

FOR SAVING THE NATION AND SERVING THE MASSES: PROGRAMME OF IMMEDIATE MEASURES

Life has shown that the Congress party cannot be trusted with power any more. In its hands, even the existing gains of our people's struggles are not safe. Under the congress regime, the future is dark. What the nation desperately needs is far-reaching, radical changes in our present economic and political structure—changes that must faithfully meet the aspirations of the masses and the vital requirements for this great nation to grow stronger and rise in her stature.

With this objective in view, the Communist Party of India places before the people the following programme, the implementation of which will save the country from the present crisis, stimulate production in industry and agriculture, ensure at least minimum needs of living and good life, strengthen and extend democracy and avert the danger of India falling a helpless victim to American neo-colonialism.

1. END FOREIGN EXPLOITATION

The Communist Party of India stands for the total elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy in order to secure economic independence. All industrial concerns, financial and business enterprises owned by foreign monopolies—oil, tea and jute plantations, etc.—will be nationalised.

For the moment, the Communist Party stands for the annulment of all collaboration agreements which give foreign capital the right to majority participation or control, ban on fresh collaboration agreements. It demands an immediate ban on remittance of profits, dividends, royalties, etc., and repatriation of foreign capital and moratorium on all debt repayments.

The Communist Party of India stands at present for taking over by the state all foreign trade which is mostly controlled by foreign monopolies. Along with this, in order to rapidly reduce our dependence on world imperialist market and to save the country from imperialist exploitation through non-equivalent exchange, progressive planned diversion of our foreign trade towards the socialist states and Afro-Asian countries is necessary. It is also necessary to see that all trade is conducted as far as possible on rupee basis.

The Communist Party of India stands also for organising and rapidly developing the movement for self-reliance and import substitution, enlisting the full cooperation of our scientists, technicians, intelligentsia and the trade unions, and for compulsory employment and utilisation of Indian know-how by Indian industry.

2. CURB MONOPOLIES

Effective measures to curb the monopolists and to break up in particular the 75 monopoly houses exposed in the monopolies commission report are necessary.

With that end in view some sections of private industry and capital must be taken over by the state immediately.

Privately-owned oil and petroleum industries will be completely taken over by the state-owned Indian Oil Corporation from which foreign partnership will be excluded. This is all the more urgent because oil and petroleum are the two key products not only for transport and industry but they also constitute vital elements in defence.

Coal-mining, non-ferrous metals like copper, zinc, etc., and electricity must also be in the hands of the state so that they are unshackled from the grip of monopolies and developed. Manufacture of cars and trucks will be taken over by the state sector since they are needed not only for civilian use but also for the army.

The medium and small-scale industrialists will get all the help they need without waiting at the doors of the bureaucrats or losing the cream of their gains to the overriding monopolists.

Reasonable compensation will be paid to all those small and medium shareholders below a certain ceiling of enterprises taken over by the state. The Communist Party wants to make it clear that it does not think that all industries and trade can or should be nationalised at the present stage of development.

3. NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

The entire financial capital, accumulated in the banks and now used according to the will of the millionaires for their private gain, must be brought under the most effective state control and planning. For this purpose all banks must be nationalised. The big millionaires will have no place on the board of directors of the nationalised, state-owned bank. The management will remain in the hands of the existing personnel wherever it is in conformity with national interests. But the management will be called upon to accept the supervision by trade unions in other spheres. The question of investments and use of funds will be guided by the state.

The private hundi market will be closed as a means of private banking.

4. CLOSE SPECULATIVE MARKETS AND EXCHANGES

The speculative markets and exchanges whether in shares, bullion or commodities are the worst disturbers of the economy. In our conditions, they are a hindrance to the proper flow of finance and commodities into the desired and needy branches of national economy and production, as is today seen, for example, in the battle of the ceiling rates in the cotton market. The exchange of shares as means of genuine investment will be regulated by relating their prices to actual profitability in the private sector.

The congress government has tried to intervene in these market deadlocks, but it has failed because those who intervened had not either the courage to offend the millionaires or played the game of one group against another.

The various finance corporations which have become the hunting ground of commission agents and wire-pullers will be

wound up and a single State Bank will regulate credit to industry and trade.

5. FOR A PEOPLE'S PLAN

The draft outline of the fourth plan relies mainly on foreign, particularly US imperialist, aid and puts the national economy in jeopardy and at the mercy of the Indian and foreign monopolists and their henchmen in the bureaucracy. It has been officially declared that even the partial and limited planning is going to be drastically whittled down, if not altogether abandoned. The so-called 'free-play' of market forces—which means a free hand to foreign and Indian exploiters—is being increasingly advertised as a panacea. The only prospect held out is of more back-breaking taxation and more dependence on imperialist 'aid'. The planning commission and the planning ministry are thus yielding to and helping the right offensive against planning itself and acting as its grave-diggers.

