and mass peasant actions was ensured against the onslaughts of the repressive police machine which is accustomed to resorting to wholesale arrests and detention of leading cadres with a view to disorganizing the struggle even before it is actually launched. Virtually the Party was reduced to the impotent position of an instrument which can only lead such mass struggles as the authorities are kind enough to 'permit' and 'tolerate'.

"Alien class habits in the mode of day-to-day life and functioning of our parliamentarians and leading functionaries started developing" in the united party. "Even standards set by the Party for our legislators and functionaries could not be easily enforced. A common proletarian discipline could not be made equally binding on all. Because of this, the unity of will, of action and discipline could not be maintained."

"Democratic centralism, the highest principle and the kernel of a Marxist-Leninist party was subjected to furious assaults

and was seriously undermined." Among the important deviations nailed down in the functioning of the Party at that time was "the giving up of the functioning of the basic unit, the cell or the branch, and trying to function through the general body of the Party members in an area...The basic Party unit has been given the go-by...It means no proper discussion of any issue as in such a large body most of the Party members do not get time to express their criticism or make self-criticism from their own experience".

The document also gave a warning about the rise of federal tendencies inside the Party in opposition to the principle of democratic centralism. "The crudest form in which it is expressed, at present, is that no State Committee considers it its bounden duty to send periodical reports of its activities to the Central Committee, and even Central Committee members attached to the State Committees' work never deem it their duty to keep the Party Centre informed of the activities at the state level. Most of them do not even write letters to the Central Committee occasionally on issues of mass movement and Party activity..."

Nailing down all the deviations and distortions, reasserting all the Leninist norms and applying them to the immediate conditions of Party organization, the Central Committee worked out the following tasks:

"To root out all reformist and revisionist understanding and practices in Party organization :

Begin by regrouping and activating Party members and cadres and educate them to discharge their tasks on mass, political and organizational fronts.

1. (a) Tighten up the recruitment of Party members—auxiliary groups of militants— candidates (lengthen the period of candidatureship to one year) — then regular Party membership (insist on all the minimum jobs enumerated in the report). All Party members must be grouped in compact branches of not more than nine before December 1967 end.

(b) Constant struggle against alien habits and practices in personal life as well as in mass organizations and in Party

life — give up soft and easy life — strengthen body and mind. Be ready to defend yourself and the Party against goonda and counter-revolutionary assault.

2. Know your cadre — their strong and weak points, in all conditions and circumstances — age, how long in the Party — education — class origin and present vocation or profession — amount of income for livelihood — family members — problems of personal life.

Choose cadres for full-time work at different levels and educate and train them. Deploy them in the industrial, educational centres and among the peasantry around these centres.

3. Educate the whole Party membership and train up branch secretaries and local cadre by organising schools for imparting elementary theory of Marxism-Leninism — Marxist economics — Marxist political theory — historical materialism and dialectical materialism based on Indian conditions — international working class and revolutionary movement, Russian Revolution and Chinese Revolution — our Party Programme, Party history and history of the Indian people's class struggles and revolutionary movements — and our present general political line and tasks. By June end 1968, all Party members and especially the Branch Secretaries must be covered by these classes.

Bring out and make available minimum classics and booklets on current political events in India and of the world and insist on their constant study by having individual or branch libraries.

Party weeklies and dailies and a central theoretical organ to educate the mass of our militants, Party members and cadres.

4. Build up strong trade unions and organizations of rural poor (agricultural labour unions and kisan sabhas), on correct Marxist-Leninist lines and improve the class composition of the Party membership by making special efforts for recruiting into auxiliary groups and educating the militants thrown up in class struggles from the working class and the rural poor.

Special attention to youth and especially students and the composition of the Party must reflect the ever-growing percentage of youth of 18-30 years age group.

Work among women as auxiliary to and part of trade union, kisan and middle class employees' organizations and recruiting them into the Party.

5. Streamline Party organizational structure — auxiliary groups of militants — branches of candidates and Party members (factory, village, ward or town); local (thana or tehsil) or district committees depending on the necessity for such units for coordinating the work and not merely because these are government-created administrative units; while consolidating the existing areas of our movement our direction must be to link up these areas into big contiguous areas.”

The State Committees — especially the State Committees of West Bengal and Kerala — have started implementing the decisions of the CC. But as yet detailed reports are not available.

The Burdwan Plenum

The CC had decided at its Madurai session to call a plenum to finalise the ideological discussions on the differences in the international communist movement. The Central Plenum was held in Burdwan in April 1968. Before the Plenum, there were widespread discussions on the CC draft in state, district and lower plenums.

In the course of these discussions comrades expressed themselves freely supporting and criticising the CC line and decisions. The Andhra State Committee in its session of September 1967 by a majority of 9 to 6 objected to the procedure adopted by the Central Committee and demanded that members of the higher committees should be permitted to express their differences with the CC in the lower committees where they were functioning.

In the Andhra State Plenum which 231 delegates attended representing 15,867 members, the CC draft was rejected by 158 to 52, 8 abstaining and a resolution was adopted

requesting the Central Plenum to prepare a new draft on the basis of the CPC's General Line and the Andhra Plenum resolution and the documents submitted to Andhra Plenum by Nagi Reddi and others.

In Kerala with a membership of 15,561 and candidate membership of 4465, ideological discussions were held at district and State Plenums (Conferences). In Trivandrum, the Party *Programme* and other Central Committee documents were challenged and a resolution was passed demanding their revision. In Quilon also there was a similar trend. In Trivandrum only the opponents of the CC document were elected as delegates to the State Plenum though one-third of the district delegates voted for the CC's document. To some extent the same thing happened in Quilon. In Cannanore the delegates holding different views were elected to the State Plenum.

A resolution to postpone the discussions was made at the State Plenum but was defeated by 67 voting for and 227 against and 9 remaining neutral. An amendment to delete the para which rejects the erroneous idea that the Soviet Union is an ally of U.S. imperialism for world hegemony was defeated by 86 voting for and 193 against. The Central Committee's draft was adopted by 225 voting for and 25 against.

In Tamil Nadu with its 10,100 members including 2,500 candidates, the delegates including 27 members of the State Committee numbered 132. The Central Committee document was adopted after some key amendments were rejected. One amendment to redraft the Central Committee document was rejected by 42 voting for and 67 against. Amendment to delete the para rejecting the idea that the CPSU had become an ally of U.S. imperialism to share world hegemony was defeated by 45 voting for and 67 against. Another amendment to rewrite the section on joint action was defeated by 51 for, 54 against.

In Punjab with a membership of 4,875 the number of delegates was 106 of whom 94 were present at the Plenum.

An amendment against unity of a action was defeated by six voting for and 88 against. Another amendment to add a section on the Chinese Cultural Revolution was also defeated.

In Rajasthan an amendment to delete the section dealing with unity of action and that which rejects the erroneous idea that Soviet Union is an ally of American imperialism for sharing world domination was defeated by a large majority.

In Assam, with its membership of 1131 the State Plenum approved the Central Committee's document by a big majority but at the same time passed an amendment for deleting the section on unity in action, which was accepted by 27 votes for and 7 against.

In Orissa, a Plenum meeting was held from December 23 to 25, but it was boycotted by Ganjam and Koraput members under the influence of "Left"-adventurist elements. Thirty comrades were present and they passed on their suggestions to the CC.

In Maharashtra, with a membership of 2,603 and 87 candidates, the State Committee discussed the document and some points were raised but none was pressed to vote.

In Kashmir, Comrade Surjeet explained the draft to the State Committee. But it was reported that after his return the Committee rejected the draft.

In Bihar, with a Party membership of 3,120 a session of the State Plenum was held after discussing the document in district plenums. An amendment to delete the section on unity in action was defeated with 13 voting for and 72 against. The CC draft was adopted with 76 voting for and 8 against.

West Bengal had the most widespread and democratic discussions. Out of 16,000 members and candidates 11,000 participated in the discussions in spite of the short time available. The ideological discussions were taken up seriously in the month of March only, after the mass movement to defeat Dr. Ghosh's Ministry and to get the mid-term poll succeeded.

About 3 per cent of those participating opposed the draft.

The main point of difference was over unity in action and characterization of the Soviet role. The opponents of the draft demanded that the section on unity in action should be deleted and the Soviet Union should be characterised as an ally of American imperialism striving for redivision of the world. Some demanded that the Party *Programme* should be rewritten.

Because the Party was engaged in direct political struggle till the end of February with leading comrades underground it was not possible to hold the State Plenum. The State Committee, therefore, decided to conduct discussions in localities with all members participating, following which District Plenums were to be held for discussing the draft. The State Committee was to discuss the draft after District Plenum discussions were over.

Inside the State Committee some comrades raised objection to the advocacy of unity in action; others also objected to the description of the present time as a new epoch and also opposed the formulation which considered the contradiction between socialism and imperialism as the central contradiction. Some said that united front was to be built against the common enemy but were there any differences between the USA and the CPSU leadership?

Some comrades stressed the necessity of the Party struggling for achieving unity in the international communist movement on correct Marxist-Leninist principles. Others demanded that the criticism of the CPC in relation to its propaganda against us be sharpened.

Finally, the State Committee passed a resolution stating that it was in full agreement with the analysis, formulations and conclusions made in the CC draft, 36 voting for and 2 against.

It will be seen that the discussion on the ideological document was widespread and democratic; that it was carried on at all levels and that comrades freely expressed themselves. The narrow voting in some places, the adverse vote in Andhra and the keen discussions and amendments elsewhere all

betokened active participation by all including those opposing the views of the CC. They also showed the keenness of Party ranks and committees in discussing the vital question and reaching a correct decision. It is necessary to remember this in view of the propaganda of the deserters and the bourgeois press that the voice of the opposition was stifled.

At the Plenum itself there was again a thorough discussion with delegates moving a number of amendments. The Andhra comrades placed an alternate draft and moved it as an amendment to the CC's draft. They were given enough time to put forward their draft and the mover took more than five hours to place his alternative document which also challenged the Party *Programme*.

"The Plenum which was called to register the final rejection of revisionism also became a battleground for fighting 'Left'-sectarianism and 'Left'-opportunism against which the Central Committee draft had warned.

"Some Andhra comrades submitted documents steeped in anti-Marxist-Leninist heresies which advocated a line diametrically opposed to the Central Committee's line and understanding and denounced the Central Committee draft as revisionist. The essence of their line consists in (1) the liquidation of the socialist camp, (2) restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union, (3) Soviet Union an ally of American imperialism for world domination and hence an imperialist power. (4) while there are contradictions among imperialist powers like France and the USA, or England and the USA, there are no contradictions between the Soviet Union and the USA. (5) the world struggle for revolution is directed against the Soviet-USA axis—not American imperialism the main enemy of the peoples of the world but Soviet-USA the joint enemies, (6) therefore there is no question of united action of the socialist camp against American imperialism till Soviet revisionist leaders are overthrown by the Soviet people."

"Thus an entirely different world picture—picture in which the Soviet Union has become an imperialist country—which means capitalism has been restored in the USSR—a big

counter-revolutionary setback, end of the epoch and the decisive role of the socialist camp, emerges from their formulations.”

“All these are not openly stated but this is what is implied, when they denounce the Soviet Union as working for hegemony for world domination and denounce all united action to fight American imperialism.”

They also challenged the *Programme* of the Party stating that Indian independence was formal, etc.

“The arguments against united action took varied forms. Some said no united action was possible with the Soviet Union; others said such a proposal would create illusions about the revisionist leaders; some said no united action was possible because the revisionist leaders were dishonest.”

“Thus all combined to give up the fight for the unity of action of the socialist camp in opposition to the revisionists; none of them had any proposal how to link the common struggle with the people of Soviet Union; they made no distinction between the Soviet people and leaders.”

“Some amendments wanted to delete all references to the division in the world socialist camp—thereby underestimating the harm done by the revisionists and displaying their own refusal to fight for the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Some wanted to delete all references to the new epoch calling it only a special phase of the epoch starting with the opening of the era of proletarian revolution—thus negating the qualitative change in the world balance of forces and liquidating the tremendous revolutionary possibilities of the epoch. In the name of moving revolutionary amendments revisionist content was being pushed forward. Some, though not through amendments, identified the new epoch only with the Chinese revolution, eliminating the anti-fascist victory of the USSR, the successful socialist revolution in a number of countries and the emergence of a powerful socialist camp.”

Besides these, many other amendments were moved, some of which the CC accepted and the Plenum concluded. The Plenum had thus to fight on both sides. While repudiating

the line of modern revisionism it had to fight and defeat the assault of "Left"-sectarianism which was attacking Marxism-Leninism from the other end. The essence of this anti-Marxist-Leninist line was embodied in the Andhra resolution to which a detailed reply was given at the Plenum and before that in a series of articles in *People's Democracy*. The Plenum by an overwhelming majority repudiated the line of the modern revisionists and also rejected the anti-Leninist line advocated by the Andhra comrades. The Andhra document was rejected by an overwhelming vote, 22 voting for and 158 against, 13 neutral—number of total delegates being 207. The various amendments which went against the spirit of the CC draft were also defeated by a large majority, only two getting fifty votes or a little more.

The draft as amended was passed with 162 voting for, 27 against and 9 remaining neutral.

Thus ended the historic Burdwan Plenum which was called to discharge one of the responsibilities handed down by the Seventh Congress to the CC—the conclusion of discussions on international differences.

The common understanding developed at Burdwan, for which the Madurai document had laid the basis, is an important achievement of our Party in its struggle to reach a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the issues posed by revisionism. While it endorsed the repudiation of the revisionist line on which already a common understanding had developed inside the Party, it demarcated the Party from the distorted and "Left"-sectarian understanding of the fight against revisionism and the issues raised by it. This "Left"-sectarian understanding had already corroded the consciousness of a number of Party members, as it was seen in the pre-Burdwan discussions, in the Burdwan discussions and the post-Burdwan splits and desertions. Had the Party not been vigilant against this distortion, had it continued to accept blindly all that came from the CPC, it would have found itself by now in the ranks of those who condemned the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and indirectly supported American con-

spiracies. The Madurai document and the Burdwan decisions while they totally repudiated revisionism in every form asserted the independent position of the Party.

Thanks to the Burdwan decisions our Party is now free to carry on the fight against all distortions, work for the united action of the socialist camp and the principled unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It cannot be however asserted that the Burdwan decisions have become a part of the consciousness of all Party leaders and Party members; that everyone realises the importance of fighting for the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, for the unity of action of the socialist camp, for safeguarding the strength and unity of the socialist camp, and its gains and achievements and fighting all the revisionist and "Left"-adventurist trends which come in the way of this unity. While there is a holy and justified anger against modern revisionism and the harm it has done, there is little awareness of the harm being done by the other trend — an outlook which paralyses efforts to assert the supremacy of Marxism-Leninism over all wrong trends.

The Burdwan Plenum and the subsequent desertions revealed how deep the poison of "Left"-distortions had gone among certain comrades. While the vast majority of Party members refused to be swayed by the "Left"-sectarian outlook buttressed as it was by the CPC, some Party members thought that there was nothing wrong with it and moved amendments which supported the basic "Left" propositions.

It is also not accidental that many of these raised basic questions regarding our *Programme*, questions settled by the Party Congress. At that time also, it was made clear by the CC that it did not accept the Chinese understanding of the class character of the Government in this country. That understanding would mean a new strategy—directing the main fire against imperialism, etc. And yet all these questions were raised again to take the Party back to the sectarian path which it had rejected at the last Congress.

Following the defeat of these elements at Burdwan they revealed that they were not prepared to abide by the decision of the majority, that they did not regard the Party as a Party. This resulted in big blows to the Party in Andhra, and disruption in Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir.

The Setbacks Due to Left Disruption

Immediately after the Madurai meeting, Shiv Kumar Mishra, CCM, discussed with Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari and Comrade Surjeet, the dates of the State Committee and programme of explanation of the Central Committee's Ideological Draft in U.P. units. But instead of sticking to these pre-arranged plans, he started meeting members of his factional group in different districts starting with Kanpur. He issued a circular on September 8 to all Party units, as the State Committee Secretary, to organise Naxalbari Kisan Sangram Sahayaka Committees, and called on all the "revolutionaries" both inside and outside the Party to fight the Party leadership. He issued another circular in September to State Committee members who belonged to his faction, not to attend the State Committee meeting. In his letter of September 23 to the General Secretary, he levelled a slanderous charge that the PB had conspired to get its "Revisionist anti-CPC and anti-Naxalbari line stamped under the name of U.P. Communists (Marxists)". The State Committee removed him from secretaryship. Then his followers, K. B. Ansari, Umashankar, Shyamanarayan Shastri, Ram Narain Upadhyaya and Harsahai—the last three of whom were Secretaries of Regional Committees—walked out of the State Committee. Thereupon, the State Committee dissolved the Regional Committees, and reconstituted the Secretariat with four members, Comrade Shankar Dayal Tewari, CCM, as Secretary, Comrades Shiva Verma, Ravi Sinha, Satyanarayan Singh and later added Comrade Tandon, as the fifth member. The State Committee issued an appeal to Shiv Kumar Mishra and the State Committee members who walked out of the committee meeting to abide by Party forms and discipline and function.

But Shiv Kumar Mishra issued a circular on September 26 to all district and other Party units not to recognize the new Secretariat and the new Secretary, but follow his instructions. He and his followers asked the DCs and units to revolt against the Party and function independently.

The Central Committee in its meeting at Calicut had to expel Shiv Kumar Mishra from the Party, and directed the PB "to take steps to see that all efforts are made to persuade and to convince the comrades who are at present misled and misguided by Mishra's 'ultra-revolutionary' and disruptive propaganda and activities. Even after such attempts, if some comrades still persist in the same disruptive activities, the Central Committee authorises the Polit Bureau to take necessary disciplinary action."

