

# **ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)**

The Fourth General Elections are approaching in the background of the most unprecedented wave of mass struggles since independence. The crisis created by the anti-national, anti-popular bourgeois-landlord policies of the Congress Government has unleashed a wave of angry mass protests against starvation and suffering.

The mighty Bengal bandhs, the Kerala, Bihar and U. P. bandhs have set the pace for the new movement. Millions have participated in these struggles and braved the firing squads of the police to defend their livelihood and liberties. These have been followed by the mighty wave of student struggles which the Government seeks to put down by sheer terror. There have been big struggles of the working class, salaried employees and, finally, the employees of the Government. And, in November, the struggle spread to Andhra Pradesh where once more people were shot down and lathi-charged because they raised the demand for the industrial advance of their State.

Never before since independence has India witnessed such mighty struggles. Never before since independence has India witnessed such brutal unleashing of police terror on a defenceless people.

The people are called upon to exercise their franchise in

the midst of lathi-charges and raining bullets, growing hunger and starvation, mass jailings and detentions.

Will they endorse the policies which impose outright starvation on millions, which destroy the fundamental liberties of the common man and declare the policeman's baton to be the supreme law—that is the question.

### **PETTY ACHIEVEMENTS**

In the midst of the growing breakdown of our economy and the rising misery of our people, the Congress party extols its own petty achievements as big triumphs of national reconstruction. Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkela, Bhakra Nangal—these are paraded before a famished people. The petty rise in production and national income—almost at the lowest rate in the world—is upheld as a great advance before a people who do not get a square meal.

While glorifying their achievements the Congress leaders make desperate efforts to hide ugly truths.

A sizable portion of the huge plan expenditure is permitted to be looted by covetous contractors, corrupt officials and their Congress patrons.

The September session of Parliament uncovered one financial scandal after another revealing the Congress administration to be a cesspool of corruption.

They revealed how crores of rupees of people's money—money taken out of people's toil and sweat, money taken in the name of national defence and planning—was allowed to be plundered by common rogues acting in unison with corrupt officials and their ministerial patrons. They showed that the Congress party could not be trusted with an honest disbursement of people's funds and give a clean honest administration to our people.

The lion's share in the newly-produced national wealth is allowed to be garnered by a handful of speculators, hoarders, profiteers, big capitalists and landlords.

Instead of eliminating British capital and liberating our economy from its fetters, the Congress rulers have imposed on us additional exploitation by the U.S. imperialists.

In the name of the national plans the Congress rulers have incurred huge foreign loans—now amounting to Rs. 4,000 crores, and reduced our nation to utter dependence on the USA for food, for external help for the plan, for equipment for the armed forces.

At the end of twenty years of Congress rule, the country witnesses the grim spectacle of widespread famine, unemployment and starvation, soaring prices, and mounting discontent and unrest.

These are the real achievements of the Congress party which it dares not own before the people.

Not a day, therefore, passes without either a protest demonstration, strike, hartal or bandh to ventilate grievances and demand their redressal.

Not a day passes without the Congress Government resorting to mass arrests, lathi-charges, police firings and curfew orders, mass detentions under the Defence of India Rules and the Preventive Detention Act.

The last five years of Congress rule—the five years of the Third Plan—which were supposed to set the country on the road to self-reliance—have been especially oppressive, driving people of one State after another, driving all sections of the population, to miniature revolts.

### **FAILURE OF THE THIRD PLAN**

The utter bankruptcy of the Congress party and its policies is seen in the fact that even the modest targets of the Third Plan could not be realised, notwithstanding an expenditure of more than Rs. 10,000 crores.

The achievements in basic industries, in steel, in machinery-making, cement, in all vital industries are nowhere near the declared targets. They only betoken the ghastly failure of

the Congress planners. Coal, cement, fertilizers, jute machinery, paper and sugar machinery, mining machinery—production of all these is far below the target.

And, above all, the Congress planners have dismally failed in reaching the minimum target of 100 million tons for foodgrains production. The highest they could reach was 88 million tons in 1964-65, to be followed by 72 million tons in 1965-66.

The result has been a general shortage of every commodity, every necessity of life, imposing hardships and restrictions on the mass of people. The Plan was to ensure a minimum per capita availability of 17.5 ounces of foodgrains in 1965-66, as compared to 16 ounces in 1960-61. All that it could achieve was to reduce per capita availability to 15.4 ounces per day in the most productive year 1964-65; in 1965-66 the per capita availability was only 12.4 ounces.

In a country where three-fourths of the people are scantily clad, the Congress planners could not improve the per capita availability of cloth during the last five years. It more or less remained constant at the 1960-61 level of 16 yards per capita. The declared Third Plan target of 17.2 yards could not be reached. Production of mill-made cloth instead of increasing was below the 1960-61 level in 1965-66.

If the Congress leaders had been deliberately planning for scarcity, for food famine and depriving the people of cloth and necessities of life, they could not have succeeded better.

### **COLOSSAL TAXATION**

What are the other achievements of the plan? Unemployment which was seven million by the end of the Second Plan has risen to nearly ten million by the end of the Third Plan, according to official statistics which understate the real state of affairs.

Denying the people the basic necessities of life the Congress planners have inflicted colossal taxation and excruciatingly

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high prices on the common man in the name of national planning and defence.

Never under any previous regime was the ordinary citizen taxed so much as under the benign rule of the Congress. The Congress has surpassed the unenviable record of all previous rulers including the British who openly looted our people.

Under the Congress regime every necessity of life is heavily taxed. No article consumed by the common man escapes the marauding hands of the Congress tax-gatherer. Governmental taxation forms in many cases more than 30 per cent of the price of articles. The Central Government is closely followed by the State Governments who raise the land tax, irrigation levy and every other conceivable impost to defraud the peasant of his produce.

In the last five years alone the Congress planners have inflicted a burden of Rs. 2,600 crores on the people. The Congress Government's taxes defy all known canons of taxation and justice and have degenerated into an open robbery of the people.

While the masses are ground down, the monopolists including the foreign capitalists, are given concessions after concessions. Wealth and other taxes are reduced to a farce. Corporations and companies are given further concessions and facilities for profit-making. And evasion has been allowed to be systematised into a recognised practice enabling the top circles to defraud the treasury of hundreds of crores of rupees.

This is how the Congress Government is removing inequalities in wealth. This is the real face of its chatter about Socialism and classless society.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands an end to this robbery. This colossal taxation of the common man is neither necessary for defence nor for economic development.

The masses are being fleeced only to finance the profiteering of the capitalists and the building of capitalism in the country. Burdens of this anti-people course must be squarely placed on

the crowd of exploiters—landlords, capitalists and foreign monopolists. The CPI (Marxist) demands a drastic reduction of all taxes on the common man and complete abolition of all cesses, taxes and imposts on the necessities of life.

### **PRICES**

But high and unconscionable taxes are only one of the instruments of inflicting miseries on the people.

The other, equally devastating in its effect, has been the instrument of rising prices through which the Congress-Government has been compelling the people to pay for the capitalist path—for building capitalism in the name of national planning.

During the period of the Third Five-Year Plan alone, prices have risen by more than 30 per cent according to official statistics—the rise in the last two years breaking all records. After devaluation prices of some commodities have risen by more than 50 per cent. This continuous and steep rise is defrauding all toilers, all workers—employees, peasants, agricultural workers—of the legitimate return for their labour, depreciating their wages, forcing down their standard of living, and inflicting starvation on tens of millions of our people.

People in all States, from all sections, from the school teachers and the Government employees to the working class and the agricultural labourer, have started fighting against the effects of taxation and high prices, and unprecedented mass struggles are sweeping the country.

The price-rise is not accidental. It has been manufactured deliberately by a continuous resort to deficit-financing which amounted to Rs. 1,100 crores in the Third Plan. This method of financing the capitalist plan has for its object continuous penalisation of the masses so that the monopolists, the capitalists and the Government can gather sufficient capital in their hands.

No previous Government, no previous regime had so thoroughly prostituted its political power to use the price mechanism to systematically defraud the masses.