The draft fourth plan has to be replaced by an alternative people's plan. Such a plan will be worked out with the cooperation of democratic parties, patriotic economists, experts and the people with the objective of self-reliance, rapid growth, democratisation of the entire economy, social justice and people's welfare. Planning must first and foremost be for the people.

6. RESOURCES

Resources for national development must be raised through such means as nationalisation of banks, earnings from nationalised foreign trade, state-trading, by mopping up the accumulated wealth of the monopolists and former princes, by stopping the payment of compensation to the big landlords and cancellation of privy purses, by unearthing black-money, by more efficient running of the state-owned industries, by drastically reducing wasteful top-heavy administrative expenditure and by further improving trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries. State-trading in our internal market should be developed as a major source of revenue. The reliance

must primarily be on internal resources but without adding to the burden on the common people.

7. TAX-RELIEF FOR THE PEOPLE

The Communist Party stands for overhauling the entire present tax-structure which fleeces the poor, hits and harasses the middle sections and allows the wealthy all avenues of escape and evasion. The largest part of taxes is indirect and falls upon the common man and these regressive and anti-people taxes must go.

The common people must be given tax-relief by making the rich pay and by effective measures to unearth black-money and check tax evasions. Indirect taxes especially on necessities of life must be replaced by imposing higher taxes on super profits, lavish expenditure, gifts, wealth, capital gains, etc.

The Communist Party demands that land revenue should be abolished and replaced by a steeply graded tax on agricultural incomes, with exemption for all uneconomic holdings.

8. DEMOCRATISE AND REORGANISE THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The Communist Party of India stands for a comprehensive programme of rapid industrial development in which the public sector must have commanding position and capital goods industries get the pride of place. The public sector must be democratised and the ICS and IAS officials, who carry with them their obsolete rules and often sabotaging practices, must be replaced by suitable technical personnel. The production and pricing policies will be radically changed, enlisting the cooperation of the trade unions so that the public sector becomes an effective weapon for curbing and fighting monopoly.

The Communist Party demands that the state sector must be rapidly expanded in different branches of our economy. It should also be extended to the field of big consumer industries and export industries.

9. MANAGEMENT AND TRADE UNIONS

A conference of all the trade unions in the state sector industries, unit-wise and industry-wise, will discuss the prob-

lems of production and make concrete proposals and undertake fulfilment of tasks as democratically decided by them. The management will participate in these conferences and make suggestions.

Then the execution and fulfilment will be a joint responsibility, with the technical managerial head being the day-to-day authority in execution.

There is at present only the supervision by the boss from above of the workers. There is no supervision on the boss by the worker from below. Unless the two are combined, the present chaos and sabotage cannot be fought. This combination alone will stop corruption and root out the agents of the imperialists, the CIA and others who sabotage production as transpired in the Ranchi Plant fires, or as is happening in the case of many railway accidents.

All the trade union rights and laws that apply to the private sector will be valid in the state sector.

10. WORKERS' CONDITIONS AND RIGHTS

The working class will be assured the minimum need-based wage as agreed upon in the tripartite agreement and wages and working conditions will be decided on a national and industrial level by means of collective bargaining between unions and employers. In cases of differences and strikes, blacklegs will get no protection from the state and a speedy settlement of disputes will be ensured. The right to strike will be guaranteed and democratically exercised and the category of so-called illegal strikes will be abolished.

All unions will be asked to find ways and means of uniting in one organisation, which will get full right of recognition. In case of failure to voluntary unification, the question of recognition will be decided by secret ballot of the workers concerned.

The state will introduce new legislation or improve existing laws, as the case may be, to ensure proper linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living index, rightful share of the workers in profit as bonus, unemployment insurance, improve-

ment of social security schemes, including a gratuity scheme for retirement etc.

Rationalisation will not be permitted unless it is in strict conformity with all the safeguards contained in the tripartite model agreement of 1957.

All schemes of automation will be halted and the workers' organisations themselves will be asked to show ways and means of reorganising work and speeding it up without unemployment or increase in workload. Where application of new devices, as in transport signalling or aeronautics, is required to ensure human safety as well as speed, it will be permitted in consultation with the trade unions concerned.

11. PEASANTRY, AGRICULTURE AND FOOD PRODUCTION

Our country is in the grip of an acute and chronic food crisis, which is the result of the shameful failure of the congress governments, both at the centre and in the states, to mobilise all the productive resources of the country for rapidly increasing food production, and the free rein that has been given to hoarders and blackmarketeers to hold the entire nation to ransom and suck its very life blood.

