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## UNITED FRONT OF LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES: OUR ALTERNATIVE

The Communist Party of India does not rest content with merely offering criticism of the congress regime. It is leading the toiling masses into militant actions to defend their day-to-day interests as also the larger interests of the nation. Our party would, however, like to point out that the capitalist solution to the crisis which the ruling party proposes can only further hit the masses and worsen the economic situation. The real solution has to be found in resolute anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and popular, democratic measures.

Our party has been in the forefront of the struggles of the working people, the middle classes, the students, the working peasantry for their economic and political demands. Our party has taken the lead in mobilising the democratic masses against the devaluation treachery; it has bent all its energies to build

the broadest possible movement against the war-drive of US imperialism, for solidarity with the glorious Vietnamese people; it has exposed and fought the backsliding and vacillations of the Indian government from the foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. And in these struggles the people have made positive gains.

The struggles of the masses are inevitable because they are born out of necessity. Struggles alone convince the masses that the path of building capitalism pursued by the ruling Congress party can only lead to further growth of monopolies and heightened danger to the very freedom of the country. Struggles alone will convince them of the necessity to break away from this path and take to a different and alternate course of development which can improve their living conditions, win and consolidate economic independence of the country and open the road to socialism.

Many of the points of criticism are common with the views of other parties and personalities who subscribe broadly to democratic and socialist ideas. They may not believe in the science of Marxism-Leninism in the light of which we view social developments and which guides us in carrying out revolutionary transformations of the capitalist order. But all those who genuinely stand for socialism in our country cannot but agree on the imperative necessity to change the socio-economic order in the direction our party has outlined in its criticism and proposals.

Even democratic and progressive forces inside the Congress party admit the essential correctness of our criticism and agree with some of our proposals for change. But such trends inside the ruling party are organisationally weak and ideologically unstable.

The Communist Party of India recognises that a mere anti-congress electoral front, irrespective of principles or policies, just somehow to win seats, would not be of help to democracy and progress.

Some of the parties opposed to the Congress are positively counter-revolutionary, communal and pro-imperialist. Their anti-congressism is of no assistance to the toiling people of

India and an electoral front with them on our part is not possible.

These reactionary parties assail the Congress not with the idea of turning the ruling party away from the capitalist path but on the contrary, to further strengthen the hold of monopoly capital, to push it into the Anglo-American camp, to attack and fight progressive and socialist forces within the country and range India against the socialist world.

In the recent big actions in the shape of bandhs and strikes, these parties stood not on the side of the people but against them and with the ruling class and the Congress party.

The Swatantra Party has even made clear that its aim is not to replace the Congress but to form a coalition government with it. It is well known that the Swatantra Party, as well as the Jana Sangh have close links with the rightwing politicians inside the Congress—those trusted most by the monopolies.

The extreme reactionary wing in the congress leadership is allied with the Swatantra Party and many of these reactionaries are again in league with the Jana Sangh and the semi-fascist RSS. It is due precisely to such link-up that the capital city of Delhi witnessed on November 7, 1966, a dress-rehearsal of counter-revolution staged by the combined forces of extreme political reaction and of bigoted Hindu revivalism, all, however, under the cover of the religious symbol like the sadhu and the cow. The violent show became possible because many topmost ministers, leaders and officials of the Congress party, while mouthing secularism, humbly seek the blessings of the holy gurus, some of whom, behind their religious pretensions, are involved in the cloak-and-dagger plots.

The principle of secularism is enjoined in the constitution. But the leadership of the ruling party has neither imbibed the spirit of secularism nor taken it to the masses. It has not been made a part of our ideology and mass education. This has given opportunities to forces of communalism and obscurantism to strengthen their positions.

The Communist Party of India, therefore, cannot agree to make any electoral front with the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh. It calls upon the people not to fall a prey to the

demagogy and propaganda offensive of the Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party and other parties of right reaction.

The Communist Party holds that in order to save the country at this critical juncture, it is necessary to carry forward the unity of the left and democratic forces already achieved in the mighty mass struggles and bandh movements against the anti-people policies of the congress governments. This is possible only if the left parties come together not merely for electoral adjustments against the Congress but for evolving, through mutual discussion, a minimum common national political platform that will stand out before the people as a practical alternative to the domestic and foreign policies of the Congress. To rouse and galvanise the whole nation, it is essential to present them a vivid and inspiring alternative.

Full-fledged socialist reconstruction of Indian society can become a reality only when the country has gone through the intervening phase of basic domestic political and economic changes necessary for the transition to socialism. The national political platform of the left and democratic forces has to indicate this basic reorientation.

It has been the constant endeavour of the Communist Party of India to build such political unity of the left and democratic forces.

But unfortunately the urgency and necessity for such unity has not yet been sufficiently realised by the other left parties in the country.

In this connection, special mention must be made of the Communist Party (Marxist), a break-away party from the Communist Party of India, which at its Vijayawada Congress of 1961 had unanimously called for precisely such a broad national democratic front emerging out of mass struggles of the left and democratic forces against congress misrule.

The split in the communist movement in India has seriously affected the mass movement as well as the struggle for forging such a broad unity of the left and democratic forces. Today in the context of the fourth general election, the Congress and parties of right reaction, with US imperialists behind the scene, count much on this split.

The entire world communist movement united itself round the unanimous decisions of the world conferences of the communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 in Moscow. The working class and liberation forces throughout the world were heading for victory against the forces of imperialism and war.

However, the Communist Party of China decided to break away from the world communist movement, repudiate the unanimously agreed line of the movement, falsely accused the Soviet Union of having restored capitalism and become an ally of American imperialism.

Not content with separating itself from the main current of the world communist movement, it called for the splitting of the communist parties everywhere.

The Communist Party of China advanced certain special views on ideological, political and organisational questions contrary to the positions of the international communist movement.

These special, dissenting, erroneous views unfortunately found their echo within our united party. And some sections of the party split away from it under the pretext of some longstanding internal party differences and founded a new party.

Since then the break-away leaders of the Communist Party (Marxist) are pursuing a policy of disruption and split in trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations.

Our party has, however, always tried to develop united front with the Communist Party (Marxist) to give a united opposition to the Congress. But in most places such united front has not come into existence on account of the disruptive attitude and line of the dominant leadership of the Communist Party (Marxist). The leaders of the CP (Marxist) have taken the position of treating our party as a main enemy in the coming election, instead of joining hands with us in the common fight for ending the congress misrule and against the forces of communalism and dark reaction.

Despite this, the Communist Party of India will do its best to ensure that left and democratic forces and parties widen the areas of electoral agreement among themselves so that it becomes possible to extend what has been achieved in Kerala to other places and thus ensure that the Congress is ousted from

government in as many states as possible and given crushing defeats on a national scale.

The Communist Party of India hopes that ultimately a united battle will be given to the Congress and the forces of right reaction that are trying to overwhelm our country and thwart its progress.