To cheat the people, the Congress party and its administration sometimes make a show of price-control measures which are meant to achieve nothing. Every nominal step of price-control is accompanied by ten steps for raising prices.

With or without price-control measures, the speculators and blackmarketeers continue to loot the people.

The Congress party has no intention of changing these disastrous policies.

The Draft Fourth Five-Year Plan reveals further Congress intentions of fleecing the people in the name of price-control. Deficit-financing is to be given up; but that is no guarantee that prices will be reduced or prevented from rising; on the other hand, they will rise further. All that is guaranteed is that wages and salaries will not be allowed to rise, that there will be delinking of dearness allowance from the cost of living index.

Thus in the name of price-control there will be a general offensive against wages and salaries.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces this policy and demands effective price-control and drastic price-reduction in the interests of the people. It demands immediate reduction of the prices of all necessities of life.

Such price-reduction is possible and can be easily ensured if banks are nationalised leading to control of credit, if profits of traders, businessmen and industrialists are controlled and State taxation on essentials of life is abolished.

This is precisely what the bourgeois-landlord Government of the Congress party refuses to do.

The price mechanism has been systematically used to defraud our peasantry in the interests of landlords, speculators and traders. Without a proper integration of the price mechanism, without fixing the prices of manufactured and

other goods needed by the peasant masses, the attempts to fix foodgrains prices hit the interests of the small peasant producer and only help the profiteers. Besides the purchase prices offered by the Government are generally unremunerative for the poor peasant.

In the conditions obtaining in India today, the mass of poor peasants is unable to secure the officially fixed prices at harvest season, as they have to part with their produce at lower prices—the benign Congress Government refusing to intervene to purchase when harvest prices fall below the ceiling prices. After the harvest food prices are raised once again, to placate the big peasant holders who continue to withhold grain. On the basis of this rise in prices, the prices of all the goods needed by the peasants also rise.

The peasant is forced to pay the inflationary prices for his requirements needed for production and for all the necessities of life—including food which he has to buy in the lean months.

This double method of exploitation leading to expropriation is one of the causes of the continuing food crisis which puts the entire country on starvation rations.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands a fair price for the small peasant producer—a price which will leave him sufficient incentive for production; it demands guaranteed supply to him of all his requirements at low cost—so that this unjust process of exploitation is stopped.

### **PROCUREMENT AND DISTRIBUTION**

The utter cruelty and class selfishness of the Congress party's rule is seen in its total failure to organise equitable distribution of the food produced in the country.

Today millions are facing starvation. Mothers are selling their children for a few paise. Families driven to desperation are committing suicide. And there are starvation deaths by scores. Has it moved the cruel hearts of the Congress rulers to see that there is an equitable distribution of food?

No, on the other hand, whenever the people demanded such measures, they tried to drown their voice in an orgy of blood and violence. The shooting down of food demonstrators in Bengal, the killing of students in Assam for the crime of demanding effective measures against blackmarketeers, the wild massacre in Banda—these give an insight into the real nature of Congress policy.

At the same time the Congress rulers attempt to cheat the people by making a show of measures for effective distribution. They establish food zones, and abolish or change them according to their convenience, i. e., the convenience of the wholesale traders and blackmarketeers of the region who back the Congress.

The Central and State Governments do not procure the surplus stocks of landlords and other surplus-holders, thus inflicting unnecessary starvation on the people directly under their control; nor do they help the people in extreme distress in other States unless blackmarket prices are secured for the hoarder of the grain.

The Central Government advertises the establishment of a Food Corporation, but at the same time circumscribes its operations in the interests of the landlord-hoarder. And even this Corporation is unable to function for want of co-operation from the Congress administration dominated by local landlord interests.

The Congress does not take any genuine step to nationalise the foodgrains trade.

The tall talk of compulsory grain procurement, State-trading in foodgrains, zonal system, price-fixation, cheap grainshops—all these have been proved to be a pure and simple hoax.

How can one expect the Congress to procure forcibly from the landlords, hoarders and grain speculators when these are the very people on whom the Congress depends for its election funds and votes to perpetuate bourgeois-landlord rule?

In the name of procurement, what goes on is the harassment of the small and medium peasant producers to force them to part with their grain. Afraid of touching the hoards of the landlords, big peasants and speculators the Congress Government callously refuses to accept any responsibility for feeding the people, for the equitable distribution of foodgrains.

They, therefore, resort to such subterfuges as modified rationing, informal rationing; they announce cheap grain-shops where grains are not available.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) denounces this mocking at people's woes and sorrows and demands that the Government must accept full responsibility for equitable distribution of food; must nationalise the wholesale foodgrains trade, must compulsorily procure the entire surplus from landlords and big peasants, and offer higher purchase prices to attract the produce of the small peasant.

It must ensure food not only to the city population but also to the agricultural labourers, artisans and other rural poor.

### **CONGRESS ACHIEVEMENTS**

In the name of national planning, the Congress party is building capitalism which has been already liquidated in one-third of the world, and which is being determinedly fought in the remaining two-thirds.

Mouthing Socialist phrases, the Congress party is bent on pursuing the capitalist path which has imposed on the country the food crisis and the industrial crisis and is endangering the economic independence of our country.

The Congress leaders advertise that they have done much to industrialise India. What is the reality?

In spite of the three plans, the proportion of industrial income to agricultural income shows very little change.

Fifteen years of new efforts show only a meagre percentage of our population working as industrial workers in modern factories.

Several of the industries set up through collaboration with the foreign monopolists are still dependent on the imperialists for components and spare parts, and suffer numerous restrictions on production, as well as in the marketing of the produce. Many plants are not in a position to utilise more than 50 to 60 per cent of their installed capacity.

The old established cotton textile industry is dependent upon heavy imports of foreign cotton and machinery and spends more foreign exchange than it earns. A number of cotton textile mills—nearly 40—are already closed when millions have hardly anything to wear.

The three steel mills set up under the public sector do not find an internal market for their produce, even though their full productive capacity is yet to be developed and though the needs of self-reliance demand a much higher production of steel.

In spite of the propagandist talk about self-reliance, the machine-building industry is either absent or just in its initial stage.

The administration of the Congress party has brought the public sector into complete disgrace. Managed and run by official bureaucrats, subservient to Big Business and hostile to the people, the public sector industries have earned notoriety for inefficiency with no promise of minimum profits in the near future.

Not only heavy dependence continues for hardware to equip the armed forces but even the defence industries are dependent for components, materials and technique on Western countries.

The recent Indo-Pak conflict demonstrated how several of our industries were threatened with closure when the Anglo-American imperialists stopped the import of industrial raw materials and their economic 'aid'.

## **DEPENDENCE ON AMERICAN IMPERIALISM**

This dependence is the direct result of the Congress policy of building capitalism with aid from imperialist countries—especially aid from the American imperialists.

The valuable help given by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries has been used not to free our economy, but to bargain for more enslaving loans from the USA.

The Congress party has been falsely telling the people that Government-to-Government loans from the West do not endanger economic progress; that it is getting aid without strings. But now everyone knows that the Government, the economy and our foreign policy are all under continuous American pressure.

While falsely accusing our Party of anti-national policies, the Congress party has been betraying our economic independence to the USA in the selfish interest of building capitalism. To meet the shortage of food created by its own pro-landlord policies the Congress Government has been importing huge quantities of U.S. surplus foodgrains under PL 480 agreements, incurring huge loans and making India precariously dependent on the U.S.

It has been inviting private foreign investments offering them alluring prospects to exploit our people. Thanks to Congress concessions, the rate of profits on British and U.S. investments in India is the highest in the world.

In the name of building an independent India the Congress party and its administration have been encouraging joint collaboration agreements of which there are now more than 2,500. Private foreign investments have grown from Rs. 255 crores in 1948 to nearly Rs. 1,000 crores in 1965-66. U. S. private investments have increased from a mere Rs. 11 crores to Rs. 250 crores including investments of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the private sector.

This not only entails heavy exploitation but also enables

the foreign monopolists to influence our economic life and interfere with our political sovereignty.