During the whole of November and the first half of December, the State Secretariat members went from district to district trying to convince the comrades to abide by the Party form and not to raise the banner of revolt and organise a rival party in U.P. and other states. All these efforts proved futile.

Shiv Kumar Mishra, who did not care to attend the State Committee or Central Committee meetings, addressed the Naxalbari ultras' meeting on November 12 on Calcutta Maidan. Along with him, Satyanarayan Singh of Jamshedpur, Bihar State Secretariat member, addressed the meeting. They along with the Naxalites denounced the Party leadership and declared their determination to organise an all-India party of their own. They published their declaration in the Naxalite organ, *Deshabrati*, in Bengali, and in *Liberation*, their English monthly.

The U.P. State Committee, in its meeting in Varanasi in December, decided to reorganise the district and lower units with those comrades who were prepared to abide by Party form and Party discipline, and with those who accepted the authority of the existing State Committee and Central Committee leadership.

It expelled Shyamanarain Shastri, Ramnarain Upadhyaya,

Umashankar (Ballia), Jagdev Singh, K.B. Ansari and Omdutta Shastri—all State Committee members for their splitting activities and for organising a separate party. It decided to ask explanation from Rajpal Tyagi and Ram Harsha Vidrohi for their consistent failure to attend State Committee meetings and inactivity, as well as encouragement to the anti-party elements.

The position in Andhra became very serious, and a big number had to be expelled. Some deserted the Party to remain with the Left-sectarians. It has been already stated that the Andhra Plenum rejected by a big majority the CC draft. In the Andhra delegation to the Plenum, supporters of the CC Draft were in a minority while the opponents were in a majority. It soon became clear that the opponents were not prepared to abide by the verdict of the all-India majority. The CC met at Burdwan after the adoption by the Plenum of the ideological document. After listening to the CC members from Andhra, including D. Venkateshwar Rao, on the situation in Andhra, and taking into consideration the disruptive activities of some of the leading members of the State Committee, it authorised the PB to issue an open letter to the Party ranks in Andhra and take all necessary steps to ensure the implementation of the Burdwan decisions.

Immediately following the Plenum, a meeting of the Andhra State Committee was held in Calcutta. It was attended by five PB members. Comrade M. Hanumantha Rao, CCM and Secretary of the Andhra Pradesh Committee, reported in detail on the disruptive activities of the sponsors of the alternate resolution. But they continued to defend their actions. None of them accepted even formally that they were wrong in carrying on their anti-party activities.

A meeting of members of the District Committees called at the instance of the PB and decided by the Andhra State Committee meeting in Calcutta was boycotted by most of the "Left" elements under instructions from their sectarian leaders. At the State Committee meeting these members objected to the implementation of the PB decisions; when it

was decided to implement them, they announced to the press that they had resigned from the Secretariat.

The explanatory campaign which was decided upon by the State Committee was sabotaged by these factionalists where they controlled the DCs. They started organising their own groups, held public meetings advocating their own line and distributed leaflets asking Party members to revolt against the Party. These leaders individually and collectively carried on factional and anti-party activities, incited their followers to do the same and violate Party discipline. When explanation was demanded they would not disown the disruptive activities of their followers but on the other hand, they demanded that the steps taken by the PB for ensuring the implementation of the Party line be revoked. When the State Committee authorised the Secretariat to take action if they continued such activities, these people issued a press statement and asked the Party members to revolt against the Party. Out of the 25 members of the State Committee, ten including Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy and D. Venkateswara Rao who was a member of the CC were expelled.

In a number of District Committees their followers occupied key positions. The officials of these committees and members had to be expelled and the committees had to be reorganised. Out of 15,000 members, 9,000 have renewed their membership. Out of the rest a large number is getting disillusioned with the "Left"-adventurists, leaving only two or three thousand under their influence.

This is the biggest disruption organised by the Left-sectarians.

In West Bengal the number is about 400; in Kerala 700.

To explain and carry forward the line decided upon at Burdwan, the PB and the Central Committee took several steps. Apart from direct reporting by PB members, the *Letter to Andhra Comrades* was written and printed in many languages. The Jaipur session of the Central Committee also adopted a draft on "Left Deviation in Andhra" which was finalised by the Calcutta session of the Central Committee

held in October, after receiving the suggestions of the Andhra State Committee. The document which has been printed and published since then traces the history of the Party in Andhra, its strength and weaknesses and reveals the origin and source of the Left-sectarian deviation in Andhra.

The Jaipur session of the Central Committee adopted a number of important resolutions bearing on the policy of the Party. The Central Committee noted the success of the work of our Party in Kerala in the fight against the policy of the Centre to starve the people of Kerala of food and also the vacillations and hesitations of the other parties in the United Front to join the struggle. "The local jathas organised by the State Committee all over the state helped the people to see that the guilty men are those Congress leaders ruling at the Centre in Delhi and it is against them that the people have to direct their indignation. The Central Committee desires to pay its tribute to all the state, district and local leaders of the Party in Kerala who made the programme an unprecedented success. It hopes that in the further stages of the development of this campaign, the other constituents of the seven-party United Front and people who are not attached to any political party will join the campaign and launch an effective struggle against the Centre."

In connection with the relations among the parties of the United Front and the independent right of parties to express their views the resolution stated, "It is of the utmost importance to strengthen the unity of the U.F. while preserving the right of each constituent of the U.F. to express its point of view, to take the people into confidence on issues on which there are serious differences". Thus the Party was asked to carry the points of serious differences to the public and the parties in the U.F. were also invited to do so—an effective way of bringing the people on the scene and enabling their active intervention.

The Central Committee reiterated that there were several issues connected with the functioning of the Ministry on which our Party held views which strongly differed from

those held by all other parties in the United Front. "For instance, our Party holds the view that a democratic Government like that of the seven-party United Front in Kerala cannot but come into conflict with the policies pursued by the central Government on a number of issues. Struggle with the Centre is thus inherent in the situation. Secondly, there are differences among the various constituents of the U.F. on the details of food policy, land reform, industrialisation, workers rights and so on. Our Party has come out and will have again to come out explaining what its policy is on such issues, as we had to do on food, industrial policy..."

The Central Committee also noted that some serious lapses had taken place on some questions—"the memorandum on labour submitted to the National Labour Commission the attitude to be adopted towards the agitations and struggles of the government employees."

The State Committee had already issued a statement disapproving the memorandum and the Committee and Ministry adopted a correct policy towards the central employees' strike on September 19. The Chief Minister and the Ministry openly supported the strike and resisted the dictates of the central Government to arrest and detain the strikers. All the parties in the U.F. supported the strike and it created a tremendous impression on the people.

The Central Committee's resolution on West Bengal mid-term elections endorsed the policy of united front pursued by our State Committee in West Bengal, its demand for mid-term poll and its efforts to consolidate the U.F.

"The CC endorses the policy pursued by the State unit of our Party to strengthen the U.F. by fighting against the conspiracies and various attempts to create disruption within the U.F. The intensified class struggle outside and the Congress conspiracies had their impact on the U.F. also; certain constituents of the U.F. at different stages tended to succumb to these disruptive conspiracies. It is our Party which took early note of the conspiracy and raised the slogan of mid-term election at the first sign of defections. Our Party

imperialism and other comrades also exposed Dange's autocratic methods of functioning and his politics.

It was later on found that Dange and company were utilising the unity sentiment inside the AITUC to propagate against us. It was decided to make a straight appeal for AITUC unity and this was done in Comrade B. T. Ranadive's speech. Then on our behalf, Comrade Ramamurti submitted a *Platform for T.U. Unity* which with some modifications was accepted by Dange and company. The draft of the *Platform* submitted by us stated :

"All these policies have resulted in terrible attacks on the people's living standards. The working class has faced big attacks on its real wages, bonus and other conditions. Workload has been increasing continuously. These have been resorted to intensify the exploitation of the working class in order to find capital for the capitalist path of development. The Government is surrendering one position after another to the imperialists and if this is not arrested and reversed immediately, the country's independence is in danger.

"The people during the last three years have risen in struggle against these attacks. The Government attempted to lull the working class by promises of a living wage, linking dearness allowance with cost of living, fair bonus, etc. But when the working class found these to be empty promises, they rose in struggle."

"The Government attempted to drown these struggles in repression. The Emergency is continued for the last four years only for this purpose."

"However, the huge and unprecedented struggle and demand for the withdrawal of Emergency has forced the Government to retreat. But still it continues the Emergency."

"The working class and the people will have to face intensified attacks from the imperialists and the monopolists combined."

"The session, therefore, calls upon the Indian working class to lead a sustained struggle against the anti-people policies of the Government and to demand :

1. Nationalisation of banks and foodgrain trade.
2. Take-over and nationalisation of firms owned and controlled by foreign monopolists.
3. Stop the collaboration agreements with the imperialists and refuse their aid with humiliating conditions.
4. Nationalise import and export trade.
5. Immediate land reforms giving land to the tiller.
6. Take initiative to resolve the India-China border dispute and to settle the dispute with Pakistan in the spirit of Tashkent.

“It directs the Working Committee of the AITUC to work out, in consultation with other trade union centres, a charter of minimum trade union demands within two months.”

“The Congress calls upon the trade unions to mobilize the entire working class in unison with all democratic forces for the struggle against imperialism, against the Indian reactionaries and against the Congress Government with a view to replacing it by a Government which will go in the direction of the above platform.”

“The 27th Session of the AITUC having discussed the draft report of the General Secretary, taking into account the sharp differences over it and in the interest of trade union unity and action, directs the Working Committee to recast the report on the basis of the above platform of unity and action.”

We decided to vote against Dange's report as well as his candidature for the post of General Secretary. Six hundred and seven voted against the report and 1810 voted for.

The Dange group had inflated its membership beyond measure and hence could show a big majority in the delegates. This was clear from the fact that the revisionists showed huge majority in two trade union centres—Andhra and Bombay. In Bombay, they relied on the Girni Kamgar Union which by now has virtually become defunct. The fact that the number of rightist delegates from Andhra exceeded those from West Bengal showed the bogus character of their delegation. At the same time it was recorded that the revisionists had

considerable control over the unions affiliated, a fact which we must take note of in pursuing our fight for trade union unity and our work in the AITUC. It was realised that they had brought larger number of delegates from all states except West Bengal—a fact which had to be noted despite the deliberate inflation of the membership. A warning was given that the revisionists were bound to resort to disruptive tactics in the trade unions to keep their hold over them and the AITUC. While fighting their political and trade union line, the Party must be ready to defeat their organizational line.

Subsequent to this, the Central Committee adopted the document on *Tasks on Trade Union Front*. But it has not been seriously implemented except in a few cases where a beginning has been made. The various directives regarding politicalisation, democratic functioning of the trade unions, broad-based strike committees, recruitment to the Party, functioning of the fractions and the concrete fight against reformism, the simultaneous fight for trade union unity—have not been systematically pursued. Especially absent is the consciousness about the change in the situation with the employers and the Government on the offensive under stress of the crisis and the need to throw the entire class against it.

At the same time in many states our comrades systematically attempted to function in the joint trade unions but the revisionists systematically following the policy of splitting the movement have made it impossible to work together. This has been the case in Kerala and our comrades had to fight this offensive of the rightists by rallying the workers independently under our own unions, the rightists often joining hands with the employers or running away with the sign-board of the union in direct opposition to the mass of workers. In places where they faced the workers in opposition to us, they were routed in the union elections. We offered to have a compromise in many places but they always demanded the right to majority even though they had lost the confidence of the workers.

There is no doubt that in all the states they followed the same tactics. It cannot however be said that everywhere we tried to counter the disruption by prolonged struggle for unity and in this struggle isolate them. In some places our comrades fell easy victims to their provocations, after expulsions and removal from the posts of office-bearers and easily accepted defeat and thought of starting new unions. While we have not banned the formation of new unions, they must represent essential steps in the building of working class unity.

These disruptive tactics were pursued by the rightists during the West Bengal TUC Conference when Dange in a gangsterlike manner wanted to give affiliation to scores of bogus unions. They were also pursued in this year's UPTUC Conference when, in order to floor the State Committee with his manoeuvres, his agents brought about a split and illegally constituted themselves into a committee.

It is difficult to report on the Party's struggle for unity as concrete reports are not in hand. Every time, however, when matters were referred to the PB, the comrades were asked to keep in view the Party's struggle for trade union unity. It was on this basis that the West Bengal comrades negotiated the TUC Conference in 1967 and fought the disruptive tactics of the revisionists.

It cannot be said that the function of our fractions in the AITUC is satisfactory. The fraction composed of the members of the General Council and the Working Committee meets. Except on one or two occasions, they dealt only with the agenda of General Council and Working Committee meetings. They hardly dealt with all-India or state problems facing the trade union movement. Besides, these meetings of the fraction are also rare because Dange arbitrarily decides to call meetings of General Council at long intervals. Months pass by, with the working class under constant attack and the TUC does nothing. We have hardly done anything to improve this state of affairs.

At the same time it has to be noted that a number of our

comrades from the states do not take the fraction and the TUC meetings seriously and do not attend in spite of Party circulars.

Our working during the General Council and Working Committee meetings leaves much to be desired. Our comrades allow reactionary resolutions to be passed without opposition—as on automation, etc. There is hardly any protest and opposition to the anarchic and autocratic methods of functioning, to the failure to submit drafts of resolutions in time and there is too much compromise.

There are no reports from the State Committees about the functioning of our fractions inside the state TUCs or joint unions. The PB called a meeting of railway comrades for coordinating the activities. After the initial meeting no meeting could be called and from the centre only one or two unions could be guided. Some consultations were held when the AIRF met. There is no coordination of railway work partly because we are extremely weak on most of the lines, partly because there is no separate cadre to deal with the railways.

The PB, after the Noormahal CC meeting, called a fraction meeting of students and tried to work out a line for the all-India movement. It was earlier decided in the PB not to start a separate all-India organization in the name of Students' Federation. There was a strong demand at the fraction meeting for an all-India organisation. Further meetings of the fraction could not be convened due to several reasons. There were setbacks in Bihar on this front as the main leaders turned sectarian and had to be expelled from the Party. However, our work among students' organisation made headway in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Punjab. The guidance was given by the State Committees. This is one of the fronts for which the CC could do very little.

Party's Struggle for Unity in Kisan Movement

Immediately after the release of comrades in 1966 our Party and its Central Committee took steps to ensure the unity of

the kisan movement and protect it from the disruption organised by the rightists.

The attack of the Government in 1964 on our leaders was exploited by the revisionists to pursue their disruptive activities. They wanted to capture the Kisan Sabha in our absence. They organised rival Kisan Sabha committees in many places. The July 1966 meeting of the Central Kisan Council repudiated the rival Kisan Sabha committees and called for agreement on the issue. In case of failure it decided to restore the status of the 1961-62 committees.

The Right Communist leaders refused to abide by the decision of the CKC and demanded that the rival committees formed by them be accepted as valid committees. Nonetheless every effort was made to restore unity and an agreement was signed by Comrade A. K. Gopalan, Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and Z. A. Ahmed to take certain organisational steps. But they went back on it, demanded that their inflated membership be accepted and in the end walked out and formed a rival Kisan Sabha.

The Kisan Sabha session was held under these circumstances in Madurai in January 1967. The total membership enrolled was nearly a million, half of which was in West Bengal.

Several meetings of the Central Kisan Fraction were held before the conference. They were attended by PB and CC members and the line was decided upon in these meetings. They also gave consideration to the Central Committee's document on *Tasks on the Kisan Front*. It has, however, to be kept in mind that the primary task of building the kisan movement is still being neglected.

Guidance to State Committees

On behalf of the CC, the majority of the PB members have to be directly engaged in guiding the activities of some of our important State Committees and some who were facing special problems. The line worked out by the CC in relation to the elections, the formation of Ministry, the line in relation

to mass organizations—all required to be propagated and acted upon to clear away the confusion and lack of clarity that persisted. Apart from the fact that a revisionist outlook still persisted on number of issues, and revisionism still constituted the main danger, the Party line had to be defended and implemented in face of the constant attack from the Left-sectarian trend which, buttressed as it was by support from abroad, often created a lot of confusion in some states. It will not be an exaggeration to say a major part of the central leadership's time was often taken in strengthening the Party ideologically before giving any attention to the other problems.

Besides, major attention had to be given to the functioning of the two Ministries in Kerala and West Bengal, to the implementation of the line in these two states, as it had a vital importance for the activization and radicalization of our main mass base. In almost every Central Committee meeting and in every PB meeting the working of the Ministries was reviewed, weaknesses were pointed out and directions for overcoming them were given. Apart from the two PBMs from West Bengal who had to assume direct responsibility for the implementation of the line, different PB members participated in the State Committee meetings and meetings of other committees. On the question of food policy, Naxalbari, gheraos, the trade union problems, and in the critical days when the fate of the Ministry in West Bengal was hanging in the balance and a big political movement had to be launched—the centre was able to give constant attention to West Bengal and it helped the Party to go ahead confidently in the implementation of the line.

West Bengal saw the rise of a Left-sectarian trend at this period and the central leadership took up the fight against the deviation in right earnest. *People's Democracy* and the Party's Hindi weekly *Swadhinata*, the latter was made into a central organ in 1965, carried a series of articles exposing the pretensions of the Bengal Left-sectarians and blowing up their ideological premises. Between 1966 and 1967, *People's*

Democracy had published a series of articles exposing the revisionist programme and line. Thus the Party was being constantly equipped ideologically to fight both the wrong trends.

Kerala claimed much more attention in the earlier period. In the first place one PB member, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad had to face directly the responsibility of Kerala, denuding the strength of the central leadership. Comrade A. K. Gopalan was to look after the work of the Kisan Sabha and of the Party in Parliament.