The problem of increasing food production is directly and intimately connected with the living and working conditions of the vast masses of peasants, with the question of quantum of land in their possession, the productive resources at their command and the incentives provided to them by the state for developing production.

The success of all plans for increasing food production, therefore, depends essentially on how and in what measures effective steps are taken to promote the productive capacity of the millions of working peasants—the poor and middle peasants—who are responsible for the great bulk of agricultural production in our country.

The first and foremost requirement in this connection is to enforce effective and far-reaching land reforms which would break up the present land concentration, give full security of tenure to actual cultivators, enable the landless and land-

hungry population to bring vast new cultivable areas under the plough and would finally put an end to various remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, that still persist and act as fetters on agricultural progress. To this end, all ceiling laws and their implementation should be reviewed afresh and new laws should be enacted to break up the existing concentration of land in the hands of landlords and big farmers.

All surplus land thus secured should be distributed among agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Eviction from land should be stopped and all tenant cultivators should be endowed with ownership in land. Share-croppers of various categories should be granted stable occupancy rights in their holdings. All cultivable fallow or banjar land should be distributed among agricultural labourers and poor peasants with proper arrangements and help for cultivation, so that production may expand.

Along with the implementation of these agrarian reforms, the peasantry should be provided in an adequate measure with the wherewithal to improve and develop production on modern lines. One of the most essential requirements of the cultivator in this respect is cheap and adequate credit which is today denied to the great masses of peasants. The functioning of the present cooperative credit societies will have to be thoroughly overhauled and cooperative laws so democratised as to break the domination of big landholders over the cooperative credit system, making it serve the needs and requirements primarily of the poor and middle peasants in the matter of credit.

A wide network of other credit institutions should be developed in rural areas which should ensure prompt and effective supply of credit, particularly to the poorer and really needy sections of the peasantry. The state governments should also take steps to cancel all old usurious debts of small cultivators and agricultural labourers to landlords and big moneylenders. Debt conciliation boards should be set up in order to scale down and settle all old debts.

For developing better and more intensive cultivation the prices of all fertilisers and other manures should be substan-

tially reduced. Blackmarketing and adulteration of fertilisers which are rampant today should be effectively curbed. Besides, the government shall have to take immediate steps to evolve a proper distribution mechanism. The distribution of fertilisers should be done largely through cooperatives.

One of the most glaring failures of the congress rule in agrarian sector is in regard to the provision of adequate irrigation facilities to the cultivators. It is essential that not only all major and medium irrigation projects which have already been taken in hand in various parts of the country, should be completed as early as possible but also vigorous steps should be taken to develop minor irrigation schemes on a country-wide scale, utilising every possible source of water supply.

Rapid electrification of villages in this respect is very essential; hence high priority should be given to the programme of rural electrification.

Sufficient attention has not yet been paid by the government to the serious problem of flood, water logging and lack of drainage facilities. The central and state governments should allocate special funds and give a high priority to schemes of flood control, drainage, construction of bunds, sea dykes, etc.

In order to protect the peasant from the exploitation of the capitalist market and give him the necessary incentive to grow more food, remunerative and stable prices should be ensured to peasant producers for all crops by legislation.

The present system of land taxation should be thoroughly overhauled in order to strengthen the capacity of the peasantry to invest more in land. All uneconomic holdings should be exempted from land revenue. In respect of larger holdings a single tax should be imposed on the basis of net income and on a progressive scale as in the case of income tax.

The present administrative machinery for rural development which is utterly inefficient, wasteful and corrupt should be radically overhauled. The functioning of blocks and various departments connected with agriculture should be investigated and an administrative set-up evolved which will be simple, easily accessible, capable of assuring adequate and speedy help to the mass of cultivators and which can organise and generate

enthusiasm among the peasants at the lowest levels for expanding production.

Agricultural Labourers: Agricultural labourers, who form quite a large percentage of the rural population, are economically the worst exploited sections of our society. The majority of them belonging as they do to the scheduled castes are also subjected to social oppression by high castes in various walks of life. This section of society has to be given the maximum consideration by the government in all matters relating to their economic, social and cultural life. The agricultural labourers have to be ensured decent living wages and proper conditions of life and work.

Adequate minimum wage should be prescribed by law, the violation of which should entail penalties for the offenders. The prevalent widespread unemployment among them should be counteracted and minimised by giving them proper financial help to develop cottage and village industries and other means of livelihood in rural areas, as also by absorbing them in largest numbers possible in government or semi-government employment. The provision of free homestead land, drinking water, proper educational and medical facilities to them should be a special responsibility of the state governments. All forms of discrimination and social oppression directed against them should be legally curbed and they should get full opportunities to live, grow and flourish as equal and free citizens of India.