And, finally, the Congress rulers have piled up a huge debt of nearly Rs. 4,000 crores—mostly to the USA and its imperialist partners. Over and above this they seek to borrow another Rs. 4,000 crores for the Fourth Plan, once again mostly from the USA and its allies. Besides this the Congress Government has been annually incurring huge loans to the USA. And it is incurring fresh loans to pay off old loans.

We will have to make foreign payments of nearly Rs. 300 crores every year in pre-devaluation rupees (and Rs. 400 crores in post-devaluation rupees) for the next five years which means that our export trade will be mortgaged to the West. The loans of the coming five years will increase this burden immeasurably and intensify the process of exploitation.

### **FREEDOM UNDERMINED**

The U. S. imperialists have been demanding greater and greater facilities for private foreign capital and we are being forced to sanction them as in the case of the fertilizer deal.

Step by step they have been demanding greater freedom for the private sector, removal of all controls—and the Government has been surrendering to them one position after another. Under U. S. pressure Indira Gandhi agreed to the notorious Indo-U. S. Foundation which is an attempt to influence our educational system and nurse American sycophants in our midst. The process of surrender was recently climaxed when the Congress Government betrayed the people and accepted devaluation of the rupee at the behest of the American creditors.

Devaluation means increasing debt burdens for our people, rising prices of food and necessaries of life, forcible reduction of people's standard of living—all to pay American debts by selling our goods at lower prices to them and buying their goods at higher prices.

The stark reality the country faces today is growing dependence for people's food, dependence for resources of the plans, dependence again for the servicing of debts, dependence on imports to get the industries going and dependence for military hardware to equip the armed forces.

It is this abject dependence that enables the imperialists and their agencies to dictate to us from the size and pattern of the Fourth Five-Year Plan to the allocations of priorities to different sectors, from what to produce on our land and what to import, how to devalue our rupee and when to do it, what our internal policy should be like and what our foreign policy should not be like. The Government, far from strengthening our economic independence, through imperialist aid and collaboration with foreign capital, has undermined the political independence and a grave threat to our sovereignty has arisen.

This is how the Congress party has been defending our national independence.

Naturally one does not find a word about American penetration and concession to foreign capital in the Congress Manifesto. The Congress party wants to draw a veil of secrecy over its treachery.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) wants everyone to realise that our country is in great danger ; that the treachery of the Congress party is undermining our freedom.

The Party demands :

- \* Stoppage of all further aid from the USA and the Western camp and of all repayment obligations till we get out of the crisis ;
- \* Nationalisation of all private foreign capital in plantations, mines, oil refineries, trade and industry ; and
- \* An end to all foreign monopolist exploitation of our people which is today grinding them into poverty.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns that the dangerous influence of the hated Central Intelligence Agency

and Federal Bureau of Investigations men from the USA is rapidly growing in our country.

They are planted in different departments and at various levels in the State apparatus under the guise of the numerous American missions that are working in our country.

They are spreading their net over all departments of the State—the police, the civil and military administration and the cultural, educational and academic institutions.

The enslaving technique, practised by the American imperialists over decades with Latin American countries, is actively pressed into service in our country.

Thus the Congress path of dependence on foreign aid and collaboration, instead of putting the nation on the road to independent development, is transforming the country into the hunting ground for U. S. neo-colonialism.

Unless this pernicious path is rejected and the party in power pursuing it is defeated, India's independence itself will be imperilled.

### **HOAX OF LAND REFORM**

The country has been passing through a severe food crisis with tens of millions facing starvation and hunger. Why this food crisis? Why the abject dependence on American imports which endangers our free existence?

The food crisis, the misery following it, the danger to political independence arising out of it are all the direct result of the Congress policy of allying with landlords and defrauding the tiller of the right to land.

Land to the tiller is the key to the solution of our food crisis, the key to the expansion of the rural market to make rapid industrialisation possible.

With land transferred to the tiller, and helped by a democratic Government in the matter of credit facilities, application of scientific methods and cooperative endeavours, the

Indian peasant will work miracles of production which will permanently end the crisis.

This has been the experience of all countries which have been successful in solving their food problem. This has been the miraculous experience of People's China.

But the Congress party, with its alliance with the landlords, has prevented precisely this solution.

Despite the fabulous compensation of Rs. 600 crores paid to the statutory landlords in the name of abolition of landlordism, very little land has accrued to the agricultural workers and poor peasants. Surplus lands of landlords were made to disappear with fake partitions and book adjustments. By influencing official machinery the big landlords have been able to occupy Government fallow and forest lands thus adding to the acreage in their possession. Five per cent of rural households at the top hold as much as 37.5 per cent of the total land under cultivation while at the other end nearly 30 per cent of the rural households hold no land at all. They are the land-hungry labourers who are totally dispossessed. Another 30 per cent of the rural households hold only five per cent of the land under cultivation and constitute a nearly-dispossessed stratum.

The much-talked-of Congress agrarian reforms like abolition of intermediaries and land to the tiller constitute a big hoax on the toiling peasantry.

The tenants' protection laws have turned out to be laws for evicting lakhs of peasants from the land.

Agricultural development measures, extension services, package programmes constitute a big hoax on the mass of peasantry. Financial assistance and loans advanced by the Government including those from cooperative credit societies, are appropriated mainly by the big landowners. Congress policy has strengthened the hold of this small coterie on the rural economy.

The lower sections of the peasantry have neither the

resources to develop their farms nor are they protected from the ravages of the usurer, the grain-profiteer or the landlord. In large areas and in many States, landlords still take away from one-third to three-fourths of the peasants' produce by way of rent. Rural indebtedness, thanks to Congress policies, stands at Rs. 3,000 crores, and not even two per cent of the loans are provided by the State and agencies controlled by it.

The peasants must be paying not less than Rs. 300 crores by way of interest alone.

Ruin stares the small peasant in the face.

The agricultural labourer, the biggest single section of the peasantry, is the most neglected under Congress raj.

Unemployment and underemployment constantly haunt these pauperised millions. For 180 days in the year they are unemployed.

The minimum wage legislation for agricultural labourers has become a huge fraud. In most of the States the minimum fixed by law is below the existing wage. They are denied education facilities. They live in the most squalid surroundings and Congress Governments do not provide them with minimum facilities regarding medical care or other health measures. They are left a free prey to pestilence and disease.

The Congress Governments do not provide them with land for house-sites and leave them defenceless against the land monopolists.

The Congress Governments could not find time to distribute the 100 million acres of cultivable waste, pasture and permanent fallow land among them; on the other hand, they have been forcibly ejected from these lands wherever they have taken to cultivating them. Their struggle for land has been ruthlessly crushed like all other struggles. Ruination of Indian agriculture, destitution for the rural population, famine and food crisis for the people—these are the logical results of Congress policies.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands that these policies must be rejected and defeated.

It demands immediate distribution of the hundred million acres of cultivable land among the agricultural workers and poor peasants ; it also demands taking over of the land of the big landlords and their distribution gratis among agricultural workers and peasants ; drastic reduction of rent ; abolition of land tax and irrigation and other cesses and surcharges on all uneconomic holdings ; free supply of water for irrigation purposes to poor peasants ; cancellation of all usurer's debts ; and scaling down of other debts owed by agricultural workers, poor peasants and other sections of the rural poor ; adequate financial help to them for agricultural production ; guarantee of fair price for the small producer. It demands a decent minimum wage for agricultural workers, and an act guaranteeing it ; provision of house-sites, education and medical facilities for them and Government help to construct houses. It further demands the removal of social discrimination—still rampant under Congress rule.

It further demands an end to exploitation of the entire peasantry through the capitalist market by means of price manipulations ; the exploitation by foreign monopolists who purchase certain commercial crops in bulk and attempt to enforce lower prices on the Indian producer.

### ***EQUALITY—CONGRESS TYPE***

Fifteen years of Congress planning have led to an enormous concentration of wealth and means of production in the hands of a few people. While the Congress party was declaring that reduction of economic disparity was one of the objectives of its planning, wealth was being amassed by the big capitalists through these very plans.

The total capital assets of the modern Indian capitalist class stood at Rs. 900 crores in 1948. By 1960 they stood at Rs. 3,000 crores.