The confusion inside the Party in Kerala together with the rise of Left-sectarian trends and the persistence of a revisionist outlook all combined produced at one time a serious situation. The mistakes in the functioning of the Ministry added to the situation. A proper understanding of the Party line was lacking. Besides certain reformist mistakes committed at the time of the elections—failure to follow CC's directions regarding the choice of candidates, failure to take action against certain comrades for their big lapses in jail—all this led to a critical situation.

The General Secretary had to be deputed to Kerala to report on the Party line and educate the Party. On behalf of the centre, he acknowledged the mistakes made by some leaders in regard to the choice of candidates and also explained the Party line. This resulted in the PB addressing a letter to the Party in Kerala, which went a big way in reassuring the ranks and improving their understanding of the Party line.

The discussion on the Madurai CC documents provided another occasion for educating the ranks in Kerala. In view of the situation there, the CC permitted the State and District Plenums convened to discuss the ideological document, to discuss their work, the political situation and the functioning of the Ministry also. It also permitted the Kerala Plenums to elect new committees on the basis of their discussion.

Five PB members including Comrades E. M. S. Namboodiripad and A. K. Gopalan took part in the conference—Comrades

Sundaryya, Basavapunniah and Ramamurti were the other PBMs—and they guided the discussions. The State Plenum by a big majority adopted the CC document and the State Committee's report and elected a new committee. The District Plenums also elected new committees. At the instance of the Party's state leadership it was decided to relieve Comrade A. K. Gopalan to shoulder the burden of the secretaryship of the State Committee. This, of course, denuded the central leadership still further.

Besides, in this period, the PB members conducted Party schools with attendance of more than a hundred in each. In Kerala almost the entire leadership up to the firka level was covered. This helped tremendously in bringing about ideological unity inside the Party and steel it in the struggle against all erroneous tendencies.

The Madurai document was assailed by the Left-sectarians in a number of states and their challenge had to be met. The biggest assault came from Andhra and to defend the Party line, two PBMs had to attend the District and State Plenums and fight the confusion created in the ranks.

The Plenums in Bihar and Assam were conducted under the guidance of comrades looking after these states. In Maharashtra there was no Plenum but reporting was done by the comrade in charge and the CC members.

In the State Committees and District Committees the CC members guided the discussions, apart from the PB members who were present. Again in almost all the Plenums the PB members participated and helped to defend the Party line.

The splits, defections and the post-Burdwan developments again required the constant attention of a number of PB members on behalf of the CC. The U.P. unit had badly suffered; the Madhya Pradesh unit was also in bad shape; and the biggest blow had come in Andhra.

Comrade B.T. Ranadive went to U.P. to report on the Burdwan Plenum. Comrade Surjeet organised the Madhya Pradesh unit. Several steps were taken to put the U.P. unit

on its feet. The unit has started moving and is showing activity on the kisan front.

But Andhra presented the biggest problem. As previously reported the defectors refused to obey the majority decisions and created a split. Controlling the leadership of many districts they were in a position to bring about a disastrous split. To fight them Comrade P. Sundarayya had to be in Andhra and virtually make it his headquarters. The battle for the Party line had to be waged at all levels. From explanation and reporting in general body meetings to holding of Party schools—all these had to be done. Comrade Sundarayya helped by Comrade M. Hanumantha Rao and by Comrade M. Basavapunniah had to bear the brunt of this battle. Once again this meant a weakening of the central leadership but it had to be faced. As a result of this patient battle, a lot of the Party could be saved, and the mischief of the defectors curbed to some extent.

The fight in defence of the Party Programme, the line on international differences and the immediate tasks of united front was carried on all along the line. As has been already pointed out a series of articles explaining the Party *Programme* and exposing the revisionists were written by Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Comrade B. T. Ranadive. Later on, another series on the revisionist party congress and two series on Left-sectarianism were written by Comrade B. T. Ranadive in *People's Democracy*. A series of articles explaining the Party line on Czechoslovakia has been written by Comrade M. Basavapunniah. At the Burdwan session a detailed reply was given to those who attacked the basic formulations of the Party *Programme*. The articles and speeches were later on published in book form (*Ideological Debate Summed Up*). Besides, the PB in its *Letter To Andhra Comrades* again summed up all the ideological and programmatic issues raised by the Left sectarians. This letter was translated into several languages.

Before the elections and after the resignation of the P. C. Ghosh Ministry in West Bengal and elsewhere, Party

and trade union schools were held and the PBMs conducted them. In West Bengal Party schools for members, and later on for students, were held. In West Bengal a trade union school was held at Asansol which was attended by the trade union cadre from Bihar and West Bengal. A school for students, Party cadres and workers was held in Delhi which was attended by members from Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A school was conducted in Bombay also—to which cadres were called from all over Maharashtra.

At the same time, it has to be recorded that the centre, denuded as it was, could not meet the demand for Party schools which was coming from several states. Nor was it possible to prepare a syllabus for study courses which was decided on at the Calicut meeting of the Central Committee. Similarly the decision to start a theoretical organ of the Party (quarterly) to train and equip members in Party ideology could not be carried out.

Efforts were also made to carry out the trade union line of the Party and educate the cadres on its basis. In the Party schools, in the trade union schools, classes were taken on the kisan organisation and the tasks on the trade union movement. At trade union fraction meetings, the trade union line given in the document was again stressed. In Bombay, a detailed outline was given to draft a resolution on the trade union tasks and weaknesses were pointed out. All these, however, were only the beginning and much remained to be done to make the line a part and parcel of the consciousness of Party members. It seems that the State Committees, at least the majority of them, have not paid enough attention to the implementation of the two documents with the result that the trade union and kisan movements continue in their old rut, unable to overcome some of their major weaknesses.

Mass Struggle

The Party in its earlier documents and again in the *New Situation and Party's Tasks* and other resolutions had repeatedly stated that the mass struggles were growing in this

period and that our comrades must systematically be in the forefront of united struggles. Notwithstanding the many difficulties—internal as well as due to our weakness on the mass front—our comrades and Party units have been waging many a heroic battle on the trade union, kisan and student fronts, braving jails, oppression, victimisation and repression. In this period, while the old bases of the Party with large mass influence continued to develop, the Party could strike roots in new bases and new states and Party members emerged as individual leaders of a number of mass organisations. This does not necessarily indicate that the political influence of the Party has correspondingly grown in these sections. Yet it enables the Party to forge ahead politically and spread its influence.

Among the strikes and big actions conducted under the leadership of our Party comrades, the all-India newspaper employees' strike occupies a prominent place. Comrade Kolhatkar, member of our Central Committee, led the strike as the General Secretary of the Employees' Federation. The strike in the biggest dailies, affecting the press of India's big capitalists, continued for two months and was fought with great solidarity and unity. Once again it was a prolonged struggle against the refusal of the press barons to carry out their commitments and the decisions of the wage board. A settlement could be reached only after a protracted battle and rallying of general support of the people. The strike also showed that the employers are now openly setting at nought the decisions of the official committees in favour of the workers.

In recent months, our comrades on the industrial front have been waging the most protracted and bitterly fought struggles in which the workers resist the employers' retrenchment drive most tenaciously. Struggles extend over months but the spirit of resistance continues. On many occasions the workers have to accept an adverse settlement. Not realising the character of the period of recession and the brutal oppression following it, cadres, ranks and trade union leaders

alike feel sometimes demoralised—the failure to develop political consciousness helping in this process.

A warning of the new period was already given in the document on *Tasks On The Trade Union Front* :

“But now in the coming struggle this must change, for the struggle will be faced with totally different conditions. The working class rights are being rapidly curtailed. The recent struggles, students’ struggles for instance, have been ruthlessly dealt with. The Government is trying to rule with class terror—the police is being instructed not just to maintain ‘law and order’ but hunt out the people with a view to crushing their resistance. All these methods will now be increasingly used against working class struggles, making normal functioning of trade unions during strikes impossible.

“This means that unless the working class militants, the trade union cadres are fired with the spirit of class pride, are inspired to sacrifice their all for their own class and put up with hardships for their class brethren the battle cannot be won. Trade union leaders themselves may have to set examples of personal sufferings and courage to inspire their followers. This ABC has to be repeated today because we will be dealing with totally new cadres who have seen very little of the repression of the earlier years. And in recent years the cadres have been accustomed to the corrupt trade union boss who orders them about and generally does the trick either in the court or private conclaves with the employers.

“To revive the old tradition of militancy, of capacity to sacrifice, of class pride in the union, it is essential to undertake at the earliest the education of new and old cadres and educate them in the real meaning—political and class meaning—of the impending battle.”

It cannot be said that we armed ourselves fully with this understanding when the offensive started. Yet our record of resistance and struggles shows that we have not faltered in meeting the offensive of our class enemies. The reports with the centre about our struggles are few and the State Committees have not reviewed the experience of the big struggles

to draw lessons and rectify weaknesses in the light of our line and tasks.

However experience is teaching our comrades of the change in the situation and the three big State Committees in their reports observe that struggles are getting more and more prolonged and settlement of demands is by no means easy despite complete solidarity in the ranks of the workers.

Tamil Nadu: In Tamil Nadu several big struggles based on the united front of all trade unions and parties have taken place. In 1966, the Madurai textile workers went on a general strike and our comrades, following correct united front tactics, working for the unity of the workers, were able to forge a united front of all organisations and parties, first neutralising the INTUC leadership and then drawing in their followers. The Tamil Nadu comrades on several occasions developed correct united front tactics, mobilised the entire number of workers concerned and carried forward the movement. But unfortunately they have neither reviewed these struggles nor drawn any lessons from them.

But it is clear that our Party has played a leading role in a large number of struggles that have taken place recently. The workers who took part belonged to different parties. The struggles were long-drawn and concessions or demands were not won easily though the workers stood solidly united. Reports indicate that these struggles have brought the ranks of the DMK trade unions closer to us and a certain differentiation is growing.

The following are some of the important struggles led by us or in which we participated.

1. Textile workers of Coimbatore belonging to CPI(M), Right C.P., HMS, DMK, INTUC, have had to continuously think of struggles to ward off closures, to get wage arrears, etc. And this notwithstanding opposition of INTUC or DMK leaders to strikes. There were two successful hartals in Coimbatore town, the last one being on May 11, 1968.
2. Wimco Match Factory (Madras) struggle of 113 days

- (lathi-charge and police firing took place)—DMK, Congress, CPI(M), Right C.P and “ultra-Left” workers
3. Metal Box workers’ struggle—53 days—DMK workers and DMK-led trade union.
 4. Vadalur Ceramic workers’ struggle—83 days (our leadership in trade union).
 5. Several handloom workers’ struggles of all parties—finally under our leadership, a two weeks’ struggle at Madurai, nearly 1000 arrested.
 6. 40,000 North Arcot district beedi workers’ strike for a fortnight.
 7. Dalmiapuram cement workers’ struggle.
 8. Manali Oil Refinery, 5000 contract workers’ struggle
 9. Some months ago, in the industrial belt adjoining Madras city, in the automobile industry—several struggles.
 10. Hundred bus workers of Trichy Town, new to the trade union movement and our Party, fought for 45 days
 11. Textile workers in Trichy district, magnesite workers in Salem district and workers in some other industries—a number of other smaller struggles, too. (The Riffle Factory workers’ resistance near Trichy, Textool workers, Coimbatore, Salem Seshasayee Paper Mills workers’ struggle, etc.)
 12. The recent firemen’s struggle of Southern and South-Central Railways.

The firemen’s struggle was of course an important struggle which got India wide attention. The solidarity-cum-unity shown under our leadership did not fail to impress wider sections. The union and our comrades were fighting under the most difficult situation as the Railwaymen’s Federation was there to do mischief and the Railway Board was ever ready to use the former against us. It was only our weakness on the other railways that prevented us from using it as a lever to advance the cause of the railway workers.

West Bengal: This is one of the states hit most by recession and the working class has been under constant attack.

The resistance of the working class has grown as can be seen from the following figures:

Total stoppages of work	1965	1966	1967	1968 (up to October)
No. of factories affected	228	244	447	430
No. of workers involved	123,654	154,356	167,259	250,000
No. of mandays lost	1,362,564	2,754,447	6,918,816	9,250,000

The offensive against the workers continued in 1968. According to Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, while at the time of the removal of the U.F. Ministry, the number of strikes was 14, lock-outs 88 involving 42,714 workers, by July 1968 the workers in 106 factories were on strike, lock-outs continued in 86 firms and 38 factories faced closure affecting 110,000 workers.

The unions led by our Party as the leading organised force was in the forefront of the struggles consolidating and expanding our trade union base. The following are some of the important strike-struggles led by us till December last:

Strike Struggles in 1968

- January 11 Continuous strike in Greaves Crompton—continued for more than 5 months.
- January 24 One-day all-India newspaper employees' token strike.
- February 16 One-day token strike of 4 lakh engineering workers.
- February 28 All-India bank employees' token strike (1,70,000 all-India figure).
- March 6 80,000 mercantile firms' employees' token strike.
- March 12 10,000 cinema workers' continuous strike started, it continued for more than 3 months.
- April 5 40,000 LIC employees' token strike against automation.

- April 15 2,50,000 jute workers' and 50,000 cotton textile workers' one-day token strike.
- April 15 10,000 Texmaco workers' continuous strike started, it is still continuing.
- May 10 All-Bengal secondary teachers' token strike
- May 16 One-day state government employees' strike
- June 17 65,000 colliery workers' one-day token strike
- June 25 30,000 municipal employees' one-day strike
- July 12 Durgapur steel workers' strike.
- July 18 Guest, Keen, Williams one-day strike.
- August 12 One-day combined strike in engineering, jute, textile industries involving 7 lakh workers
- September 19 Central government employees' one-day token strike.
- November 7 Continuous strike of petroleum workers.
- November 14 Continuous strike of Bengal Immunity workers (2000).
- December 18 One-day protest strike of Durgapur steel workers.

This list is not exhaustive. In various other concerns and industries, strikes and various other forms of struggles are going on, such as DVC. The employees resort to mass hunger-strikes, by batches, continuous for one week in protest against the threat of retrenchment of nearly 4000 employees. Similarly in the Farakka Barrage Project, nearly 5,000 have been declared surplus—there was mass hunger-strike, subsequently demonstration etc.. In Lloyds and Stewarts, continuous strike was going on from July 1, in protest against retrenchment. There was one-day local bandh in Behala area in solidarity with the workers of India Fan and in protest against goonda attack and police repression. The local bandh was a grand success.

Besides these, there were the token strikes of the central and state employees, the prolonged strike of the newspaper workers, strikes in Burnpur, Howrah Burn Company, M & M., Guest, Keen, Williams, strikes lasting over months and tenaciously fought by the workers.

The strike in Texmaco, the cinema workers' strike, the Greaves Crompton, Howrah Burns and Burnpur were some of the most bitterly fought strikes. In many of these strikes, the workers had to accept adverse settlements but the spirit of resistance and organization did not die out. The above relate only to the year 1968. The year 1967 also saw some big struggles including the protest strike against the dismissal of the U.F. Government.

Our comrades fighting these bitter strike-battles, keeping the solidarity of the workers at all costs and loyally standing by the workers did a glorious job. At the same time it has to be noted that had they kept the Party directives before them they would have succeeded in raising the consciousness of the workers and extending the political base of the Party and ensuring large-scale recruitment for the Party from among the fighting and militant workers.

To the credit of our Party and trade union leadership it should be recorded that they made conscious efforts to rouse the working class to its fraternal duty towards the peasantry and had decided to send workers' volunteers to protect the peasants' crops threatened by the landlords in 1968. They also campaigned among the jute workers for a fair price to the jute farmer.

Due to our leadership of mass actions, the Party has been able to improve its position in the trade union movement. The Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union—membership, 30,000—has now a Party leader as its General Secretary. Till last year's elections, it was in the hands of the revisionists.

Similarly, in the engineering and textile industries, we continue to hold offices and our position in the BPTUC has now improved. Total number of members affiliated to the BPTUC is 350,000. In the last BPTUC elections, we defeated the disruptive game of the revisionists and were able to improve our position. In the new Executive Committee which consists of 71 members, we hold 34 seats, our allies 4, those who generally support us hold another four while the rightists hold 24 and another party five. In contrast, before

last year's elections, in a committee of 67 we were holding 26, rightists 25 and others 16.

Our Party has noted in these struggles that the sense of solidarity among the people is growing. Middle class youths and students come out to support the struggles of workers and peasants at the call of their organizations. New sections of people are joining the struggle. The sense of workers' and peasants' alliance is growing.

Kerala : Kerala is one of main bases of the trade union movement and during the last two years our Party has carried on a number of struggles, fought the disruption created by the revisionists and has succeeded in weakening the hold of the revisionists in a number of places. Though a large number of trade union leaders went with the revisionists, still we were popular among the workers and this helped us to establish and consolidate our position in the trade union movement. We are a more influential and more organised force in the trade union movement than other parties. But only in Cannanore and Kozhikode districts we by ourselves can organise a complete standstill in all the industries. Besides, it should be noted that we are weak in the industrially advanced district of Ernakulam. In the coir industry, where we are a major force, we conducted glorious struggles and the workers were materially benefited and the revisionists were exposed.

Except in Quilon, most of the cashew workers' unions in other districts are under our leadership. The textile, coir, beedi and handloom workers are seriously affected by the crisis, and we are in the forefront of the struggle defending them. We successfully carried on the plantation workers' struggle and were able to change the wage board's decisions to some extent. We conducted the toddy tappers' struggle in Ernakulam district and the struggle for gratuity, wage-increase and provident fund in Alleppey district. This has put us in a strong position inside the Tappers' Federation and therefore the revisionists started organising rival unions. The Beedi-Cigar Workers' Federation is led by our comrades, both the General Secretary and the President are Party members.

While conducting these strikes, there was a tendency among some comrades to lapse into economism and hurl a tirade against our Ministry and thus play the Congress game. There was also a tendency to fall a victim to revisionist provocation and form new unions without preparing mass support. In a number of cases our trade union leaders correctly formed new unions as the rightists had lost all support and at the same time they were refusing to function the old unions.

We have organised a union of ours among the State Road Transport Corporation workers and also in Fertilisers and Chemicals. Recently we have organised a Federation of Toddy Tappers' Unions in Kerala, which has a backing of 22,000 employees. In the plantation industry we have organised a separate union in the Kodumon Plantations (Government) and now we are in a majority there. But we have lost our organizational leadership in Munnar area, since the leadership went to the rightists. Though a sizable number of workers there are politically with us, we have yet to organise them under our leadership. Also in Palapally Estate we have lost our leadership due to the combined positions taken by the extremists and the rightists. Now some disruptive activities against our trade unions are started by Kosal Ramdas in State Road Transport Corporation and Electricity employees' unions. The extremists have some hold among the State Transport Corporation workers as well as in the Electricity NMR unions.

In Travancore Rayons Employees Union we lost our leadership and we have taken steps to recapture it. Now we are faced with a combined attack from the extremists and rightists in the trade union front.

We have organised new sub-committees and fractions in all the statewide unions functioning in the state. In the plantation sector (Government) we have got one rupee increase more than the wages decided by the Rubber Wage Board. A joint agitation and a strike took place in private plantations for wage-increase. In the coir industry at Alleppey we have organised our own unions and brought the majority of workers under our hold. We have secured sizable concessions from

the employers. In the coir-yarn making sector we have organised unions in Trivandrum, Quilon and Ernakulam districts and we have conducted struggles for wage-increase and got slight increments in wages. In Quilon district we have organised our own unions in all the industries. The cashew industry is facing a crisis. Thousands are rendered unemployed. We are yet to find a solution. Four textile factories are closed for which solution is not yet in sight. In the coir sector and handloom sector severe unemployment problem is there.

For the toddy-tappers, we were able to get sizable wage increase. In the Government and quasi-Government industries sizable wage-increase and other benefits were secured by our organised efforts.

In Kerala, besides, the Party started taking in right earnest the struggle against the policies of the Centre.

A Save Democracy Fortnight was observed from February 2, 1968, to protest against the Centre's discrimination against Kerala on food and the Centre's policy of toppling non-Congress Governments. Demonstrations were organised when Smt Indira Gandhi visited Trivandrum. Towards the end of March, a kisan demonstration of 25,000 was organised to demand speeding up of land reforms. Since May, the Party took up the question of fighting the Centre and started on its independent activity, all the while requesting other parties to join the struggle. The Kerala bandh in October involving more than a lakh of workers was the result of this agitation. This was followed by a united strike of thousands of plantation workers which we are jointly conducting along with others.

The Party's lead in the central government employees' strike, the Ministry's open support to it and refusal to carry out repression against the striking employees have galvanised the situation further in our favour.

Other States : In Mysore also we have participated in or held many of the recent important strikes. The strike of the Kirloskar Electric Factory workers in Bangalore, the Kirloskar Factory workers in Harihar and Hubli, the strike of the em-

ployees of the central government industries in Bangalore, the struggle of the textile workers in Bangalore, the prolonged struggle of the tile workers in Mangalore and general strike there for one day in support of the same, the one-day strike by the beedi workers in Mangalore, the struggle of the engineering workers in Harihar, cement workers in Bagalkot, etc., and several other working class actions have taken place in this period. The bank and insurance employees have also gone into action for their demands.

In Maharashtra, in recent times, our Party and its trade unions have led a number of prolonged and militant strikes. The strike of Greaves Cotton lasting over 4 months; earlier the strike of Firestone employees in the city of Bombay; a large number of strikes in the Thana belt; the big strike of handloom workers in Icholkanj and earlier in Bhiwani; and the militant movement for reopening of the closed textile mills in Vidarbha in which hundreds were arrested and there was mass defiance of section 144. This was a movement in which our comrades participated along with the local Forward Bloc leader. The Party also organised industrial conferences and demonstrations in support of Vietnam and the French workers' struggle.

Andhra Pradesh : During this period, especially during 1967, State Road Transport workers (16,000 employees), Kothagudem Colliery workers, ILTD (Indian Leaf Tobacco) workers went on strike, for increased DA, revision of pay-scales and against retrenchment. We participated vigorously in these strike struggles but the revisionists led them and withdrew them accepting certain conditions harmful to the workers.

We led agitation of the municipal and Highways employees against retrenchment and for certain other demands. Retrenchment was stopped.

Jute mill workers' strike in Eluru, Shipyard staff employees' strike in Visakhapatnam, motor workers' strikes in Nellore, Guntur and Vijayawada, have succeeded in getting some of their demands conceded.

The South-Central Railway Firemen's struggle was successful. It drew the attention of the whole of India to the excessively long hours which they are being made to work and the Railway Minister was forced to agree to reduce it immediately to 12 hours from the time of signing—on and to appoint a commission to go further into the matter.

Large-scale retrenchment of elementary teachers to the extent of 30,000 was contemplated by the Government and also the age of retrenchment was reduced from 60 to 55 years, thus endangering the services of large number of teachers. Their state organization conducted a wide and continuous agitation, and as a result retrenchment was stopped and the High Court quashed the Government order reducing the age limit for retirement.

But here again, with the passing away of Comrade Ch. Lakshmayya, President of the Elementary Teachers' Federation, the revisionists on one side and the "ultras" on the other have split the organization.

On the whole, among the working class and in the organised trade union movement, after the demise of Comrade K. I. Narasimham, our Party leader, we have become a very small force; the revisionists with their bureaucratic methods dominate the existing unions and are eliminating us from the unions. Now the "ultras" have started further splitting these unions.

Recently, in Rajasthan, a number of strikes have been led by us—strikes in which a large number of our trade union comrades are being persecuted. The strikes have served to improve the position of our Party in the trade union movement and the working class.

In Punjab also there have been advances. Our comrades were present in the struggle of the railway workers at Pathankot during the September 19 strike.

Kisan Struggles

Tripura : Our unit in Tripura is undergoing heavy repression. All the leading comrades besides several other of our valiant comrades have been in jail once again for nearly a

year from February 1968. They include Comrade Dasarath Deb, a CC member, Comrade Nripen Chakravarty, Biren Dutt and several others.

Nonetheless our Party in Tripura has been carrying on a valiant struggle. We have struck deep roots in the adivasi areas and the movement against unjust levy and for zoom cultivable lands led to resistance in these areas. The police firing and mass arrests transformed the spontaneous movement into a mass protest under our leadership. In some places, the levy collection was very poor. Adivasi women participated in the movement with great enthusiasm and militancy.

Bihar : In Bihar, our Party leading the Kisan Sabha is engaged in leading the kisans in their struggle for land. The struggle in Champaran district embraces two hundred villages and the other covers about fourteen adjoining police station areas of Purnea, North Bhagalpur, North Monghyr and Saran. The fight is for the distribution of ten thousand acres of alluvial land to the landless and the second is directed against the brutal oppression and illegal eviction by feudal land-grabbers. In the former, the peasants occupied the lands and police were set in motion. One peasant was killed and hundreds arrested.

In the other struggle the peasants are face to face with the most blatant type of feudal land-ownership—pitted against landlords who own not less than 30,000 acres each. The organised resistance of the peasantry against eviction, against feudal torture and atrocities has brought the police on the scene, and hundreds of peasants were beaten and arrested. Several are still in jail. But the peasants by their heroic resistance have succeeded in stopping eviction and oppression over a wide area. Everyday the united action of the peasants grows stronger and any attempt at eviction is collectively resisted. The urge to unity found expression in the anti-eviction conference held last June in the village of Naisalganj which has now become the symbol of peasant unity.

Andhra Pradesh : In Andhra, our Party comrades and kisan leaders are facing a reign of terror—combined terror

of the police, and landlord goondas, and valiantly resisting it. Murders, hacking of limbs, belabouring, looting, raping and mass jailings, police firings and lathi-attacks—every weapon of repression and torture is used against the agricultural workers and poor peasants who loyally stand by the Party in the struggle against exploitation and oppression.

After the Seventh Party Congress, our comrades turned their main attention to work among the agricultural labourers. Even when the whole leadership was in jail, in Nalgonda district in about 200 villages, agitation and struggles were conducted for wage increases and the annual wages for farm servants were increased. The interest in kind ("Nagu") was reduced from 100 per cent to 20 per cent. Again, in 1966, in about 80 villages in the same district, in a period of food scarcity, our comrades mobilized the people and forced the landlords to sell the grain at controlled rates.

In Guntur, West Godavary and Krishna districts, in about 150 villages, agricultural labour agitated and organised strikes and achieved daily wage increases during replanting, harvest or tobacco curing seasons.

In the forest belt of Khammam and Warangal districts, in 1967 and 1968, 30,000 girijans (tribal people) participated in agitation and strikes and got the rates for "beedi leaf" gathering increased from 3 paise to 5 paise per packet of 100-150 leaves. In Bhadrachalam division, the tribal people went on strike, refusing to do *begar* in forest work of the Government.

In Nalgonda, Khammam and Warangal districts and in Ibrahimpatnam taluk of Hyderabad district and in Repalle and Bhimavaram taluks of the Coastal districts, agitation and struggles were continuously carried on during 1966-1968 against landlords' efforts to evict the peasants cultivating the wastelands (banjar lands) and forest lands, from tens of thousands of acres. Because of our agitation it was not possible for the landlords to evict them from the lands, and the Government was forced to grant pattas on about two lakh acres during the last two years.

It is to suppress these struggles that intensive terror and repression was let loose by landlords and their armed goondas actively aided by the police. More than 4000 persons are being prosecuted during this period in various cases.

In Srikakulam district, the girijans movement in Parvatipuram agency tract, was developed by our Party during the last ten years, and especially during 1964-1968. It was able to get the farm servants' annual wages raised by from ten quintals of paddy to 30-40 quintals; for harvesting and threshing grain on one acre from Rs. 5 to 30; abolished the *begar* of womenfolk of the farm servant who used to be paid Rs. 5 per year and got them 10 quintals per year. The Girijan Union was able to force the Government and landlords to supply rice at controlled rates and prevented the locally produced grain from being taken outside the area; it also got increased prices for forest produce gathered by the tribals. It has developed a widespread agitation for restoration of the lands seized by the landlords and moneylenders back to the tribals.

Now this whole movement is wholly in the hands of the "ultras" and tremendous police repression is let loose there. Our efforts to send some parliamentary delegation and even send Sarvodaya leaders like Sri Nabakrishna Chowdhury to those areas, to expose police terror are rebuffed by the "ultras".

The Agricultural Labour Union of Andhra Pradesh had 110,000 members in 1966-67. But the revisionists broke away from it and set up a rival organization. Now during 1968, due to the "ultra" defection, we did not renew membership of this organization.

West Bengal : In West Bengal, the kisan movement has passed through valuable and varied experience during the period. It worked actively for the defeat of the Congress in the last elections. The formation of the United Front Ministry with the participation of Kisan Sabha spread to new areas in each district.

Basing on the organized strength of the peasant movement and utilising the new opportunities it successfully resisted

the widespread eviction offensive. Eviction of sharecroppers, was stopped wherever there was any Kisan Sabha unit existing. The organised poor peasants also intervened in many places for the distribution of surplus lands amounting to tens of thousands of acres; they occupied thousands of acres of vested lands as well as riverbank lands in some districts and had them regularised: they occupied and cultivated several thousand acres of landlords' lands which the landlords had kept under their ownership by mala fide transfers. They also took some initiative in unearthing *benami* lands.

After the overthrow of the U.F. Ministry, the organised peasants actively participated in every district in the struggle for defence of democracy. They also fought against the attacks of the landlords and the police and mainly succeeded in harvesting the crop they cultivated

One of the features of the peasant movement is to retain the gains achieved during the U.F. Ministry. Under the U.F. the vested land distributed among the poor peasants amounted to nearly 230,000 acres. After the removal of the U.F. Ministry, there have been attempts to dispossess the peasants of this land in many places. But in the majority of the cases the peasants have been able to retain them and in some places they have been able to recover *benami* lands. The peasants' struggles for land have developed and spread in the districts of 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Cooch Behar, Murshidabad, Malda, West Dinajpur, Birbhum, Howrah and Hooghly. In some of these struggles there have been clashes with jotdars and the police. The peasants are boldly facing it and going ahead.

Tamil Nadu : Though Tamil Nadu has not seen peasant struggles for land or other demands, it has seen some of the most bitterly fought struggles of agricultural workers for better wages. The struggle in November was one in which the DMK Government used repression against the agricultural workers and helped the landlords to organise strike-breaking. Hundreds of workers were arrested and jailed. But our comrades valiantly led the struggle against the landlords, who had deliberately violated the agreement about

wage rates. Similar struggles had broken out in the earlier part of the year and were decisively led by us. Once again we had to fight the bureaucracy, the pro-landlord attitude of the DMK Ministry and carry on the struggle firmly. It was for this that one of the Ministers chose us for attack and directed his fire against our Party.

Kerala : In Kerala, the rural masses in recent times had their attention concentrated on the food agitation against the Centre. Several jathas of people marching from one end of Kerala to another, rousing the people, and covering the entire state in a period of one month, have galvanised the situation leading to the Kerala bandh of October 23. In this the mass of agricultural workers and poor peasants participated. Besides, the attention of the peasants has been fixed on the Agrarian Relations (Amendment) Bill and distribution of surplus land.

In recent months, the struggle of agricultural workers has been forging ahead after the organization of an agricultural workers' conference on the initiative of the Party. In September the people of Palghat organised a Palghat bandh and the agricultural workers who were already struggling for their demands went on a districtwide strike on that day. With the beginning of the harvesting season struggles for increased wages broke out all over the district. While settlement was reached in many places, the Congress and its Karshak Sangh organised goonda attacks in some places to terrorise the workers.

Uttar Pradesh : Our Party and Kisan Sabha in Uttar Pradesh are participating in demonstrations and struggles for wasteland, for higher wages for agricultural workers. In Faizabad, Gorakhpur, Sultanpur there have been big demonstrations and struggles for these demands. In these struggles the harijan agricultural workers are mercilessly attacked and beaten by the landlords and police and unspeakable brutalities are perpetrated on harijan women.

Punjab : The Dehati Mazdoor Sabha in Punjab has taken initiative to unite the struggles of the agricultural workers

and in many places has succeeded in getting increased wages. Reports from Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana and other districts show that the khet mazdoors through their struggles and organization have succeeded in getting increase in their wages. In many places the agricultural workers helped by the poor peasants succeeded in overcoming the resistance to their demands. In many places, they could secure a daily wage of Rs. 4 with food in place of the present Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3 per day. These struggles and victories have encouraged the leaders of the Dehati Mazdoor Sabha to extend the demand for increased wages to other areas. An anti-eviction struggle is going on in Jullundur district where the Government wants to eject the peasants to take their land for a seed farm.

In Maharashtra the struggle for higher wages of the Warli peasants resulted this year also in a favourable settlement.

Students

West Bengal : Last year, in 109 colleges students' union elections were held and out of that we won 76 college students' unions.

Up to the Puja vacation this year, 65 college students' union elections were held and out of 65, we captured 43.

Chatra Sangram is the organ of our organisation which is the only regularly published fortnightly paper by the students in the state. The circulation of *Chatra Sangram* is fluctuating though we cannot meet the demand due to shortage of funds. At present its circulation is 4,000. We are mainly publishing students' news and politically analysing our line of action; sometimes we are translating appropriate political writings. This journal is also fighting the reactionaries, revisionists and the sectarians.

We are launching membership campaign throughout the year but actually the campaign gets momentum at the time of the new session as the membership is for the academic session. This year we have given the call of enrolling one lakh members, but up till now we have enrolled round about

45,000 as members in the SF. This membership campaign will continue till the end of the academic year.

In the sphere of the students' movement our organization is in the leadership and almost the entire democratic progressive students' movement of the state was guided by our organization since the separation from the right revisionists.

In the year 1964-65, we, on behalf of our organization, first raised the slogan of detenus' release within the student community of West Bengal and our organization led that movement.

The tram-fare resistance movement of 1965 was led by our organization within the students.

In the historic food movement and in the 1966 movement for democratic rights, our organisation played a glorious role. Our organization was also the leader in the movement against the curtailment of democratic rights of the students in 1966.

In the year 1967 we were engaged in our organizational consolidation through district conventions and conferences and finally by the state conference of our organization. Formally, from this year, we started the ideological fight against Left-sectarian politics and launched a big movement with the 22-point education 'demand-charter'. We also launched the movement against the reactionary education policy of the Government and against the provincial and communal design of the reactionaries. In the last part of that year, we launched a strong movement for 'Save Democracy' and against the conspiratorial actions of the central Government including the action of Governor Dharma Vira. At that time we initiated the United Students' Action Committee and through that action committee we fought against the repressive policy of the reactionary illegal Government of Dr. P. C. Ghosh. In 1968, up to the proclamation of 'President's rule' our 'Save Democracy' movement was continued. We again started the movement with the 'Education Demand Charter' for the solution of the students' own problems and simultaneously raised our voice for immediate mid-term poll in our state and all through this period, we propagated the plan and the

programme of the United Front of our state. Since 1964, we are also launching the movement against the imperialist penetration and expressing our solidarity with the people's liberation movements in different countries particularly the heroic struggle of the Vietnam people.