Just half a dozen Big Business houses have come to possess more than 50 per cent of this total private capital.

Two of these, Tatas and Birlas, have assets worth Rs. 700 crores—nearly 25 per cent of the total private assets.

Some 50 to 60 big establishments have come to monopolise several branches of industry and commerce while five to six banks control the major part of the banking business.

At the other end stands the exploited worker who earns from Rs. 50 to 100 all told. This is how disparity is being ended.

This growing concentration of wealth and means of production, leading to monopolistic combines, puts the economic life of the people at the mercy of these financial pirates, intensifies the exploitation of the workers, enables the monopolists to fleece the people through high prices and creates a danger to the democratic rights of the people.

The monopolists breed political reaction, require undermining of democracy to exploit the people, and stand for making further concessions to imperialism.

They together with other big bourgeois elements demand more concessions for the private sector, reduction of the role of the public sector, removal of all controls so that the private capitalists, foreign and Indian, can freely loot the people.

And the Congress Government has been surrendering to their demands, giving new scope to the private sector, and more opportunities to the private capitalists to exploit the workers. This is how Socialism is being built by the Congress.

At the same time the workers and employees are being exploited in the most brutal fashion. Only 40 per cent of the working class has its dearness allowance linked to the cost of living index. The rest are entirely dependent on the mercy of the employers and the Government. Besides, the cost of living index itself has been found to be fraudulent, thus depriving lakhs of their legitimate dearness allowance. In

recent years the real wage of the working class has gone down by 14 per cent—and is the same as it was in 1939.

Fifteen years of planning has achieved this result.

Besides, the condition of workers in unorganised industries, as well as those whose dearness allowance is not linked to the cost of living, beggars all description. Teachers, Government employees and other sections of middle class employees have been denied the right to have their dearness allowance linked to the cost of living. The ad hoc increases, given under mass pressure, fall far below the requirements, pushing them below the starvation line.

In spite of all the pay commissions, wage boards and ad hoc increases, no section has made any advance so far as real wages are concerned.

The working class is further being attacked by the denial of its legitimate claims to an adequate bonus—which hitherto partially compensated the rapid erosion of his pay-packet. Taking advantage of the provision for minimum bonus in the Bonus Act, the capitalists are refusing to go beyond the minimum thus reducing the Act to a farce. This is a direct attack on the wages of the workers.

Everywhere all legitimate demands for a rise in wages are being resisted.

Over and above this, the employers are imposing increased workload on the workers, making labour unbearable. Lock-outs and retrenchment are increasing; and the workers have also to fight for getting pay for work done; wages are sometimes not paid for months.

Mass retrenchment is also facing employees in the public and private sector. Automation has been introduced by the foreign oil companies leading to unemployment among middle class employees. The Government refuses to interfere, because it dares not offend the foreign companies.

The Government-owned LIC itself is introducing automation threatening the employees with loss of jobs. The Govern-

ment has further borrowed a number of computers for the Airlines Corporation.

Registered unemployment in cities has already reached the more than two million mark. The figure of middle class unemployed is nearly a million. And yet the Government wants to add to this total.

The struggles of the working class and employees against these policies are daily increasing. Strikes, protest actions, bands—every day witnesses one or the other form of struggle.

The Congress Government uses the Defence of India Rules, Preventive Detention Act and other measures of repression to crush the struggles of the working class, Government employees and other employees. Mass arrests take place. Prohibition of meetings, total suppression of the right to strike, arrests of trade union leaders and police firings and lathi-charges—these are the methods used by the Congress to choke the legitimate movement of the workers. And the employers supplement them by victimisation of trade union leaders, putting up rival unions, encouraging the Congress-sponsored INTUC to break workers' unity and strikes.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands an end to this policy of oppression and exploitation of the working class. It demands: (1) nationalisation of the concerns of monopolists and of such industry as is immediately necessary in the interest of the people, nationalisation of foreign trade; (2) guarantee of living wage to workers and employees; (3) full neutralisation of rise in the cost of living; (4) right to adequate bonus and linking of DA with the cost of living index for all workers and employees; (5) revision of wage-scale of all sections of employees including teachers and Government employees; (6) full guarantee of trade union rights for all including Government employees and immunity from police interference; (7) recognition of trade unions; (8) stoppage of all retrenchment and restoration of jobs of those retrenched; and (9) scrapping of automation.

## **THE FOURTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN**

Notwithstanding the phrase-mongering in its election manifesto, the Congress party is bent on pursuing these same anti-popular policies. This is evident from the draft of the Fourth Plan. The new draft gives up priority for basic industries under American pressure, places them lowest in the order of importance and shows the Congress talk of self-reliance to be pure propaganda. It gives first priority to export industries, i. e., for payment of debt obligations to the USA, thus virtually mortgaging our economic activity to the imperialists. And yet it wants to borrow Rs. 4,000 crores, mainly from the USA, to bind us still further to them.

The targets announced are dependent on 'aid' from the USA, and cannot be taken seriously. Besides, experience of the Third Plan shows that Congress planning cannot reach even moderate targets. Therefore, neither the target of 120 million tons of foodgrains, nor of 12 million tons of steel can be taken seriously.

Land will not be transferred to the tiller and the food target will not be reached. And, lastly, under pressure of the American creditors, the Congress planners have openly announced that there would be no rise in the living standards of the people in the next five years. In the name of price-control, they have advocated a policy of forcing the masses to bear the burden of price-increases, delinking of dearness allowance from the cost of living index, and of opposition to rise in wages. This is how the Congress party intends to function in the next five years.

## **CONGRESS PARTY DISUNITES INDIA**

No party talks more glibly than the Congress about national integration and unity of India; and yet none has done more to disrupt Indian unity than the Congress party.

Whose policies have driven the Nagaland people to demand independence? Whose policies have driven the Mizos to desperation so that the Congress Government is attempting to

**"pacify" them through the intervention of the army? And who is responsible for a similar unrest among the hills people of Assam?**

The bourgeois-landlord Government, accustomed to suppress and exploit the people, is totally incapable of solving the problem of the border people in a democratic way. It only knows the use of bayonets driving them to demand secession.

Has the Congress party succeeded in solving the Kashmir problem and winning over the people of Kashmir? The people of Kashmir still continue to be sullen, yet the Congress Government shows no willingness to solve the problem in consultation with the popular parties and people of Kashmir. It believes only in detaining and imprisoning the leaders.

The same class policies are driving the adivasis inside India to turn away from the Congress conception of unity and integration. The Bastar massacre is a standing witness to Congress cruelties and hypocritical talk about integration.

The capitalist path of the Congress party is leading to disintegration in other directions as well. Under it, the beggarly advance that is taking place in industry is getting concentrated in three or four States, while the other States make no progress.

Because of this disparity on the one hand, and the irresistible urge generated in the people for local industrial development on the other, every new industry contemplated by the planners becomes an apple of discord.

This is exactly what comes handy to the rising bourgeois groups of various linguistic States to divide and disrupt the unity of the nationwide workers' and peasants' revolutionary movement and along with it the very fabric of the multinational Indian Union. The river waters disputes, the boundary demarcation disputes which are exploited by Congress leaders of those States to fan provincial hatred are a portent of the things to come.

The revolutionary unity of the working people of India, and the further progress of the Indian Union, urgently demand the removal of the big bourgeoisie from leading positions in the State and the rejection of their disruptionist capitalist path.

The Congress party is preserving all the moribund forces which hinder national unity. Instead of eradicating casteism it fans and promotes it especially during elections. Its talk of secularism is pure propaganda. The Congress Government pursues a policy which instead of promoting secularism helps religious orthodoxy and bias in public life.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands that the Congress Government must abandon its attempt to use force against the people of the border States and seek a peaceful democratic settlement of the problem.

It demands ruthless punishment of officials involved in the Bastar massacre and full justice to adivasis including establishment of autonomous regions.

It demands that there should be no attempt to annul the special status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and that the problem be settled in consultation with the people and popular parties of the State.

### **LANGUAGE POLICY**

The Congress party did its best to disrupt national unity by its thoughtless attempt to substitute Hindi in place of English instead of conceding equal status to all the languages of the Union. This disruptive move raised a big struggle in Tamilnad which was suppressed with police violence.

The Congress party is not interested in promoting the languages of the people and carrying on the administration of the people in their languages. It is not interested in ensuring education upto the highest level in the mother-tongue of the peoples of various States. The result is English still continues to dominate, while the languages of the people are not made the languages of the administration.

Hindi chauvinism raises anti-Hindi chauvinism and the gainer in the bargain is English.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands the right of people to receive instructions in their mother-tongue in educational institutions ; the use of the national language of the particular State as the language of administration in all its public and State institutions, as well as its use as the medium of education in the State upto the highest standard ; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region where necessary in addition to the language of the State. Use of Hindi as an all-India language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between the people of different States. Adhere to the principle of replacing English by the regional language. Transition from English to Hindi at the Centre should be simultaneous with the same from English to the regional languages in the States ; the preparation for this transition which is being made by the Centre with regard to Hindi should also be made with all necessary central assistance in States in regard to regional languages. At the same time, for the transition period, the duration of which should be decided with the consent of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, English should be given the status of an associate administrative language. Equality of all national languages in Parliament and central administration will be recognised. Members of Parliament will have the right to speak in any national language and simultaneous translation will be provided in all national languages. All acts, Government orders and resolutions will be made available in all national languages. Urdu language and its script will be protected.

### **UNDERMINING OF DEMOCRACY**

The Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States are unable to rule the country with the normal process of law. Despite the repeated demands of all sections of the people for

the withdrawal of the emergency the Congress Government keeps it in operation to beat down popular struggles. The Defence of India Act continues to exist and new Ordinances are being promulgated by the State Governments to launch wanton attacks on the liberties of the people. The fundamental rights of the people and the Indian Constitution have been reduced to a farce.

The undermining of democracy has gone a long way in our country and the State is rapidly assuming the attributes of a police State.

Detentions without trial of thousands participating in struggles for livelihood ; mass shootings and arrests ; torture in prison ; brutal treatment of men, women and children—these are the methods by which the Congress party is maintaining its rule.

Today no one escapes the indignities and brutalities of the police. The professor, the teacher, the student, the lawyer and doctor, the workers, peasants, agricultural workers and employees—all are tasting the flavour of police raj. Neither workers' quarters, college hostels, professors' residences, nor the seats of learning are free from the invasion of these defenders of law and order. The ruling party also hires goonda gangs to attack the democratic movement.

Congress law and order has assumed the aspect of class terror.

The Congress party has shown the worst contempt for parliamentary democratic principles. Elected Legislatures are summarily dissolved, as in Kerala in 1959 and 1966, and President's rule is foisted on the people whenever the interests of the bourgeois-landlord clique require it.

Elected members of Parliament and State Legislatures belonging to our Party and other democratic Opposition parties are detained arbitrarily under the DIR and PD Act, members fighting for people's demands are physically thrown out of the House of Parliament and Legislatures.

Elected Gram Panchayats, Municipalities and Block Samitis are suspended whenever the Opposition gets a majority in them.

The Congress Government denies real autonomy to the States and Union Territories. By transferring more and more powers to the Centre, the Government is negating the autonomy of constituent units and turning the federal structure of the Indian Union into a unitary one.

The so-called decentralisation of power has led to farcical bodies of Panchayats and Block Samitis where the real power is in the hands of officials and not the people. They in co-operation with the landlord, the moneylender and the local Congress boss rule the roost.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns the people that Congress rule is a danger to our democracy and the precursor to a police State. The Party demands withdrawal of emergency, of the DIR and PD Act and other repressive legislations, abolition of President's special powers, full liberties to the people, immunity of MPs and MLAs from arrests, a halt to police firings and lathi-charges, punishment of all guilty officials and direct subordination of the police and the army to people's will and interests.

### **CONGRESS AND MINORITIES**

Under Congress rule the Muslim minority which constitutes five crores of our population is in fact discriminated against, particularly in the matter of education and employment opportunities, despite the constitutional provision against any discrimination. They have benefited very little from the meagre progress which the country has registered and their backwardness continues. It is not good for the country that the members of this community should suffer from a sense of frustration and be under the constant threat of being dubbed as anti-national Pak agents. It is highly derogatory to them as citizens of India. During last year's Indo-Pakistan conflict

hundreds of them were arrested on suspicion, their crime being that they were Muslims.

There is a tendency to decry every demand of theirs as communal and stifle their voice. During elections the Congress party often uses threats and intimidation to secure their votes.

Urdu, which is dominantly the language of millions of Muslims in Northern India, is deliberately suppressed by the Governments of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In communal riots their property and lives are not safe; they become easy victims of Jana Sangh and RSS fanatics; they find Government measures to protect their lives totally inadequate, often leaving them defenceless before their attackers.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands that this discrimination against the Muslim minority must end; Urdu be given its proper place as one of the languages of the Union; it should be recognised as the second regional language in the States of U. P., Bihar and Delhi and other States where there are large Urdu-speaking minorities and it should be protected and facilities given for its development; schools for teaching Urdu be provided in Urdu-speaking areas; all religious and minority rights be guaranteed; and discrimination in jobs be ended. The social barrier even now existing between Hindus and Muslims must be removed by conscious efforts to safeguard minority rights.

The spirit of Hindu chauvinism encouraged by the Congress leaders in various ways and the glorification of obscurantism create misgivings in the minds of the other religious minorities raising the fear of a Hindu State and helps the forces of disintegration.

### **SCHEDULED CASTES**

The law prohibiting the practice of untouchability adorns the pages of the Indian Constitution. And yet the plight of the 50 million scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other down-trodden communities remains the same.

Funds allotted for their betterment and advance and Government jobs reserved for them do not touch even a fringe of the problem. And yet these funds also remain unspent. One of the main demands of these sections is for land—and it is exactly this the Congress Government denies in the interests of the landlords. By educating a few, and giving them jobs in the administration, the Congress Government only makes a show of improving their conditions. In reality the masses belonging to these sections continue deeper and deeper in the mire of poverty and remain socially ostracized, still subject to unheard of atrocities from others.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands a drastic solution—demands first of all distribution of land to these sections, accompanied by other aids; and rigorous implementation of anti-untouchability laws. It also demands more financial allocations for implementing necessary schemes for their benefit.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

What is the foreign policy that is being pursued by the Congress Government? Is it an independent one of serving India's national interests and strengthening India's independence?

Such an independent foreign policy can be pursued only in alliance with the camp of peace and Socialism and all the freedom-loving anti-imperialist countries of the world and in opposition to the aggressive plans of the U.S. and other imperialists. Such a policy can be pursued only in firm opposition to a nuclear war, to all imperialist wars, to colonialism and neo-colonialism and in firm support to peace, national liberation struggles and the principles of peaceful coexistence.

India's espousal of the Bandung principles had been hailed by the Socialist and anti-imperialist forces and its non-alignment policy in the past had earned the praise of freedom-loving forces.

But today India's prestige has fallen low among the anti-imperialist forces and nations; she has, in fact, become, in their eyes, an object of suspicion.

This has happened because the Congress Government, while mouthing phrases about non-alignment, has been slowly taking India away from the anti-imperialist peace-loving camp and towards the U. S. imperialist camp. This treacherous shift is a betrayal of the interests of the nation and is only in the narrow selfish interests of the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes.

The growth of monopolies and Big Business and their growing collaboration with foreign monopolies under Government aegis and the abject dependence on the USA for food imports and plan aid have led to this treacherous shift.

The Government's acceptance of U. S. military aid in the name of national defence has only made the country more dependent on the USA, rendered difficult a solution of the dispute with China. The annual defence expenditure of more than Rs. 1,000 crores has, apart from the crushing burdens imposed on the people, led to further dependence on the USA and consequent surrenders to its dictates in quick succession at the cost of our sovereignty. Among these concessions which were reducing non-alignment to a farce were the Voice of America Deal episode, acquiescence in the operations of the U. S. Seventh Fleet and the Anglo-American plan to establish a military base in the Indian Ocean.