As we are concentrating on changing the character of the students' movement and have been successful in turning the students' movement from a seasonal to a continuous character; we are also constantly trying to make the students the main auxiliary force in the workers' and peasants' struggle, finally to make them part and parcel of the democratic movement. In this connection, we like to mention the solidarity rally for Texmaco workers, newspaper employees, anti-automation (LIC and others), striking government employees, etc., in the workers' and employees' sector; and the rally for the peasant movements in Sonarpur (24-Parganas), Barasat and Baruipur (24-Parganas), Dhupguri of North Bengal, etc. It should be noted that at the time of the Jay Engineering workers' strike we observed solidarity, students' strike—that was the first all-Bengal students' strike purely in solidarity with workers and toiling people. This time also for supporting the demands of the striking newspaper employees, we observed a successful all-Bengal students' strike on September 4, 1968.

On September 13, a mammoth students' rally was held at the Calcutta University Campus under the independent call of our organisation for (a) immediate mid-term poll in the state, (b) withdrawal of 'security force' from the North Bengal Campus, (c) withdrawal of cases against the students of Uttarpara Pearymohan College and North Bengal University, (d) release of detenus, (e) more seats in the different faculties of Calcutta University, including law, etc.

One of the achievements of the West Bengal Committee of the Party was the formation of a youth organisation. Just before the state conference more than 36,000 members were enrolled. At present the number is 42,000. Working class, peasant and middle class youths are being enrolled.

Tamil Nadu : In Tamil Nadu after a long number of years, the students have come forward to organise a branch of the All-India Students' Federation. The urge and the need for this arose from the innumerable struggles against student victimisation and on several other issues. The fact that the students have organised themselves in the Students' Federation and are looking to Party leaders for guidance shows the new political mood of the students. The monopoly of the Congress and DMK over the students is breaking and they are evidently getting disillusioned with them. The conference was presided over by Comrade N. Sankaraiah, a member of the CC, and inaugurated by Comrade K. Muthiah, editor of our Tamil Party paper. The open session was attended by not less than five thousand students. The conference was a representative gathering drawing students from far off places.

Kerala : The student front was neglected for a long time. In August 1967, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad held a school for 50 comrades working on this front. This was followed by the Palghat Convention. Certain Party members, under Left-sectarian influence, went against the Party line and indulged in disruptive activities in the Federation. However, the overwhelming majority of students following the Federation remained in the Party. Party paid close attention to this front and new office-bearers were elected by convening a special convention. All district units of the Federation except the Palghat unit remained under the leadership of the Party. The Federation has considerable influence among the mass of students though the Congress continues to have more influence at the Kerala state level. A summer camp was held for students and a programme was chalked out. Recently the students fought the anarchic action of the Congress students directed against our Ministry. They have also been active in struggles for students' demands, leading demonstrations and processions.

One of the recent achievements was the formation of the Kerala Socialist Youth Federation in June 1968.

Andhra Pradesh : In 1965, our comrades took the lead in

organising the strike of Tirupati University students. Our students also took a leading part in the anti-Hindi-imposition agitation.

In 1966, in the agitation for the steel plant, students took the leading part.

In 1967, 15,000 students in Guntur agitated and fought against the rise in hotel rates and secured reduction.

In the same year, students all over the Andhra area under the jurisdiction of the Andhra University conducted strike struggles against modified regulations and got them partially changed.

In 1967 itself, students of the Osmania University as well as high school students went on strike against the tuition-fee-increase. Students of the Tirupati University again went on strike against increase in tuition fee and change in the system of examination. In December of the same year, high school students of the Andhra University area went on strike.

But now, an overwhelming majority of students who were coming towards the Party, have gone over to the "ultras"

Punjab: In the state of Punjab, the students' organisation under our leadership has started forging ahead.

There is a big renewal of student movement in Punjab during the last two months, prolonged student struggles have taken place in Ludhiana and Bhatinda and college students from all over the state have come out in sympathy. Lathi-charges and firings could not crush the unity and solidarity of the students. Ultimately the Governor had to accept their demands.

The above is a bare resume of the activities of our Party among the masses. It is a record full of heroism of the masses under our leadership; a record of devoted and steadfast work by our Party comrades in defence of the masses, forging new links of the Party with the masses and widening its mass base and influence. It must be recorded that within the short time since our release from prison our comrades have done their best to reforge old links which the Government sought to break, rebuild the mass organizations under

our leadership which the Government tried to smash in co-operation with the revisionists. The fact that our comrades have been successful in a large measure to recapture our old influence and extend it shows the steadfast devotion of the masses for the Party—a devotion which the Party has earned through its loyalty to the people, its current political line and its firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

Parliamentary Fraction

While two PB members are members of Parliament and continue to guide parliamentary activities, it has to be admitted that the guidance of the PB and the CC as a whole, in the shape of review of parliamentary work, direct intervention and guidance on political issues, has been rare. Besides, the two PB members themselves are unable to guide the fraction constantly. Comrade A. K. Gopalan has been given the responsibility of functioning as the Secretary of the Kerala State Committee; besides, he has been very ill. Comrade P. Ramamurti is also saddled with multifarious responsibilities. The laxity created by this state of affairs has resulted in the fact that since the Madurai session of the Central Committee there has been no report to the CC on our activities in Parliament.

There are also no reports from the states (except Kerala) on our activities in the state legislatures.

This reveals a very bad state of affairs and represents a lapse from Leninist norms.

In his *Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International* placed before the Second Congress of the International, Lenin said: "In particular, there is a group or cell of communists that deserves exceptional attention and care from the Party, i.e., the parliamentary group of Party members, who are deputies to bourgeois representative institutions (primarily the national, but also local, municipal, etc., representative institutions). On the one hand, it is this tribune which is held in particular regard by large sections of the toiling masses, who are backward or imbued with

petty-bourgeois prejudices; it is therefore imperative for communists to utilise this tribune to conduct propaganda, agitation and organisational work...On the other hand, the entire history of bourgeois democracy, particularly in the advanced countries, has converted the parliamentary rostrum into one of the principal, if not the principal, venues of unparalleled fraudulency, financial and political deception of the people, careerism, hypocrisy and oppression of the working people. The intense hatred of the parliament felt by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is therefore quite justified. The Communist Parties and all parties affiliated to the Third International—especially those who have not arisen by splitting away from the old parties and waging a long and persistent struggle against them but through the old parties accepting (often nominally) the new stand—should therefore adopt a most strict attitude towards their parliamentary groups; the latter must be brought under the full control and direction of the Central Committees of the Parties; they must consist, in the main, of revolutionary workers; speeches by members of parliament should be carefully analysed in the Party press and at Party meetings, from a strictly communist standpoint; deputies should be sent to carry on agitational work among the masses; those who manifest Second International leanings should be expelled from the parliamentary groups, etc.”

In terms of these norms the CC and the PB have failed to guide the parliamentary activities at the Centre. No doubt the PB and the Central Committee laid down certain norms for the individual behaviour and functioning of Ministers, members of legislatures and Parliament and asserting the supremacy of the Party.

Ministers, MLAs and MPs were asked to treat all their emoluments as Party money. They can only spend such amounts as would be sanctioned by the Party. The amount sanctioned for MLAs was not to exceed Rs. 300 per month and those for MPs not to exceed Rs. 500 per month. Ministers and legislators were asked to submit their assets and liabilities

to the State and Central Committees. Strict rules were laid down for Ministers who were asked not to accept private receptions and dinners.

Some instances of violations of these instructions were noted in the beginning and the comrades were corrected. But, subsequently, there have been no reports about how these directives are being implemented. So far as the members of Parliament are concerned, levies are being paid though there might be lapses in some cases. Recent reports and accounts have not reached the centre.

But the main failure is in connection with political guidance. It may be safely stated that the CC never discussed the functioning of the Central Parliamentary Fraction and our activities in Parliament **except once**; and that the PB has also very rarely discussed our parliamentary activity at the centre in the light of our line **and** the role we assign to Parliament.

In the report submitted to the Madurai session of the CC it was stated, "Our work in Parliament could have been much better but for the fact that most of our comrades are new and not well-equipped. There is general lethargy for hard work to equip themselves and a tendency to get readymade notes from the office. Sometimes the note given by the office is ill-digested and bloomers are committed. Fortunately, since these have come from junior comrades, they have gone unnoticed in public.

"Again the tendency to look at problems from the local or constituency point of view often predominated. The all-India viewpoint and the fact that our Party has to use parliamentary forum to put across its all-India policy gets blurred. This was seen in the debate on food.

"Persistent and sustained efforts have to be made to overcome these weaknesses if we are to utilise Parliament as a weapon which would help the development of the democratic struggle."

The PB and the CC have to admit that they have not politically assessed our work in Parliament much less the performance of individual comrades.

After the Madurai session of the CC, PB sent a circular to MPs calling a meeting in May 1968 and detailing out the agenda which included all the necessary political items. But for various reasons, the matter could not be pursued.

Central Organs

At present, the Centre is running *People's Democracy* and *Hindi Swadhinata*. The PB and the CC occupied with the many issues and diversion created by Left adventurism which absorbed the attention of the PB could not discuss the running of these organs, give them guidance and check and overcome their weaknesses.

At the same time it must be noted that one source of weakness is the fact that hardly any CC member and few PB members contribute to the Party organ. Howsoever hard-pressed one might be by other work, PBMs and CCMs have to contribute fairly regularly to the central organs if they are to reflect the collective experience and consciousness of the Party. It must be noted, besides, that several CCMs have been approached individually several times but the requests have always drawn blank.

Apart from the editor, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad is the only PB member whose articles appear fairly regularly in *People's Democracy*. Here also the articles are not specially written for *People's Democracy*. They are written in other journals from which we take them.

Comrade M. Basavapunniah and Comrade Surjeet have also contributed from time to time. Among the CC members, Comrade Achintya Bhattacharyya has been a fairly regular contributor till recently. And Comrade H. Konar has also contributed and carried out assignments given to him.

Both *People's Democracy* and *Swadhinata* have been heavily understaffed and it is through sheer grit and over-work that the comrades and the staff are able to bring out the issues in time.

A handicap of the paper is that we have no correspondents in the states and in spite of requests the state leaderships have

been unable to assign anyone to the job. This puts a terrific strain on *People's Democracy* comrades who have to translate reports appearing in the organs of the State Committees.

The result of all this has been a fall in the circulation.

A glance at the sales distribution will show that the sales of both the papers will easily increase much beyond the present figure if the State Committees and local Party units adopt a proper Party attitude towards the Party papers. This outlook has been absent. It seems to be nobody's business in the states to push the sales of central organs. It seems to have been forgotten that one of the elementary duties of Party units is to spread Party literature.

Hindi *Swadhinata* also has partly suffered from this indifference. The comrades and units in Hindi-speaking areas have not made it their Party duty to increase the circulation of the paper, to utilise it as an instrument for the advance of the Party. That is why West Bengal absorbs the largest number of copies than all the Hindi-speaking areas put together.

If the papers are to serve as an instrument of the Party, help the Party in attracting all the conscious elements towards it, not only the units must change their attitude towards it; both the papers must register improvement, raise their quality, and that, too, substantially, and combine attractive journalism with the Party's politics.

Vietnam Solidarity Campaign

The PB, the Central Committee and the entire Party have used all occasions to enlighten our people on the great struggle of the Vietnamese people and to forge brotherly ties between the people of Vietnam and the people of India. Our central party organ, *People's Democracy* and *Swadhinata* have been popularising the cause of Vietnam and exposing the barbarities of the U.S. imperialists. At the call of the Central Committee, our Party units have held innumerable meetings and demonstrations demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from the soil of Vietnam. At each meeting of the Central

Committee our Party has raised the issue. It has condemned the Government of India for its hypocritical role, for snapping trade ties with North Vietnam under American pressure and for starting trade relations with South Vietnam.

In July 1966, our West Bengal unit held one of the biggest rallies in support of Vietnam. In June 1967, the Polit Bureau gave a call to observe July 20 as Vietnam Day with mass meetings and demonstrations in urban centres. It said, "Vietnam has become for all progressive mankind the hinge on which turns the question whether to allow the U.S. to impose colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia or whether the Asian countries will rise as one man and rout the U.S., defend their freedom, democracy and national independence. Such is the meaning and significance of the formulation that Vietnam has become the focal point of all world contradictions." Following this call innumerable meetings and demonstrations were held in different states. The Party and the CC continue to keep Vietnam in the forefront.

At the Jaipur session of the CC in 1968, the CC again called for solidarity with Vietnam and gave "its fullest support to the stand of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its current talks with the US delegation in Paris".

Acclaiming the magnificent victories of the people of Vietnam, the resolution stated, "Now is the time to give all our support as never before to the Vietnamese people, to demand the U.S. stop its war of aggression and get out of Vietnam. The Central Committee strongly condemns the policy of the Government and calls on the Indian people to unleash the strongest movement to compel the Government of India to change its policy."

While presenting the report of the CC and detailing out its positive achievements, one cannot be blind to its weaknesses, its failures to discharge certain important jobs and implement decisions—political and organisational. In assessing these latter, note must be taken of the attacks of Left-adventurism on the Party which absorbed the PB and CC's attention for a long time.

Nonetheless, these shortcomings have to be noted.

The shortcomings in relation to the Party organs and the Central Parliamentary Fraction have already been referred to. It has also been pointed out that guidance to mass struggles has been given only in a few cases. In the absence of reports from the State Committees review of trade union and kisan struggles could not be done.

Hence, it is difficult to assess how seriously the trade union and kisan line is being implemented on these fronts. The failure on the part of the State Committees to send reports to the CC is part of the growth of federalism inside the Party of which the organisational report has taken note. However, on the occasions when the PB and CC gave guidance they endeavoured to implement the line strictly and fought all erroneous tendencies. Some states only recently reported on the difficulties encountered in carrying out the trade union line but these have yet to be assessed. It is also not known whether any State Committee has reviewed the experience of recent struggles in the light of the Party's line on the mass front.

While laying down a correct political and ideological line the PB and the CC could not always carry out the organisational decisions. It was decided in the CC meeting at Calicut to have a quarterly theoretical organ of the Party whose contents were to be made available in all the languages. The PB and the CC could not implement the decision. Similarly, it was decided to prepare study syllabus and run Party schools on behalf the centre. This decision also has remained unimplemented. When certain organisational steps were taken in most of the states in view of the critical political situation, the major decisions of the document on *Tasks on Party Organization* remained unimplemented in a large number of states. The PB and the CC could not constantly check whether the decisions were being executed.

A continuous organizational check-up has been lacking and this has been one of the major weaknesses of the CC's functioning.

STATE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

The Central Committee Resolution on *Tasks on Party Organization* has pointed out how deep are the inroads made by right opportunism and revisionism into the methods of our Party organization and how "during all these years not only our political line was revisionist but organizational practices and changes in our Party Constitution were also of a right revisionist character". "In our drive for a mass Party we have reduced the standard and quality of a Party member to that of a militant or a striker and reduced the Party organizational structure to one that is suited only for parliamentary activity, to one of a social-democratic variety".

We must keep in mind this legacy, this serious drawback in our Party, which has been persisting since we started reorganizing our Party on correct Marxist-Leninist line, after 1964 from our Calcutta Congress onwards. In spite of the severest repression and detention of about 1,200 leaders of our Party for eighteen months, and in spite of the short space of time which we had, about one year after we could correctly and elaborately pin down our mistakes in our CC resolution of November, 1967, *Tasks On Party Organisation*, our advance on Party organisation has been on correct lines and quite significant.

Even before our units seriously studied this document and tried to apply it to the concrete situation in their respective areas, our leadership at the centre, state and district levels had to concentrate all their attention to fight and root out the Left-adventurist line which a group of comrades persisted in advocating among the Party ranks, violating all norms of Party organization and discipline, in the course of our inner-Party discussion on "the differences on ideological issues in the international communist movement". In West Bengal, our whole Party was engaged from November 1967 in a big democratic struggle against the imposition of Dr. P. C. Ghosh puppet Ministry by the Governor, and to get a democratic non-Congress Government back through another verdict of the electorate. As such it had not been possible

for the Party leadership to give the necessary attention and guidance to Party units and take up this important task. All that we can say is that we have just started to take up this key task.

We have not received detailed reports' on the state of Party organization from the states. Hence the picture given below is based on the meagre information which we have at the centre. As such it cannot be comprehensive (but is merely illustrative) nor be as useful as it could have been to draw the necessary lessons fully for immediate guidance and practice.

I. Party Membership During 1964-68

1. Instability of Party Membership: The table in Appendix gives the Party membership statewise, at the time of the Seventh Party Congress in 1964; in 1967 before the Left-adventurist disruption; and now in 1968.

Our membership including candidates has come down from about 1,19,000 to about 82,000 in 1967 before the "Left" defections and now it stands at 76,425 of whom full Party members are 65,402 and candidates are 11,023.

One feature to be noted here is that the renewal of old members and recruitment of new members in 1966 were at its lowest. One of the reasons was that immediately after the release of comrades, we could not contact all Party members and get them renewed. But if we see the steep fall in Andhra (from about 30,000 to 16,000), in Kerala from 28,000 to 16,000, in U.P. from about 8,500 to 3,500 etc., it should be admitted that the quality and consciousness of our membership in the old united Party from whom we had rallied two-thirds of the total members against revisionism, was in a great number of cases no more than that of a militant and was not that of a communist. Neither in the united Party nor later when we reorganised our Party as CPI (Marxist) were we able to educate and develop those Party members who continued to be in our Party for years, into conscious communists. If only we had been conscious of the elementary and fundamental Party organizational principle that every

'militant' and 'striker' cannot be recruited as a Party member unless he is developed into a communist and had been more careful in recruiting and later in educating them, this pendulum-like swing in the membership of our Party could have been avoided. Certain districts in certain states, and especially in West Bengal, show a consistency that approaches the standards of normal Party membership recruitment.

But even in West Bengal, if we analyse the districtwise Party membership and candidate membership, and its ratio, we find a not very happy state of affairs. For example, in 24-Parganas, in 1967, PMs were 2,659 and candidates 1,195, total being 3,854. But by 1968, with all these candidates having become full members the Party membership excluding new candidates should have been 3,854, but it was only 3,398, i.e., a fall of 456 or about 12 per cent. We do not know whether and how much of this was from the candidates recruited or from the old membership. In Calcutta DC, it is 27 per cent, in Burdwan it is 19 per cent, in Howrah 21 per cent, in Hooghly 24 per cent, Midnapore 24 per cent, Birbhum 24 per cent, Bankura 18 per cent, Malda 17 per cent, West Dinajpur 12 per cent, Nadia 27 per cent, Jalpaiguri 34 per cent, Cooch Behar 37 per cent, Purulia 53 per cent and only in Darjeeling and Murshidabad it is 4 per cent each, and for the whole state it is 19 per cent. Except in 24-Parganas, the other four major districts, Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan show a drop of 20 to 25 per cent in renewal. It is a serious matter to be concerned with. We must probe why this is so and immediately take steps to overcome this serious drawback. (As we do not have figures for the rest of the states, we would like our State Committees to analyse their own figures. Similarly the District Committees must analyse the situation in the locals and in the branches.)

As for the percentage of Party membership who are active or who have pledged that they would strive to fulfil the minimum standards of a Party member there is no mention in any of the reports and as such, on the question of purging

the Party of inactive members or the efforts made by Party units to activate them, we cannot say anything leave alone drawing an all-India picture and drawing necessary conclusions and lessons.

2. *Left Defections* : The number of defections due to the Left adventurist line, we can place at about 7000 throughout India. Statewise figures are given in the table (see Appendix I) as well the number of defections among the delegates at Seventh Congress.

The biggest blow to the Party is in Andhra Pradesh. Out of about 16,000 members in 1967, 9,048 have renewed membership in our Party so far, and 380 are newly recruited as candidates. Out of the remaining 7,000 most vacillating and confused. We could not contact them, as most of these persons are in such districts and taluks where practically the whole district and taluk leadership had gone Left-adventurist. There is a great possibility of winning most of them into our Party as we go on contacting them and campaign and explain our line. At present, those who have definitely gone with the "ultras" number about 3,000.

In the leadership of our Party in Andhra, at the time of the State Plenum in January 1968, of about 233 present only 52 voted for the Central Committee's draft, 158 against and the remaining were neutral or absent. Even of those State Committee members, of 20 who were present only 4 voted for the CC draft, 4 remained neutral and the remaining voted against. Now the position is: of those Plenum delegates 100 are with us (of whom 11 old State Committee members are with us and 10 have been expelled). Of the major districts in Andhra Pradesh, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavary, Khammam, Warangal and Nalgonda, we have been able to retain 75 per cent of the membership in Nalgonda and Warangal; in West Godavari and Khammam 90 per cent; in Krishna 50 per cent and Guntur 35 per cent.

The "ultras" have not been able to consolidate themselves into an organised group on a statewide or even a districtwise basis. They are quarrelling about the political line and about

immediate action. The youth and student sections are for immediate action while the older leaders are advising them restraint. With some adventuristic isolated actions and some anarchist deeds, with the repression in full swing, many of the participants and suspected participants are surrendering to the Congress and to the police, revealing all their secrets. Some of their key persons have already become inactive or demoralised or have left politics. In Nellore, Vijayawada and Khammam town, and in some other places, they have degenerated into attacking our comrades, waylaying them individually.

It is the younger section which was looking towards our Party that has been for the time being diverted into wrong channels. And it is in Srikakulam district where the girijan movement was developing well that they have led it seriously astray. Further, they are providing an alibi by their tactics for the Congress Government to intensify their police brutalities, backing up and encouraging the landlord-goonda attacks in Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Because of this large-scale defection which the bourgeoisie goes on exaggerating day in and day out, a demoralising effect on the general public about the ability of the communist movement in Andhra Pradesh to lead the people is created.

Next to be noted is the defections in U.P. and Kashmir. In Uttar Pradesh, Shiv Kumar Misra was able to take away with him half the State Committee and half of the District Committee members, in major districts like Ballia, Azamgarh and Kanpur, and, on the whole, half of the Party membership.

In Jammu and Kashmir, our unit was confined mainly to Jammu. We could not keep in close contact with this unit. The leadership, especially the Central Committee member, Ram Pyara Saraf, taking an "ultra" position, was able to swing over the whole of the state leadership to his line. We have not been able to reorganise the unit there, because we are not yet in a position to send a trusted and capable comrade there. We have received reports which go to show that many of the Party members have started rethinking and repudiating the adventurist line.

In other states, the defections are negligible.

In our major states the defections do not exceed 2.5 per cent in West Bengal, Punjab 2 per cent; Tamil Nadu 3 per cent; Kerala 5 per cent.

But we must not be complacent. There are certain individuals and small sections in different states who still hold serious Left-deviationist views. The growing economic crisis and desperation and the mounting of more and more Government repression to suppress the mass struggles, are making a number of militant honest young members succumb to this pseudo-revolutionary line due to lack of Marxism-Leninism, and due to their inability to see the mass struggles as the effective means of fighting the present regime.

3. Composition and Structure of The Party: No state Committee has submitted any report about the following aspects of the Party :

A. Number of branches district-wise; number of Party members district-wise (full Party members, and Candidate members); number of women members; number of auxiliary groups and the total number of members, district-wise.

B. Age group of the members 18-35; 35-60 and over.

C. (i) Length of Party life: less than 2 years; 2-5 years; 5-10 years; 10-20 years; 20-30 years and over 30 years.

(ii) Length of jail or underground life.

D. (i) Educational level; illiterate (unable to read); up to 8th standard; SSLC and above and graduates.

(ii) Minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics studied. (The list given in the Appendix)

(iii) Party documents studied 1. Party Programme, 2. Ideological Resolution, Ideological Debate Summed Up, Letter to Andhra Comrades, 3. Party organs in English or in their respective mother-tongues.

E. The income groups among Party membership, families having income of less than Rs. 15 per head per month; Rs. 15 to Rs. 30; Rs. 30 to Rs. 60; Rs. 60 to Rs. 90; and over Rs. 90.

F. (i) Class origin and (ii) present occupation or present

class character. 1. worker, 2. agricultural labourer, 3. poor peasant, 4. middle peasant, 5. rich peasant, 6. landlord, 7. artisan, 8. intelligentsia, 9. small trader or small industrialist, 10. others.

G. District-wise Party organs sold. Number of copies of literature sold and the total amount of sale district-wise. Number of Party members and percentage of PMs participating in these sales.

H. (i) Party fund collected district-wise during the current year; number of people from whom it is collected number and percentage of Party members who went for collection.

(ii) Amount of levy fixed on Party members district-wise and how much realised.

(iii) Fund collected for mass organizations and for mass issues, district-wise. Number and percentage of Party members participating.

I. Number and percentage of Party members working in different class and mass organizations—trade unions, agricultural labourers, kisan, student, youth, women, volunteer corps and Party organization.

As such no report on these lines can be submitted to the Party Congress.

But on the basis of certain illustrative examples we may get a broad idea of the situation in the Party, in certain respects.

In West Godavary district of Andhra Pradesh, out of 900 members analysed, we got to know that they are organised in 117 branches, on an average of 7 members per branch. (2) 50 per cent of them are of the age group 18-35; the remaining 35-60 group. (3) 30 per cent have a Party life of less than five years; 20 per cent between 5-10 years; 36 per cent between 10-20 years and 14 per cent over 30 years. (4) Class origin of membership is in per cent workers 11, agricultural labourers 28, poor peasants 13, middle peasants 9, rich peasants 4, landlord 1, artisans 13, middle classes—intelligentsia 7, small traders 11.

This is an encouraging picture, with the younger age group constituting 50 per cent, 70 per cent having more than 5 years of Party life, class composition of the Party 65 per cent from the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections; middle peasant and middle classes being 30 per cent and from the upper section only 5 per cent.

In Tripura out of 2,092 members, 73 per cent are from the proletarian and semi-proletarian element (workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants and artisans); middle peasant and middle class to 19 per cent and from upper section 4 per cent

II. Party and the Mass Organisations

It has been narrated earlier in other parts of the report how our Party has been boldly leading mass struggles, working class, middle class and government employees, kisans, students, youth, how our influence has increased tremendously among various sections of the people. This is especially so in West Bengal and Kerala and in varying degrees in Tamil Nadu, Bihar and other states. There were series of big political campaigns and struggles as well. The slogans our Party has put forward, the tactics we pushed in conducting these struggles, the unity in action we were able to forge and the consequent political advance we made are also pointed out to the extent reports are available with us. Here we confine to one subject, how far our Party has been able to consolidate this tremendous mass influence into organizational form and politically develop the innumerable militants who have been thrown up in these struggles.

As the PB Circular "Prepare for 8th Party Congress" specifically stressed, this evaluation has to be done on the basis of how it got reflected :

"In the growth of mass organizations, agricultural labour associations, kisan organizations, trade unions (factory-wise, industry-wise, trade union membership in relation to the total number of workers in each establishment), youth, students, and women's organizations:

“In the growth of the unity in action on various mass issues and in the growth of suitable organizational structure for united action;

“In the growth of the Party.”

Detailed questionnaire and tables to sum up the results for trade unions, kisan, youth, student and women fronts are given.

But we have not yet got any information and cannot draw even a broad outline of the organizational position of our Party in the masses and mass organizations. We can give only illustrative examples.

1. In the Working Class

In West Bengal alone our Party unit has been able to develop the Rashtreya Samgram Samiti of different trade union organisations under the influence of different democratic political parties as well as several central organizations like Mercantile Employees' Federation, All-Bengal Teachers' Association, ABPTA (All-Bengal Primary Teachers' Association), State Transport Union, Kisan Sabha, etc., as a united organisation to conduct united struggles.

Similarly, the July 12 Committee has become a powerful platform of the united struggle of government and semi-government employees and of sections of the state employees.

The United Front of political parties has also become a front for mass struggles.

So, if any statewide struggle of workers, employees, peasants, teachers, students, youth and democratic forces against the atrocities and exploitation of the Congress Government is to be built up in West Bengal, a joint call given by the Rashtreya Samgram Samiti, the July 12 Committee and the U.F. obtains the maximum response.

There is a great increase in the unionization of the working class, as evidenced by 897 new unions with a total membership of 129,000 getting registered in 1967 as against 272 with 33,000 in 1966. Our Party influence in the trade union movement, in the united mass struggles front, and in the

BPTUC has become decisive. But what is the state of Party organization in these mass organizations?

The West Bengal State Conference reports give us certain details in certain factories.

Even from these available figures, we see that formation of auxiliary groups wherein all the militants are to be organised as a first step, contact kept to develop them, has not been taken up in all establishments except one or two, where also only a small percentage of active volunteers are grouped in auxiliary groups.

Volunteer organization exists only in two factories, nothing in the rest.

Sale of Party organs only in two factories, but in the rest not at all done; and even when it is taken up, it is very unsatisfactory. Whether any reading groups are organised, whether our own PMs sell, read Party organs and literature and conduct reading groups, nothing is known.

This is further pinpointed in the West Bengal report. It goes on to say :

“There are factories where although we have powerful unions, no Party units have developed.

“In the Dalhousie area, the strength of the Mercantile Federation and Employees’ Unions affiliated to it has increased over the last two years, but the Party’s strength has not increased substantially. Of 165 organizations, there are Party branches only in about 10.”

We wish such information about the Party’s position is given for all the factories, industries and areas, for the whole of West Bengal. We do not have any such information from any other state. But the position is no better and in fact in most other states is even worse.

The Tamil Nadu report also pinpoints certain similar defects in our trade union work :

“(i) Sectarianism continues in the trade union movement. This affects the outlook and practice as regards unity. We can see this in the demand in some places that without forming a rival trade union we cannot advance. As parties have become

different, mass organisations have to be different too is also a plea urged sometimes. Whenever our Party is subjected to severe anti-communist attack, the feeling comes that there is no way except by forming a rival union. Instead of patiently explaining with confidence in the workers that if they are given all the details they will see through their activities and will develop struggles to build unity, our comrades succumb to sectarian trends instead.

“Even now the trade unions under our leadership are functioning in the old way, on the basis of the wholetimer in that front or as an organization dependent substantially on that individual. There will be no trade union democracy. There will be no factory committees or departmental committees. The executive committee does not consciously take decisions. The recruitment of union members is the job of only a handful. It is rare indeed for all the workers being made to feel a sense of participation in trade union activity by every step being made known to all the workers and their consent taken or their suggestions invited before any action is taken.

“There is no selection of the best militants from the workers and giving them training to develop them as sympathisers for the Party and then as Party members. Party building and propagation of Party politics is absent. The practice is only to stand within the framework of economic demands. The workers do not get educated politically. In our method of work the collection of funds for the Party has also been given up in many places. When workers in any particular industry are engaged in a struggle, workers of other industries there or workers of that selfsame industry in other places extending fraternal support in some form or other is not done in any planned way even by unions under our leadership. However much the peasantry may be affected, the trade union nearby will not come forward to extend sympathy.

“So every Party member must judge his activity in the working class keeping the following questions always in mind :

“The Party and the trade unions : does every Party member

in a factory or in an industry work in that trade union; or are the Party units organised in factory or among the company employees only active on general issues, in their locality outside the eye of the employers. To every Party member, are quotas of enlisting trade union membership, collecting trade union or Party fund, distribution of and sale of Party literature, contacting a definite number of workers and having discussions to draw them into unions given and checked up how far they have been fulfilled? How many auxiliary units from the workers, factory-wise in that area have been formed? Any volunteer squad or squads formed? Party membership recruited? Do our trade union leaders take up the recruiting and education of Party members? Do they have regular political discussions conducted among general trade union members and workers among whom they work? Have Party fractions been formed in different trade unions and whether they meet regularly to decide on the steps they have to adopt in particular trade union meeting or other?

“We repeat again the Central Committee directive: ‘Trade union leaders must also be able to build the Party and function it in their respective working class sectors. The present division that trade union leaders are good on trade union problems and leading strikes but Party building is someone else’s—Party organiser’s—job, is to be done away with. Trade union leaders can and must become Party leaders and Party leaders can and must become the mass trade union leaders and working class leaders as well.’”

Now coming to Party fractions and sub-committees in the trade unions or in the working class organizations:

Even where fractions exist and function, they discuss only the trade union problems or working class economic issues that crop up. They do not discuss political issues, Party recruitment, Party education, etc.

At the all-India level, there is an insistent demand that more and more all-India fractions for various sections of the industrial workers and other sectors be formed, to co-ordinate and guide centrally all our Party units and comrades

in these organizations. In many of these mass organizations or fronts, there are some fractions constituted. But it must be accepted that quite a number of them are only in name, because we have no Party units in most of the states, in those sections, and even where we have some, we have not been able to allot cadre to be in constant touch with them and develop them. This has led to the failure of taking in time the necessary initiative or of guiding them on various issues facing the movement. This is leading to great disappointment and demoralisation.

We have not been able even to set up a functioning trade union sub-committee on all-India level. It is only individual PBMs who are forced to tackle and give guidance as issues crop up.

This situation has to be immediately remedied if any headway is to be made by our Party in the working class to implement the tasks enumerated for the trade union front.

One way out is to constitute all-India sub-committees for these various all-India fronts and the most active comrade from the strongest Party unit in that front be made secretary to function. Help him go round India, to be in touch with the Party members and militants in that particular front, and help to organise and develop Party branches in that front, in close cooperation with the State and District Committees. Ask the strong all-India mass organisations or our units to find the necessary financial resources. We must have a full time central trade union sub-committee to constantly guide various comrades.

2. Party in the Kisans

In our circular, we had suggested : "It is necessary even if it has not been done earlier, at least to broadly point out the state of agrarian relations in that area, (a) the differentiations among the peasantry; the percentage of landlords (capitalist or feudal landlords), the rich peasantry, the middle peasants, the poor peasants and agricultural labour and of the rural artisans; (b) the nature and extent of feudal

exploitation—sharecropping, moneylending, forced labour and other illegal extortions, caste and other social factors which intensify this exploitation, the domination of these various factors on the agrarian economy; (c) the demands of different sections of the rural masses (or of the peasantry); (d) the tactics of struggle to be followed, against which narrowest section we have to concentrate fighting, neutralizing which sections, winning over which sections, and basing and relying on whom—this is to be done concretely at least later on village-wise, Party branch-wise; for the present, broad indication and direction at least is to be given. This can be done by the experience of leading comrades, later to be corrected and full-fledged analysis on the basis of existing material (census reports, etc.), to be verified and corrected by detailed personal verification.”

Unfortunately, we have not received any detailed reports about such an analysis or about the efforts of most of our state and district units to make such an analysis of the agrarian situation in different socio-economic localities in their respective districts or tehsils (thanas).

The *West Bengal State Committee* report says: “After release of leading comrades in 1966, the Party seriously took up the task of organising the peasants and overcoming of weaknesses of this front. Step by step, our Party Committees began to realise that it is the task of the whole Party and not a few comrades only to build the kisan movement, that the kisan movement must be based on poor peasants and agricultural labour and that peasant unity must be built on that basis and also that peasantry must be rapidly politicalised....The subsequent CC document on *Tasks on Kisan Front* helped greatly in our understanding.