What has been even more shameful has been the Government's stand in regard to Vietnam. Instead of a clearcut stand of all support to Vietnam's freedom struggle and stopping the U. S. imperialist aggression in Asia which is in India's own vital interests, the Government acquiesces in the U. S. aggression, helps the South Vietnam puppets by sending trucks and steel from the Soviet-built Bhilai plant, praises the peaceful intentions of President Johnson and even peddles the bogus peace proposals of the U. S. imperialists round the world.

The Government thus betrays both Vietnam and India in its subservience to the USA.

In place of opposition to U. S. imperialism and neo-colonialism, opposition to Socialist China has become the main feature of India's foreign policy. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi went to the limit when in the joint communique signed with U. S. President Lyndon Johnson, she agreed to become a partner in the U. S. policy of containing China. Instead of breaking the deadlock over the Colombo proposals and settling the India-China dispute peacefully, the Congress leaders have been dragging India towards the camp of U. S. imperialism, in the name of national defence.

The U. S. imperialists have not been slow in taking advantage of this situation. U. S. military officials swarm all over the country and have unhindered access to the most vital strategic places, they have demanded and won the right to make on-the-spot inspections of our arms during a border conflict. It is India that is being contained by the U. S. imperialists.

Not only in relation to China and Vietnam, the Government of India now welcomes almost every reactionary development anywhere in the world. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh welcomed with unequalled lack of shame the developments in Indonesia following the coup organised by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and the massacre of lakhs of Communists and democrats, a coup that threatens Indonesia's existence as an independent nation.

Two decades after independence, the Congress regime continues to keep India in the imperialist British Commonwealth, though repeatedly intimidated and insulted by the former oppressors. What is even more shameful is that India lends support to British imperialist plans like the creation of Malaysia which was meant to checkmate freedom-loving Indonesia, and inside the Commonwealth, India often takes a treacherous or equivocal position on the question of freedom,

specially of African countries. On the question of Rhodesia, when some African countries boycotted the recent Commonwealth Conference and some others took a forthright position to unmask the utterly reactionary and hypocritical policies of the British Labour Government, India's Foreign Minister Swaran Singh did not join his voice with these countries but joined those who were prepared to compromise on the freedom of the Rhodesian people and acted as British go-between to the wavering elements. Free India's Foreign Minister boasted that he had saved the imperialist Commonwealth. Can subservience go any further?

Under the leadership of the Congress party, India's foreign policy is rapidly losing its independence and becoming subservient to the USA. Economic dependence is leading to political dependence.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns that this might prove the beginning of the loss of our political independence and calls upon the people to be vigilant and fight this treacherous policy. It demands a foreign policy firmly opposed to all imperialist wars and directed towards the elimination of the danger of nuclear wars; a policy based on opposition to U.S. imperialism and colonialism and support to the freedom-struggles of all peoples; a policy of firm friendship with the Socialist camp and of solidarity with Afro-Asian countries.

It demands that India should quit the Commonwealth.

In the interests of our own freedom and well-being, the Party demands that the Government should take initiative to have direct talks for a peaceful settlement with China. Friendly relations between the two countries are in the interests of the freedom of Asia, only imperialists gain by a conflict.

The Party demands a peaceful settlement of all disputes with Pakistan so that the forces of reaction and imperialism can no longer exploit the disputes to the detriment of the freedom of both countries. The Tashkent Declaration was a

step in the interests of both the peoples, a military conflict between the two only plays into the hands of U. S. imperialism. While demanding a peaceful settlement, the Party also warns the people that once again interested parties are busy creating a tense atmosphere on our borders and that as the elections approach these efforts will be intensified with a view to reaping electoral advantages.

## **EDUCATION**

The Congress party and its administration have miserably failed in advancing the cause of education.

In two decades of its rule the Congress Government has made no attempt to effect a basic change in the pattern of education which the foreign rulers had introduced. It has failed to reorientate our education to fulfil the needs of our newly-freed people and serve the cause of national uplift and democracy. Under the British, the primary object of education was to turn out clerks and slaves for the foreign overlords. Under the Congress regime its aim is to train the younger generation in the service of the capitalist masters of India.

In 1966, after two decades of Congress rule, only 44 per cent of the age group attended Class V and only 24 per cent attended Class VIII. Our planners want another two decades before elementary education with a seven years' course is made universal.

Secondary education is today available only for 18 per cent of the age group while in all Western countries universal secondary education upto the age of 16 is a common feature.

Progress in the education of girls is still slower. They form only 25 per cent of the total enrolment in middle and 20 per cent in the secondary schools.

The percentage of drop-outs in the primary stage is as high as 60 per cent. The constitutional directive of free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14 is as distant a goal as ever.

Education doled out to the poorer classes in villages and municipal schools is of a poor quality, a large percentage of the boys from those sections are often compelled to purchase seats for their children in kindergarten schools, grammar and public schools. This of course is beyond the reach of the poorer sections. For seats in medical and engineering colleges students have sometimes to pay ten to fifteen thousand rupees by way of donation—only the better-off being able to afford it.

On the other hand, the teachers, particularly of the elementary and second grade schools, are paid badly and have to resort to countrywide struggles for minimum pay and better conditions.

Parity of conditions and salaries between teachers of Government schools and private schools is not secured. There is no linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living. The salary-scales are farcical and other minimum conditions like housing are not guaranteed.

And, above all, the minimum facilities for the intellectual development of the teachers are not provided for—facilities which must be given to increase the efficiency of the teaching profession as well as its dignity and capacity to influence the generation under its training.

The conditions of university teachers also require a drastic change.

The Government is callously slow in giving a technological and science orientation to the higher education system. Nepotism and favouritism haunt even the research and science institutions. Quite a good percentage of the people who were enlisted under the widely advertised "Scientists' Pool" after long efforts and persuasion are still unabsorbed in research and other institutions and their names are being deleted from the rolls. In their place third-rate experts from the U. S. and other Western countries are imported and paid high salaries. The drain of scientific talents continues as before.

Less than two per cent of the relevant age-group is able to get university education ; and less than 0.44 per cent enrol themselves in science courses.

University higher education is thus a luxury of the few, denied to the overwhelming majority of the young men coming from poorer families.

Yet the Government and its spokesmen always argue as if there is too much of university education and are hatching schemes to restrict it.

Even with the present restricted availability of university education, there are tens of thousands of graduates who do not get employment under the Congress regime. The total number of educated unemployed—graduates and under-graduates—is nearly a million.

Under the Congress regime the sanctity of the educational institutions is repeatedly violated by the police who invade universities and colleges under the least excuse. Rights and liberties of students are suppressed and their protests drowned in blood. In some places Police Commissioners are appointed as advisers in the matter of inter-university life outraging the freedom of educational institutions.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands (1) upgrading of primary schools into schools with seven years' course ; (2) compulsory free elementary education with a seven years' course ; (3) free secondary education ; (4) overcoming the lag between boys' and girls' education ; (5) promotion of mother-tongue as the medium of instruction at all stages of education ; (6) greater promotion of technical education ; (7) raising the quality of education ; (8) meeting all the legitimate demands of the teaching profession and removing the present disgraceful pittance called salaries—so that the quality of teaching as well as the dignity of the profession is restored.

## **WOMEN**

Women, this vast section of our people, continue to be plagued by lack of education, of opportunities for free development and are victims of backward obscurantist customs and prejudices.

The Congress Government has hardly done anything to change this situation. Even the meagre advance in education is not equally shared between boys and girls—the educational progress of the latter lagging far behind that of the former. No nation can progress if it allows its women to be enchained to backwardness, ignorance and superstition and does not give them equal treatment as citizens of the country.

Women coming from the working masses are the special victims of the situation—the percentage of literacy among them being the lowest.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands special facilities for promoting education among women, especially women from the toiling masses—without education all talk of equality is pure moonshine.