“The major point to be noted is that in this period we have started to make a break with the past and to base our kisan work on poor peasants and agricultural labourers. In some areas and districts our old kisan movement was based on sharecroppers, in others mainly on middle peasants. But in this period, in all areas, partly through conscious efforts

and partly through force of circumstances we have taken up the cause of the poor. Not that in all areas the amount of land distributed is large. In many places whatever land is distributed, it is scattered. But basing on these land struggles, the poor peasants in wide areas are becoming class conscious and are being organised. This shifting of base has naturally created some imbalance in the existing relation among different sections of peasants under our influence. Taking advantage of this the reactionary forces tried to alienate from us the middle peasants. But we generally took care to allay their fears and concentrate our movement against the big jotedars and hoarders. It would be too much to say that we have fully succeeded or that we have completed our orientation, but we have definitely made advance.

“The revival and reorientation of the kisan movement was reflected in the growth of kisan mass organisation. In 1964, membership was 68,000; in 1965, 100,500; in 1966 it rose to 115,000. It rose to 521,000 in 1967 which included about 140,000 enrolled by Dangeites. (The Dangeites have since then left the Kisan Sabha.) This year by April 30, 1968, i.e., within two months only, we enrolled 255,000 members. This increasing strength of the Kisan Sabha was reflected in the 19th State Conference which was attended by 676 delegates, 106 observers and 83 fraternal delegates (highest ever attendance). The composition of the delegation also markedly changed in favour of agricultural labourers and poor peasants reflecting the change in the organisation (Agricultural labour and poor peasants—319, and middle peasants 115.)

Tamil Nadu : The State Committee report says : “It is the Tanjore movement which occupies the central place in our kisan movement. That is primarily an agricultural labourers’ movement. The Central Committee has pointed out the need for giving prior attention to the agricultural labourers’ movement and organisation. On this basis the Tanjore movement has a strong rural proletarian base. But if only the Tanjore movement gets rid of two big defects then it can evolve into

a big political force. The movement will also acquire a completeness.

"*First*, this agricultural labourers' movement is confined only to the four eastern taluks of Tanjore district. It is only when it extends to the western taluks that it will have full strength. The recent conference of west Tanjore peasantry in Kumbakonam has been a good first step in this direction.

"*Secondly*, apart from the agricultural labourers we have not approached at all the middle peasants whom we have to win as a firm ally of the rural proletariat, even in the taluks where our movement is strong. If we take up their issues also and the agricultural labourers' movement comes forward firmly to support their demands as well, then our Tanjore movement will get tenfold strength. The leading role of the working class in the villages will also be patent through actual experience to the other sections of the peasantry. Without this change the Tanjore movement cannot register any advance.

"Steps have now been begun to remove both the above defects. This will certainly yield good results."

"On diverse issues some work or other has been carried on in other districts on the kisan front. Still it cannot be said that membership of the Kisan Sabha has grown and it has become a stronger organisation. In December 1967, a well conducted provincial kisan conference at Tiruvarur worked out the slogans. In January 1968, the all-India kisan conference was held at Madurai and gathered a big mobilization besides enthusing our provincial movement as well."

Kerala: The Kerala State Committee report gives a review of their campaigns on various issues. They held conventions from block level in the districts wherein 10,000 activists participated. They have decided to enlist about 300,000 members in the Kisan Sabha. They have strong organized agricultural labour organisation in Alleppey district and a developing organisation in North and South Wynad areas. Tremendous influence among agricultural labourers in Palghat district but very poor organization.

Punjab: "The agricultural workers are at all places struggling for increase in their wages and the jagirdars and rich peasants are trying to disrupt their movement by raising the question of jat and harijan. Comrades from the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana have paid some attention towards this rising movement. Campaigns for *nazul* lands, for *bet* lands and against evictions of *abadker* (virgin lands reclaimed) tenants; against eviction of peasants, in the name of sandbeds, etc., are also taken up in these districts as well as in Sangrur and Bhatinda."

In *Andhra Pradesh*, our work mainly among agricultural labourers and poor peasants in certain taluks of Guntur, Krishna, Godavari, Khammam, Nalgonda and Warangal, for the increase of daily wages, for wastelands and supply of foodgrains. Our whole Party leadership has been concentrating to develop our work on the basis of agricultural labourers and poor peasants in the rural areas.

In *Bihar*, it is in Champaran and Purnea districts, in two taluks each, that the struggle for forest cultivable land in the former and against evictions in the latter is going on.

In *U.P.*, it is only in Faizabad and Sultanpur that struggle for distribution of communal land marked for harijans but occupied by landlords is going on.

In *Maharashtra*, our kisan base is mainly in the Warli area.

In *Tripura*, our main base is among Tripura tribes, for zoom land and against forced levy from small and medium peasants.

In *Orissa*, it is in Balasore district and in a group of villages in Puri district that our movement exists.

In *Madhya Pradesh*, we have recently established contact with tribal people near Indore-Ujjain.

In *Rajasthan*, our work is mainly confined to certain taluks of Ganganagar, Sikar, Churu and Alwar districts.

In *Assam*, our base of influence is confined to certain taluks in Cachar district and to some very scattered small areas in three other districts.

This shows the extremely weak state of our work and

influence in the rural areas in most of the states. And even in those states where we are working and influential, many of the areas are too much scattered. Biggest weakness is our failure to build some contiguous movement, at least, covering areas having a population of about a million even.

Second weakness is our failure to develop kisan and agricultural labour movement to reach the important urban centres, either district or even taluk towns in most of the states.

Thirdly, the low level of ideological and political level of our cadres, say Branch Secretaries working in the rural areas. Recently from the analysis of 162 rural branch secretaries who attended a school in Andhra Pradesh, we find that not more than 25 per cent have read our own Party *Programme* and ideological documents and far fewer have read the rest of the Party documents. Those who have read the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics like (1) Communist Manifesto; Origin of Family; Socialism Scientific and Utopian; (2) Wage-Labour and Capital; Wages, Prices and Profit; Imperialism; (3) State and Revolution; Two Tactics; 'Left'-Wing Communism; (4) On National and Colonial Question; (5) On the Agrarian Question; (6) Foundations of Leninism; (7) History of CPSU (B); (8) Chinese Revolution and Chinese CP; (9) Dialectical and Historical Materialism; (10) History of International Communist Movement; are not even 10 per cent.

This political weakness is reflected in the meagre sale of Party organs and sale of Party literature in rural areas, if we take branch-wise.

So the urgent necessity is to train up rural Branch Secretaries at the first instance and help them to formulate the slogans and tactics in their villages to work among the peasant masses especially agricultural labour and poor peasants. We must see and help them to continuously read our Party organs and literature and equip themselves better and better.

3. Students and the Party

"The influence of our student organisation in West Bengal, has increased to a considerable extent. This is reflected in

the College Union elections. In 1964, the undivided SF obtained a majority in 42 out of 76 college unions. After the expulsions of the right revisionists and extremists, in 1966-67, we won 77 unions. This year (1968), up to now in about 110 college unions we have won 68, jointly as U.F. 6, Chattra Parihsad (Congress) 12; Right CP 4, extremists 6, Progressive Students' Union (RSP) 5; DSO (SUC) 5 and others 2. Our Students' Federation membership has increased from 10,000 in 1964 to 45,000 now and our student paper (*Chattra Sangram*) sells 4,000 copies. But Party leadership in many districts is not yet paying particular attention to and giving importance to the work among students.

"School students who number much more than college students are still paid very little attention by us and all reactionaries, particularly the Jana Sangh and RSS, are trying to penetrate them."

But the report does not give us the number of auxiliary groups and the total membership of these groups, nor the number of volunteers in each college and area, nor even the number of Party members; how many of our Party journals are being sold, amount of Party literature, reading groups, political maturity of our student groups, their fraction functioning. Just like in other fronts, we take it for granted that today because the students are responding to the call of our Party on many current economic and political issues, all are behind us. This is nothing but leaving it to spontaneity, instead of consciously bringing them into Party organisational structure and politically and ideologically developing them.

In Kerala, our Students' Federation has a membership of about 25,000, and Party and sympathisers' groups in a large number of colleges and high schools.

But our students have to continuously struggle against the disruptive and hostile activities of the Kerala Student Congress, etc.

In Tamil Nadu recently a provincial students' conference was held, a large number of militants rallied to this conference. We have to train them and build a functioning mass

students' union, while drawing in and closely working with students under the influence of other democratic parties.

In Andhra Pradesh, after the adventurist split, most of the student contacts have gone over to them, but gradually we are building our own cadre. The State Committee is planning to hold a school for 10 days for about 50-100 student sympathisers.

In Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan, students' conferences were held but no report is available about the present Party position. In Bihar and U.P., we had attracted a considerable number of students towards our Party but "Left" adventurists took away large chunks of them with them.

In Punjab, during the last four years, considerable numbers of students had come under our political influence. Since two years a students' organisation has been set up at the state level but "Left"-adventurists were able to take a section with them but the big majority has remained with us. Recently a students' school was run by the State Committee.

From the above, it can be seen that among the student masses, except in West Bengal and Kerala, we are not able to do much and in fact have lost ground compared to 1966 and 1967. The CC must take necessary steps to properly coordinate and develop the student movement.

4. Youth and Party

It is only in West Bengal and Kerala that our Party has taken up organisation of youth leagues seriously. In West Bengal, the Democratic Youth Federation has now a membership of 42,000, its state conference was attended by 1187 delegates and 955 observers. Its main base is in Calcutta and 24-Parganas with nearly 25,000 members, Howrah and Hooghly combined have about 5,000, the remaining districts having from 200 to 1000 members each. Rallies in support of Vietnam, in support of government employees' demands; fund collection for flood relief; special attention to the youth squads guarding the LIC House to prevent installation of computer for automation. It also sent squads and picketeers in support

of workers' struggles like in Texmaco and also in several struggles of peasants.

In Kerala, the Socialist Youth Federation has been formed. They took part in food agitation, struggle of October 23 and also in the agitation against automation and central government employees' strike. In all districts, youth committees are organised. About 25,000 have been enrolled.

In Kerala, a volunteer corps of about 30,000 including 2,500 women is being organised under our leadership. Every other party has also got its volunteer corps—the Muslim League 10,000; Jana Sangh 5,000; Congress Seva Dal number not known; Kerala Congress 3,000; Right CP 2,000; RSP 1,000. Our volunteers are being politically trained.

In other states, there are some scattered youth leagues organised at random in different places, but no consistent planned effort nor any report of their activity.

5. Women and the Party

In West Bengal, the membership of the Mahila Samity has increased from 18,000 in 1962 to 43,000. Right Communists and we are jointly working in this organisation. In the Council and in lower and local units, we are in majority but in the state executive we are equal. In whichever area or district, the Party Committee helps, the work in the women's organization is developing. We have not been able to activate working class women even in their trade union or on day-to-day problems, except during strikes in small numbers. Nor have we been able to draw in peasant women into activity. Most of the Party leaders and most of the ordinary members do not take an interest in building women's movement and organization, even to the extent they do in other organisations. We are bringing out a monthly women's paper, whose circulation is now about 4,000.

The neglect of work among women is reflected in women's Party membership, being about 500 in 16,000, i.e., 3 per cent.

In Kerala, our women have taken a leading role, in various struggles in the past. But in all the recent struggles led by our

Party women's participation was very minute. Just now work has been started to organise women. If Party committees try to send some women workers from trade unions and agricultural workers' unions, we can make it a success.

In the whole of India, the number of women Party membership would not exceed 750, i.e., about 1 per cent of our total membership.

From all these reviews, we can come to the conclusion that our links with our masses are weak. We depend on spontaneity and estimate the response which our slogans are evoking as all our stable strength. We are lagging in consolidating even the mass influence which we have into political and Party forms, leave alone further developing it higher and wider.

III. Party Education

Our Central Committee has given in its resolution as key task, "Begin by regrouping and activising Party members and cadres and educate them to discharge their tasks, on mass, political and organisational front."

It has also suggested that "there should be a short-term plan in which the schooling of the entire membership of the Party is to be covered. The period of such schooling in our opinion, should be 15 days minimum, if necessary divided into 2 or 3 convenient sessions". Subjects are also suggested. The Branch Secretaries' schooling was to be completed by June 1968.

The Central Committee has failed even to prepare a "well-prepared and uniform syllabus", apart from the long-range plan of producing suitable Party literature, pamphlets, booklets, etc. Some of the reasons for this failure are mentioned in the section on functioning of Party committees.

Yet let us briefly enumerate the efforts made by our Party to educate the Party membership and cadre by way of schools :

In Kerala, Comrade E. M. S. Namboodiripad conducted 4-day schools on Party Programme in 1966, Comrade B. T. Ranadive took classes for three days for the trade union

cadre. In 1967 June-July Comrade P. Sundarayya in schools of four days explained Party policy and tasks on the basis of our CC resolutions and on the pending ideological issues. These schools covered nearly 500 leading cadres. Comrade M. Basavapunniah conducted a four-day students school in 1968 and later on that basis five student summer camps were conducted. Two schools for about 70 volunteer captains were conducted in August and September 1968.

In Tamil Nadu, it was mostly in the form of general body meetings for two or three days and in four-day schools that Party policy as well as ideological issues were explained. They covered most of our active Party membership.

In Andhra Pradesh, the State Committee conducted a school for students (175 attended) in 1966; in 1967 three schools were conducted in which 175 students, 20 teachers, 25 Party cadres and 135 youth joined. A school for women activists covering 97 persons was also conducted. All these schools were for seven days. It also conducted a training school for conducting political classes, 64 attended it and the school lasted for 11 days. The District Committees conducted schools for Branch Secretaries and activists covering about 500 persons. For conducting their schools, Pulla Reddy as Secretariat member was put in charge. He had utilised these schools to inculcate "Left"-deviationist theories. Pulla Reddy had to stop his syllabus "On the lessons of the international communist movement" as it went against Marxism. In all these schools only one side, the necessity of guarding from revisionist danger was stressed, but the danger of "Left-deviation which was its twin was not stressed. Hence as later events proved Pulla Reddy was able to mislead a large number of student and youth cadres who attended these schools.

Recently after the Left-adventurist elements defected from the Party, 190 Branch Secretaries from rural areas were schooled for 12 days. Comrade P. Sundarayya guided it.

In West Bengal, apart from general body meetings and 3 or 4 days' explanatory schools, a trade union school was conducted for the Asansol-Dhanbad area in Hindi

Comrades B. T. Ranadive and P. Ramamurti helped it. Some district schools were also organized.

For the Hindi-speaking region and Punjab a central school was held in 1967 in Delhi. Comrades B. T. Ranadive and P. Ramamurti and Surjeet conducted it. Similarly three days' schools in U.P. in three places and one in Punjab were organized and Coms. B. T. Ranadive and Surjeet helped them.

In Maharashtra, Comrade B. T. Ranadive conducted a school for 10 days, for 50 persons.

The experience of these schools shows that even our Branch Secretaries are to be carefully educated and trained. A large percentage of them have not been reading even our Party documents, nor our Party journals regularly. A much larger number of them have not read even the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist classics.

So urgent necessity is that the PB must (1) prepare a syllabus; (2) must suggest selections of basic Marxist-Leninist classics, say about a 1000 pages; and (3) take steps to see that all Branch Secretaries undergo this minimum schooling. In these schools conducted statewide or for a few districts clubbed together in a state, the district and state leaders are also to be asked to be present and help to coach up Branch Secretaries, how far the lessons are being followed; the concrete application of Party policies in their areas and fronts to be worked out. These leaders must also know the strength and weakness of their Branch Secretaries so that they can follow up the schools and help them further in their education and in their practice. Schools must be for kisan cadre, working class cadre, student, youth and women cadre held separately.

2. Party and Marxist Literature Published, Sold and Read

Apart from the schools, unless Party cadre and even Party members make it a habit to read Party documents, and also patiently and seriously take up the studying of Marxist-Leninist classics (minimum and most important), it is next to impossible to develop the necessary Marxist-Leninist cadre.

It is only West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab that are able to bring out practically all the CC documents from 1964. Karnataka did bring all the important ones. In Hindi the Party Centre assisted by the U.P. Committee has brought out all of them. But Maharashtra, Gujarat, Orissa, Assam, have not brought out most of the CC documents, (see Appendix II on Party documents published for details) In Urdu, Party Programme, Constitution and ideological documents have been brought out by the CC. The CC must bring out at least the most important documents in Urdu.

Similarly, CC must help to bring the minimum basic Marxist-Leninist selections in all languages. The CC and State Committees must see that these books are in constant supply, that every branch and as many members as possible get them and study them.

3. Party Organs

For a Marxist-Leninist party, Party organs are the means of educating the cadre and the people about the Party's ideological and political positions both in theory and practice. They are to help our Party units and members to carry on agitation and propaganda among the people. In fact they have to help our organisation-building as well. That is why the organisational principles of Communist Parties enjoin that the editors of the Party organs are to be carefully selected and to be approved by the next higher committee.

Unfortunately, due to the revisionist understanding that has been pervading for years, these concepts have been given the go-by. We have to re-establish them.

In fact, though our Party units are bringing out weeklies, *Chintha* (Kerala), *Theekadir* (Tamil), *Aikya Ranga* (Karnatak), *Prajasakti* (Andhra), *Desh Hitaishee* (Bengal) *Swadhinata* (Hindi) *Lok Lehar* (Punjab) and dailies *Deshabhimani* (Kerala) and *Ganasakti* (Bengal), our centre does not know how they are putting across the Party line. The State Committees do not send any reports about the political merits and weaknesses of the material appearing in these papers. That is one of the

reasons the centre could not do anything in case of *Jammu Sandesh* (Urdu) till the whole Kashmir state unit revolted and left the Party. (It was learnt later that it had been carrying on completely anti-CC line from September 1967).

Orissa, Assam, Gujarat are not now bringing out any Party organ even as monthlies. Maharashtra earlier used to bring out a weekly but was stopped and for the last four months, it is bringing out a fortnightly. The Karnataka weekly is a four-pager, crown size, and there is persistent demand that the size of the paper be increased.