The Party also demands removal of social disabilities from which women, not only of the toiling masses, suffer. The old unequal laws, sanctified by religious superstition, continue to hamper the cause of women's freedom from feudal customs. The Party demands equal rights for women in such matters as enforcement of marriage laws and divorce, admission to professions and services and equal pay for equal work. It opposes every kind of discrimination against women.

## **ARTISANS AND OTHERS**

The Congress Governments have inflicted untold miseries on the small artisans, handloom weavers, shop assistants and others who are often scattered over wide areas and are consequently unable to make their strength felt through organisation.

Today lakhs of handloom weavers are placed in a similar

position, their labour depreciated, their looms idle, their stocks lying unsold.

Shop assistants and the other artisans, especially the self-employed ones, are left defenceless against rocketing prices and are living on the starvation line.

The Party demands that this victimisation be stopped and that they be given adequate wages and compensation against the rising prices.

## **REFUGEES**

The Congress Government has shown brutal callousness towards lakhs of refugees who are undergoing a life of extreme misery and suffering. The question of their livelihood has not been solved; they all are undergoing extreme privations, and many are faced with outright starvation. Instead of taking urgent steps to meet the situation, the Congress Government has decided to close down the rehabilitation department under the false plea that only some residuary problems remain to be solved.

This is nothing but a callous attempt to evade its responsibility towards the refugees.

The Party has consistently fought against this inhuman policy in the past and will continue to do so in future so that full justice is secured to the refugees.

The Party demands that the Government should provide shelter and gainful occupation to all categories of refugees and provide adequate funds for the purpose.

## **CULTURE**

With the overwhelming mass of workers and peasants deprived of education, culture under Congress rule remains a prisoner of the bourgeois-landlord classes. Institutions like the Sahitya Akadami, Lalit Kala Akadami and Sangeet Natak Akadami are just show-pieces of the Central Government. The Congress leaders, under the garb of

protecting and guarding the so-called national traditions and social values, seek to resurrect what is hidebound and reactionary in them discarding everything living and dynamic in the modern world. Only the decadent and dying Western culture which does not even represent the spirit of bourgeois renaissance is accepted as something new. Progressive writers, artists, and men of real culture are put on the black list and sycophants and favourites are promoted.

Cinema is a free field for money-bags to exploit and profit. The progressive-minded producers and artists are crushed by the cut-throat competition of big money on the one hand and discouraging imposts of different kinds on the film industry on the other, and eventually have either to leave the field or sell their talents to earn their livelihood. The Censor Boards which are supposed to act as the custodians of social morals and national cultural values, act more as political censors, and resort to all kinds of ridiculous restrictions on Indian films, while they show utter helplessness in the case of imported films with their orgies of sex, of blood and violence. All-India Radio neither educates nor entertains but plays the rôle of a cheap trumpet for Government propaganda. Nepotism, favouritism and bias against all forward-looking ideas is the norm and rule of its management.

### **ARMED FORCES AND THE PEOPLE**

The Congress party talks a lot about national defence but the policies it has been pursuing have landed the country into abject dependence on Western powers for defence material which is endangering our independence.

The growing economic dependence on the USA, the miserable progress in industrial development, the shift in foreign policy—all have led to a situation in which we are more dependent than ever for military hardware and strategic weapons on the imperialists. This dependence prevents us from raising our voice of protest against such manoeuvres of

American-imperialism as the movement of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean though they directly menace our defence.

Besides, in the name of securing American help in the India-China conflict, large number of American officers and military missions operate in the country and they know every detail about our defence. There can be no effective defence unless this policy is defeated and the edge of our defence is turned against imperialism.

The Congress party's administration follows British methods of building a mercenary type of army totally divorced from the people and based on the incentive of jobs and careers. Students for officers' schools and academies are recruited mainly from the upper classes, while those coming from the common people have to undergo a rigorous test of police scrutiny. Anyone suspected of the slightest political awakening is rejected on the basis of police reports.

The jawan of the army, coming mostly from the peasantry, is ill-paid and shares the discontent of the ill-paid and downtrodden peasantry. On recruitment he finds a glaring contrast between his scanty pay and the high salaries of the topmost officials.

While he is allowed the right to vote, he is not to be approached by any political party; nor is he to read any political literature. Servicemen are denied the right to contact even their parliamentary representatives for redress of their grievances.

This, however, does not apply to the Generals and top-officials who, in the main, are largely drawn from the bourgeois-landlord classes and get their education in exclusive institutions. They carry on their politics in their own way behind the curtains.

The powers-that-be are afraid of raising the democratic and patriotic consciousness of the jawan and prefer him to be an obedient tool. The steel wall built between the armed forces and the mass of the people by the former British rulers.

is perpetuated. Under the specious plea of maintaining law and order, the armed forces are often pitted against the people fighting for their legitimate demands. Narrow class fear haunts the Congress leaders and the higher national and patriotic interests are subordinated to it.

### **JANA SANGH AND SWATANTRA**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) warns the people against the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party—which, though they thunder against Congress misrule, essentially represent the same class interests as the Congress.

They demand a more naked and avowed pro-American orientation in foreign policy; a more open and avowed orientation towards capitalists and landlords in the internal sphere and a more repressive policy towards the people. Internationally they support American imperialism more blatantly—as on the question of Vietnam.

Their policies only facilitate further American penetration and further sell-out of people's interests to private exploiters. By their criticism they only seek to channelise popular discontent towards themselves, so that the people are cheated once more by the representatives of the same exploiting classes.

Above all, they are deeply anti-Communist and declare their hostility to the Communist Party and the working class movement. They press the Government to attack the Party and ban it. Their anti-Communism reveals their direct connections with the ruling circles of monopolists, big bourgeoisie and landlords. They are thus in open opposition to the progressive forces in the country.

That is why a section of Congress leaders, including some Cabinet members, are in league with them. The RSS, the Hindu semi-fascist communal organisation, is especially favoured by some of them.

## **DANGE REVISIONISTS**

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the party of the working class of India, uniting within itself the best elements from the workers, peasants and the middle classes who uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism and devote themselves to an uncompromising struggle against the present bourgeois-landlord Government. It carries forward the revolutionary traditions of the Communist movement in the country and unflinchingly serves the cause of the people.

The Dange group of revisionists split away from the Party to pursue their opportunist line of class-collaboration. If today it carries the name of the old Communist Party and its symbol, it is only because the Election Commission is pleased to give it to them.

Neither ideologically nor organisationally have they the right to call themselves by the old name.

Taking advantage of the bourgeois chauvinism in connection with the India-China conflict, they joined hands with the bourgeois-landlord Government to open the country to American penetration—the dire effects of which we are seeing today.

Taking advantage of their majority in the Central Executive Committee of the Party, they supported the notorious Defence of India Act under which their own partymen were arrested and which was later on used to crush the popular movement; utilising their majority in the AITUC leadership they entered into the treacherous industrial truce agreement which was used by the employers to attack the workers. In the 1963 workers' march to Parliament they refused to put forward the demand for release of detenus. This has been the bitter experience of our Party in connection with the revisionists.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) seeks to fully mobilise the people against the Congress in the coming elections. Without such a mobilisation, without taking every possible step to isolate the Congress and avoid splitting of

anti-Congress votes, it will not be possible to give a fitting rebuff to the Congress and defeat it in as many places as possible.

The revisionists are professing their opposition to Congress rule and are stating that they want to defeat the Congress at the polls. They propagate that they seek an electoral front with us against the Congress and want to oust it from power. Therefore, in spite of our bitter experience with the revisionists and serious differences with them, our Party has expressed its willingness to seek electoral adjustments with them so that the Congress may not benefit by the splitting of opposition votes. Our Party is confident that the people will test the sincerity of each party in the elections and keep strict vigilance on the future activities of all parties which today pledge to isolate the Congress party.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is the only party that stands firmly and consistently for Socialism. Socialisation of means of production under a proletarian State alone will abolish exploitation of man by man and finally solve the problems of poverty and impoverishment.

No fundamental problem of the Indian people can be solved under the present bourgeois-landlord State led by the big bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) firmly believes that the road to Socialism can be opened only through the establishment of a State of People's Democracy, led by the working class, replacing the present bourgeois-landlord State, led by the big bourgeoisie. This can be achieved only by developing determined mass struggles on the basis of growing unity and consciousness of the people. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) works determinedly for organising people's struggles for livelihood, democracy and power.

In the coming elections the Communist Party of India (Marxist) aims at removing the Congress monopoly of power in as many States as possible, improving and increasing the

strength of the democratic opposition and above all of the CPI (Marxist) in all the States and at the Centre.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon the people to reject Congress policies and vote for the Party's policies.

The Party is the only party which has been faithful and true to the people under the most difficult circumstances. Denounced as traitors by the Congress and Dange revisionists, the CPI (Marxist) continued to fight for the cause of the people, fight for the genuine national interests of the Indian people and had the courage to demand peaceful settlement with China and warn the country against American penetration in the name of defence.

Once again on the question of Indo-Pakistan conflict it is our Party that warned the people against the game of American imperialism while the revisionists openly walked into the trap trailing behind the big bourgeoisie. While advocating proper measures against the infiltrators, our Party alone demanded an end to the conflict and peaceful settlement of the dispute.

Incensed by the steadfast loyalty of the members of the CPI (Marxist) to the masses and genuine national interests, the Congress Government launched its second round of repression against the Party in 1964, arresting more than a thousand leaders and detaining them for 16 months. Yet the Party continued to fight for the cause of the people and led the huge movements of the Bengal and Kerala bandhs and won a historic victory in the Kerala election in 1965 despite the treacherous role of the Dange revisionists.

Since the release of Party leaders this year, the Party has been in the forefront of mass struggles—once more facing repression and jails. Once again the Government has started a slander campaign—only showing it is nervous of the growing influence of our Party.

The Party with its militant and revolutionary tradition calls

upon the people to rout the Congress and endorse the Party's electoral programme which alone shows a way out of the present critical situation.

Against the injustice and brutalities of the Congress regime, the Communist Party seeks to unite all opposition parties who express a desire to stand by the masses and fight Congress policies.

Knowing that division of the democratic opposition plays in the hands of the Congress and deprives the people of their legitimate victory, the Party is doing its best to get all other Left parties together and face the Congress with a broad electoral front.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) calls upon all people to support the candidates of the Party and its allies and give a smashing defeat to the Congress in all States.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) stands for the following :

1. The sovereignty of the people. The supreme power in the State must be entirely in the people's representatives. Special powers of the President be annulled. Proportional representation to end Congress rule on the basis of minority vote and express the genuine will of the people.

Emergency to end forthwith. D. I. R., P. D. Act and all repressive legislations must be withdrawn. Complete restoration of the fundamental rights of the people; no detention without trial; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief, worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination, freedom of movement and occupation.

2. Immediate dismissal of all anti-people police officials guilty of atrocities against the people; police department to be reorganised and made responsible to popular will. Legal provision for judicial inquiry in all cases of police firing and complaints about atrocities.

3. Equal rights of all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, etc.; equal pay for equal work. Rights of Muslim mino-

rities—cultural, religious, linguistic, services—to be specially protected in view of constant attacks on them. Abolition of all social oppression of one caste by another and of all social disabilities. Untouchability to be effectively punished. Special measures to promote the development of adivasis and backward communities.

4. Effective guarantee of the secular character of the State.

5. Tribal areas to have regional autonomy with regional Government in the State concerned, or be constituted as full autonomous States where necessary; widest autonomy for the various States comprising the Indian Federation; post of State Governors to be abolished; for local administration directly elected local bodies with real powers and responsibility.

6. Equality of all languages as explained. Urdu to be given the status of a second regional language in the States of U. P., Bihar, Delhi and in States with sizable Urdu-speaking populations.

7. Free and compulsory education up to the secondary stage; promotion of girls' education; teachers' salaries and conditions to be improved.

8. Cultural media to be operated in the interest of promotion of people's culture and not as media of bourgeois-landlord culture.

9. Protecting the unity of India by promoting cooperation between constituent units, financial assistance to backward regions, study of different languages and above all by the promotion of common class struggle of the toilers against the bourgeois-landlord regime.

10. Taking over of landlords' lands and their distribution among agricultural labourers and poor peasants gratis; cancellation of debts owed by peasants, agricultural workers, small artisans to money-lenders and landlords; scaling down of other debts; ensure cheap credit for peasants and artisans

to improve methods of farming by the use of improved facilities. Ensure adequate wages, house-sites, and living conditions—educational and health facilities—for agricultural labourers. Encourage cooperatives of small peasants and artisans for agricultural services.

11. Government to accept full responsibility for equitable distribution of food to the people of urban and rural areas; entire surplus of landlords and rich peasants to be compulsorily procured; State trading in foodgrains, small producers to be given attractive prices to part with their produce to government agencies.

12. Effective price-control through nationalisation of banks, State trading in foodgrains, etc. Prices of all necessities of life to be drastically reduced. Protecting the people against effects of devaluation.

13. Drastic reduction in taxation. Taxation on all necessities of life to be abolished. Reduction in defence expenditure. Abolition of land tax, irrigation cess and other cesses and surcharges on uneconomic holdings.

Higher taxation on the richer sections in urban and rural areas, ceiling on urban income.

14. Moratorium on all foreign payments. Stoppage of all further American aid. Nationalisation of foreign trade, and all foreign capital in plantations, mining, oil, refineries, industry, shipping and trade.

15. Nationalisation of banks, monopoly concerns and other big industry wherever immediately necessary. A people's economic plan of development and self-reliance. Development of public sector with the utmost rapidity to overcome economic dependence. Control of private sector and profits in private sector. Balanced economic development of different regions.

16. Radical improvement of the living standards and working conditions of workers, employees, teachers and Government employees by fixing a living wage, adequate pay-

scales, full compensation against rise in cost of living by linking dearness allowance to cost of living index; social insurance at the expense of the State and capitalists for every kind of disability and unemployment; provision of decent housing; recognition of trade unions and their right of collective bargaining as well as right to strike for all workers including Government employees; withdrawal of all anti-working class legislation; stoppage of all retrenchment and scrapping of automation schemes. Provision of DA for pensioners.

17. An independent foreign policy based on opposition to imperialism, especially American imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and support to all freedom struggles; a policy based on opposition to nuclear war and imperialist wars and supporting peace and peaceful coexistence; a policy of firm friendship with all peace-loving countries, of firm solidarity with Afro-Asian peoples. Break with British Commonwealth.

Peaceful settlement of dispute with Socialist China and friendship between free India and Socialist China in the interest of Asian freedom. India-China understanding to be made the basis of a broad front against U.S. imperialism.

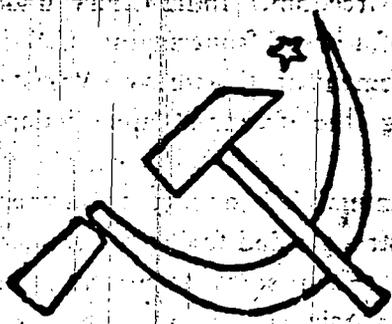
Peaceful settlement of dispute with Pakistan in the interests of strengthening the freedom and independence of both countries.

Firm and unqualified support to the people of Vietnam in their glorious struggle and forthright condemnation of American aggression. Firm steps to defeat American attempts to spread the war in Asia.

18. Replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord State led by the big bourgeoisie by a People's Democratic State led by the working class.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) looks upon the elections as a part of the great struggle that our people are waging against the Congress rule. These historic struggles

stretching from Bengal to Kerala and Andhra to Punjab are transforming the situation and isolating the power-hungry Congress. The fate of the country, our freedom and independence, is being shaped in these mighty battles heroically fought by our people in the teeth of firings, lathi-charges and police terror. Only the people's might can rebuff American imperialism. Only the people's struggles will defeat the anti-popular policies of the Congress and clear the road to democracy and prosperity. The Party pays its homage to the innumerable martyrs who fell in the battle against Congress tyranny. It assures everybody that the Party will not rest till the people are victorious.



The Communist Party of India (CPI) is a part of the great anti-imperialist and people's struggle against the Congress class. It has historic strategies