Orissa brought out a weekly in 1965 but could not continue it. Similarly Assam used to bring out an 8-page weekly (circulation: 1500) but could not continue it.

From whatever little material available, it can be said that the circulation of our Party weeklies is far behind our Party's influence and strength as can be seen in the following figures: Kerala—5,000 (though daily with two editions sell about 25,000); Tamil Nadu—5000; Andhra Pradesh—4,500; West Bengal—27,500 (daily has circulation of 7500) Hindi and Urdu weeklies about 1,500 each (Bihar—1,000) U.P.—350, Rajasthan—100, Madhya Pradesh—150); Nepal-weekly in Darjeeling—1,700; Punjab—1,500; Karnataka—2,000.

If we analyse the district-wise or area-wise distribution the position is far worse. Take, for instance, in West Bengal where *Deshhitaishi* sells about 27,500 copies, if we exclude the five major districts of Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan, the total number of copies sold in the rest of the 11 districts is 3,220, varying from 150 to 500.

It means that our Party units and Party members do not take it as a serious political job to sell our Party papers and popularise widely our political policies. This is the picture in every state.

This lack of political seriousness is also reflected in that no lower unit or even members of the same State or Central Committee which are bringing out state journals or central

organs, send any criticism or suggestions for improving them.

People's Democracy : Coming to the central organs, *People's Democracy* has a circulation of 7,500, of which Calcutta takes about 4,040 and another 630 in the rest of West Bengal. So all other states take only 2,800 copies.

These circulation figures show we are not making efforts to reach the intelligentsia, in all universities and educational centres. If only copies are made available at these centres, the circulation could be far greater as is evidenced by Delhi sales of 290.

People's Democracy is now financially self-sufficient though up to September 1968, about Rs. 10,000 was paid to meet its deficit.

Swadhinata (Hindi weekly) : Its total circulation is 3,500 of which West Bengal takes about 1,600. The Hindi speaking region takes only about 1,700 copies—Bihar about 1,000, U.P. 350, M.P. 150, Rajasthan 100, Delhi and Haryana 50

But *Swadhinata* has been incurring heavy loss. During the last 3½ years from June 1965 to the end of December 1968, CC had to subsidise it to the extent of about Rs. 46,000

Swadhinata serves only Hindi-speaking people in Calcutta and to some extent Bihar. In the rest of the Hindi-speaking region, it is practically not being made use of.

Kisan-Mazdoor (Urdu weekly): Some of our friends have brought out this progressive Urdu weekly from Calcutta from May 1968. Its circulation now is about 2,000 of which 1,000 copies are sold in West Bengal and 250 copies in Bihar.

IV. Party Fund

The financial position of the Party at all levels is bad. Central Committee has to spend during the last four years Rs. 500,000 of which states contributed during 1964-68 about Rs. 100,000. The rest was raised by PBM contacting certain individual contacts and donors in the states from which they have come. But this kind of dependence on individual contacts is politically unsound and dangerous. Our finances have to be put on a stable basis at all levels.

The CC has been incurring a monthly expenditure of Rs. 12,500 including subsidies to the states and the Party organ *Swadhinata*.

The only ways to stabilize Party funds are:

(1) Every Party member must make it a point to pay his minimum levy. Unfortunately except in certain districts of West Bengal and in a few other areas in certain other states, and a few individuals, our Party has failed even to fix the amount of levy due from each member and unit, even though the CC made it compulsory as early as November 1967.

(2) Every Party member and Party branch must make it a habit and practice to approach every month, as large a number of persons as he can in his residential area, or in his place of work or vocation and start collecting Party fund. It is only this organised mass collection from greater and greater numbers of people that would lead to stability of our political influence and the Party finances. Individual contacting and donations will be only supplementary.

(3) Unless we make this fund collection a serious political job, we will not be having resources to maintain a larger and larger number of whole-timers or bring out the necessary Party literature and papers and agitational material or expand our Party activity.

Our Party must seriously plan and collect funds at various levels, and must insist on certain fixed amounts to be sent to higher units. The whole fund position is to be organised from higher committees to lower committees and not be left to each unit to collect and spend as they like and can.

V. Functioning of Party Committees at Various Levels and the Necessity of Promoting Cadres

We have lost quite a number of cadres at different levels some because of their right-revisionism in 1964 and some because of their "Left"-adventurist line in 1967-68. But at the same time, with our growing influence generally on an all-India level, especially in West Bengal and Kerala, and with various democratic sections throughout the country

looking to the CPI(M) to give them correct lead and guidance, we have to discharge heavy and increasing responsibilities.

We are unable to cope with these tasks and will not be able to do so in the future either (1) unless we streamline our Party organisation by removing inactive elements at various levels, especially in local, district and State Committees, and remove unnecessary layers of committees, (2) and unless we evolve a correct cadre policy, by selecting the best of existing cadre, promoting them to shoulder responsibilities at various levels, under the supervision and guidance of the older and experienced comrades and educating and training them for discharging these responsibilities. We require quite a large number of wholtime functionaries and we have to find the necessary finances to provide them with the minimum necessities.

How far this streamlining has been done in various states is not known. In Andhra Pradesh because of the large-scale defection of leading cadres due to "Left"-adventuristic deviation, in certain districts, Guntur, Nalgonda, two or three taluks are combined to form one local committee or intermediate committee (between branches and District Committees) and in certain districts District Committee members are required directly to look after the branches. For instance, in Krishna district with about 900 members a District Committee of 19 has been formed with three Secretariat members looking after general coordination and the remaining 16 members looking after 150 branches, each about 9 to 10 branches. If we do not have capable comrades who really can function as leading committee members, there is no use setting up committees. Yet in certain districts, there is still hesitancy in doing away with unnecessary intermediate committees.

If we do not have capable comrades who can function on their own at district level, coordinating the lower units, it is better not to have such intermediate committees but members of higher committees directly guide the branches, whenever necessary the higher committee members can call the

secretaries of a particular region which he is asked to look after, for quick explanation and implementation of the higher committee decisions and for necessary coordination, if any.

Another difficulty that still stands in the way of streamlining and forming necessary committees, simply keeping the needs of the movement and not on the basis of Government administrative lines is localism. "My taluk and my district" business persists.

More difficult than reducing redundant layers of Party committees is the removal of inactive members from the Local, District and State Committees. Knowing full well certain comrades are not only inactive and some even politically undesirable to be kept in the committees, we yet hesitate to drop them, for fear of creating heart-burning. Different State Committees' reports guardedly refer to this difficulty.

This hesitation to drop inactive members has resulted in some State and District Committees having big committees in spite of everybody agreeing that we should have smaller compact Party committees at various levels for effective functioning especially in the present developing political situation.

2. Lack of Cadre to Man the Functions at District, State and Central Level

But even if we have small compact committees which are capable of taking political and organisational decisions, and which could command confidence of the lower units and the Party cadre, still the multifarious responsibilities and functions that are to be discharged cannot be done only by the full members of District or State or Central Committees, even if most of them are available at the centre. This difficulty can be overcome only if we can get capable comrades to function the different centres, especially at State and Central Committee level, in various sub-committees. Even if they are not of the SCM or CCM level, it is enough if they are capable of discharging specific responsibility directly under the guidance of one or other SCM or CCM; we should get such cadre if we are to improve our functioning.

At the Central Committee level, though we have now a CC of 31 and PB of 9, actually the comrades available as full-time functionaries are only 4 PBMs, the remaining five are attached to Kerala, West Bengal or Punjab and Hindi regions. Though some of these PBMs discharge certain jobs on behalf of the PB, in so far as they go to help some neighbouring states or some other fronts part-time, it is an acknowledged fact that at central level for lack of cadre, we are not functioning the trade union, kisan, student sub-committees, nor are we able to organise education, preparing syllabus, organising write-ups and publishing necessary political and theoretical booklets on current problems, nor effectively produce our Party papers and agitational material, nor help different State Committees organisationally, nor are we able to plan national campaigns and see that they are implemented.

This is the case at the state levels as well.

Everybody agrees that this is the situation. But every one hesitates to take the only steps that offer themselves as solution.

That solution is to make new promising comrades secretaries of branches and allow the older experienced Branch Secretaries to become members of local committees. It is these local committee members that must educate, train and help the new Branch Secretaries.

Similarly, the experienced and developed Local or District Committee members or at least their secretaries must be removed from the formal secretary's post of the Local Committee or District Committee and promoted to District or State Committees. These comrades for quite a necessary time may stay in that local or district to help the new secretaries as DC organisers or SC organisers of the higher committee. But it is the entrusting of these routine and day-to-day responsibilities to newer and younger comrades whom it is absolutely necessary for the old comrades to train and develop, that will ultimately solve the problem.

The same process has to be undertaken by taking certain

PBMs and CCMs from their present SCs and drawing them as CC functionaries so as to solve this problem in the course of a year or two. But even if this first step of relieving the leading comrades from their formal positions and routine jobs in the existing District and State Committees is not taken, then nothing much can be done, till time and events force a solution. That is leaving things to spontaneity and not consciously building the Party.

We have also failed to evolve a proper cadre policy. We have not tried to understand and evaluate the cadre available at various levels, their strong points and weaknesses. Without this we cannot select and promote, nor even make an effort to educate them.

We must boldly promote the existing cadre if we mean discharging the responsibilities of carrying out the serious political and organisational tasks that are facing us.

Conclusion

After reviewing the weaknesses that still persist in our Party organization, which we have been striving hard to overcome during the last four years, so as to rebuild a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in India, let us also not forget our achievements. It is these successes that today give us confidence that our hard struggle for forging a Marxist-Leninist Party, the organised vanguard detachment of the working class, will triumph.

Life and events during the last four years demonstrate that the Programme policy and tactics that our Party had been pursuing are on sound Marxist-Leninist lines.

Our Party has upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and fought against the national chauvinistic storms that were let loose during the India-China border conflict and during the India-Pakistan war of 1965.

Our Party has been able to achieve greater ideological and political cohesion, fighting against the right-revisionist and subsequently against the "Left"-adventurist challenge. To appreciate the significance and importance of this

achievement, it is necessary to remember that the right-revisionists are backed by the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union while the "Left"-adventurist trends and groups are backed by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The unanimous, prompt and correct proletarian internationalist stand of our Party on Czechoslovakian events once again vindicated our stand on the issues that are dividing the world communist movement.

Our Party has been able to defeat the Congress Government's conspiracies to isolate it from the democratic force by evolving correct, tactical slogans, participating in innumerable mass struggles, and trying to forge unity in action, with all democratic parties and groups, on all economic and political issues confronting our people.

Our Party has evolved correct tactics of participating in the two United Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal, and to demonstrate how to utilise this vantage position to give the people whatever limited benefits are possible, while at the same time helping the masses and democratic forces to develop the mass movement against the bourgeois-landlord set-up. Our Party has successfully demonstrated our principled stand by refusing to join the non-Congress Ministries, where the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and the other reactionary parties participated in these non-Congress Ministries and demonstrated the bankruptcy of their programmes and tactics.

Our Party has worked out the mass line on the trade union and kisan fronts, analysed the weaknesses of the Party organization and outlined the steps to overcome it. After a thorough inner-Party discussion our Party has taken principled Marxist-Leninist positions on the ideological questions dividing the international communist movement.

Comrades, considerable though our achievements have been, we all know that without a Marxist-Leninist Party apparatus we will not be able to discharge our revolutionary responsibilities in the present period when big mass battles are looming ahead. You all know that our enemies are

conspiring against us and the voice of Indian reaction is being raised to attack and ban our Party. It was only four years ago that our Party had to face an attack on its very existence. We must therefore build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party which continues to give leadership to the mass struggles under all circumstances. That is why it is absolutely essential to carry out the directives given in the organisational resolution.

To fulfil our responsibilities, it is necessary for each of us, for the Party ranks as well as the Party leaders at all levels, to raise the level of their Marxist-Leninist understanding and consciousness. It is absolutely essential that the Central Committee regard the education of the cadre and the ranks as key task and decide to take immediate steps to implement it.

Comrades, we again emphasise that it is only by carrying out our responsibility on the mass fronts and Party front by carrying out the tasks enumerated in our three basic documents on trade union, kisan and Party organization that we can build a really Marxist-Leninist Party in India that can lead the fighting masses and develop their struggle successfully to defeat the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress and establish People's Democracy. Seeing the efforts and the eagerness with which our comrades are trying to carry out these tasks, we are fully confident that our Party will rapidly overcome these shortcomings and will be leading the revolutionary battles of our people to victory!

APPENDIX TO STATE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION

TABLE—1

	State	Party membership in 1964 7th Party Congress		1967	1968 8th Party Congress		
		PMs	CMs	PMs & CMs	PMs	CMs	Total
1.	Kerala	18,558	9,580	16,000	16,269	4,643	20,912
2.	Andhra Pradesh	28,312	1,600	16,456	9,048	380	9,428
3.	Tamil Nadu	11,551	—	10,209	8,000	2,017	10,017
4.	Karnataka	1,700	—	1,200	1,194	—	1,194
5.	Orissa	1,125	—	800	498	43	541
6.	West Bengal	13,424	594	16,393	13,233	2,833	16,066
7.	Tripura	*2,500 (about)	—	2,100	2,092	—	2,092
8.	Assam	1,485	—	800	578	173	751
9.	Manipur	*300	—	200	200	—	200
10.	Bihar	2,698	—	3,119	2,882	—	2,882
11.	U P	9,263	—	4,056	2,461	634	3,095

Contd

Contd Table-1

State	Party membership in 1964 7th Party Congress		1967 Total PMs & CMs	1968 8th Party Congress		
	PMs	CMs		PMs	CMs	Total
12. M. Pradesh	700	—	540	486	—	486
13. Rajasthan	1,680	186	1,006	995	200	1,195
14. Delhi	500	100	400	250	—	250
15. Haryana	—	—	400	400	—	400
16. Punjab	6,668 (including Haryana)	—	4,875	4,000	100	4,100
17. Gujarat	242	10	250	250	—	250
18. Maharashtra	4,682	300	3,166	2,316	—	2,316
19. Goa	—	—	—	250	—	250
20. Jammu & Kashmir	925	—	700	—	—	—
	1,06,313	12,370	82,670	65,402	11,023	76,425

*Tripura & Manipur joined later after Party Congress

TABLE—2

S. No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjabi
1.	Party Programme	12500 (2500)	6500 (3rd ed.) (2700)	30000 (3rd ed.)	3000 (2nd ed.)	3000	6000	1000	1000	2200
2.	Party Constitution	3000	2000	5500	1500	3000	3000	—	1000	1100
3.	Fight Against Revisionism	3000	1100 (500)	—	2000	—	2000	2000	—	—
4.	Resolutions of 7th Congress	3000	2000	5000*	1000	1000	1000*	—	—	—
5.	Tenali Resolutions '66	2000*	*	*	*	*	1000*	—	—	—
6.	Election Review '67	2000 (300)	1100 (300)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.	New Situation & Tasks	4400	2200	10000	2000	1000	3000	2000	—	1100
8.	Tasks on Kisan Front	4000 (1500)	5500 (2500)	5000	2000	—	3000	2000	250 (Cylo)	1100
9.	Tasks on T.U. Front	5000 (1700)	2200 (500)	5200	1000	1000	4000	1000	1000	—
10.	Tasks on P. Org.	4000 (1000)	2200 (1100)	5200	1500	1000	3000	500	—	1100
11.	Resolution on Ideological Issues	4000*	4000* (2500)	5000	3000	*	9000	500	500 (Cylo)	1100

Contd

Contd Table—2

S. No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjab
12.	Our Differences with C.P.C.	4000* (3000)	4000* (2500)	5000*	1000	2000	2000	500	1000	1100
13.	On Left Deviation (Aug. 1967)	2200	2200 (600)	*	500	2000	3000	—	1000	—
14.	Ideological Debate Summed up	3000* (900)	*	*	*	500*	2000*	—	—	—
15.	Letter to Andhra Comrades	4400 (2000)	2200 (1850)	—	1000*	*	*	—	—	—
16.	Why Ultra-Left Deviation	3300 (2000)	—	5000	1500	—	3000	—	—	—
17.	Resolutions of CC (Jaipur)	2000* (1750)	*	10000*	*	*	2000*	—	—	—
18.	On National Integration	3000* (2500)	2200 (1700)	—	*	*	*	—	—	—
19.	Resolution to 8th Congress	1000*	—	11000*	*	1000	*	—	—	—
20	(a) Programme explained	2200*	*	*	*	1000	1000	—	—	—
	(b) Two Programmes	2200*	*	*	*	—	1000	—	1000	—

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Contd. Table—2

S No.	Party documents	English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Malayalam	Kannada	Marathi	Punjabi
21.	Central Election Manifesto	20000	15000	65000	10000	10000	10000	4000	—	—
22.	Repression in Andhra	5000	5000	*	25000	5000	3000	5000	—	5000

Figures in brackets are number of copies in stock.

* Published in party weeklies. Ideological debate summed up (P D Articles.)

In Gujrati : Party PROGRAMME (1000), NEW SITUATION AND TASKS, TASKS ON KISAN FRONT, IDEOLOGICAL RESOLUTION; OUR DIFFERENCES WITH CPC: have been brought out in short summaries 1000 copies each

In Assamese Party PROGRAMME, brought out, 1000 copies

In Oriya language, Party PROGRAMME, TASKS ON KISAN FRONT, 1000 copies each ELECTION MANIFESTO, 4000 copies.

In Urdu, PROGRAMME, CONSTITUTION, RESOLUTION OF 7TH CONGRESS, Ideological Resolution; 2000 copies each. ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION, and DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR 8TH CONGRESS, 3000 copies.