12. FOR JUSTICE AND MORE POWERS FOR STATES

The Communist Party of India stands for removal of all injustice to and discrimination against states, for removal of all regional disparities. It demands wider power and authority, particularly in financial and economic matters, be given to the states of the Indian union. The seventh schedule of the constitution must be revised and amended so as to enlarge the powers of the state and abridge those of the central government. Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura must get the same status as other states in the Indian union.

The demarcation of linguistic states, a principle accepted

states or autonomous regions according to their size, etc., and full protection should be accorded to their languages, customs and culture. All land taken away from the tribal people should be restored to them as also their traditional rights in forests, etc. Adequate facilities for employment, education and upliftment of the tribal people should be provided by the state and funds allocated for their welfare should be administered by organs democratically elected by them.

15. LANGUAGES

Introduction of Hindi as official language of the Indian Union shall be only in a gradual manner, with the consent of non-Hindi speaking states; full encouragement and development of the regional mothertongues will be ensured in the states for all purposes including education up to the university stage.

16. MUSLIM AND OTHER MINORITIES

Muslims, who constitute the second biggest community in India and occupy a distinctive place in our national life, have to be guaranteed full protection in regard to their specific cultural, social and religious rights. The real test of a secular democracy lies in its attitude to minorities. It is an unfortunate fact that in India today there are certain reactionary, orthodox and revivalist elements belonging to the majority community who are seeking to reduce Muslims to the position of second-rate citizens. Such elements should be vigorously fought out and isolated. It is the duty of the majority Hindu community to ensure that the secular character of our state is not endangered, and that the Muslim minority as all other religious minorities are given full protection in matters relating to their culture, language and religious beliefs. Security of their life and property has to be guaranteed not merely in law but in actual life. Every form of discrimination against the minorities, whether in recruitment to government services, in trade and commerce and administration or in the sphere of educational and cultural development should be put an end to. Such text-books or educational courses which create in the minds of youth hatred or prejudice against any minority com-

munity should be eliminated and the whole educational system should be thoroughly secularised.

In the realm of language, Urdu which is spoken by a very large number of Muslims, particularly in the north, should be given its due place in states like UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, etc. All facilities should be provided to Urdu-speaking children to get education in their own mothertongue up to the highest stage. Besides, Urdu should be allowed to be used for official purposes as the second language, Hindi being the first, in all such states or regions.

All specific and legitimate grievances of religious minorities should be speedily examined and redressed by the government and to facilitate this special committees or minority boards should be set up at the state level.

Communalism in India is a serious danger to our democracy, freedom and progress and as such must be ruthlessly fought out and conditions created to give both the majority and minority communities equal rights and opportunities to grow and flourish together as inseparable, integral parts of one Indian nation.

17. SCHEDULED CASTES

Large sections of our people officially described as scheduled castes, continue to suffer humiliation in all spheres of life, whether in services, trade, education, political status or social and personal equality. Of course, laws have been passed against untouchability and all congress leaders speak against it. But in actual life, it still exists, though not in the old virulent form. In the factories and towns it is less so but it survives quite strongly in the villages.

Millions of persons belonging to the so-called scheduled castes embraced Buddhism. In many places, they have given up claiming special privileges as scheduled castes. All this however should not mean that the state should not give them special help to overcome their backward conditions of living, work, and education and due place in services.

18. CASTEISM AND CLASS UNITY

The Communist Party of India believes that a strong ideological campaign and education attacking and eradicating the very roots of casteist thinking in all layers of the society and especially the working class is the prime duty of all progressive and socialist forces. Remnants of caste are a hindrance to the solidarity of the working class as the standard bearer of the future society of democracy, equality and socialism.

19. CLEAN UP THE STATE MACHINE

In order to ensure rapid and faithful implementation of urgently needed democratic reforms, the first step will be to clean up and overhaul the state administration.

With this end in view, the parliamentary system will be strengthened in form and substance by bringing it increasingly closer to the democratic urges and aspirations of the masses and extending democracy in all spheres of the state.

Hence, the emergency powers of the president shall be abolished and his power to dismiss a state government, so long as the latter enjoys the confidence of the state legislature, shall be annulled. The power to declare an emergency in case of invasion of the country will be exercised only and exclusively by Parliament and emergency shall be lifted as soon as the war situation is over. It shall be expressly and unambiguously provided in the constitution that the president of the Indian republic is only a constitutional head and that all his functions are subject to the unquestioned supremacy of Parliament.

The useless, wasteful and parasitic institution of the governor will be abolished. All pompous ceremonies inherited from the British days or from the feudal past will be replaced by simple, dignified, official functions.

The costly and superfluous paraphernalia of the upper houses shall similarly be abolished and standing committees with representatives of all parties and groups in the legislatures shall be set up both at the centre as well as in the states with statutory powers of association in the matter of

formulation of policies as well as in checking up their implementation.

Proportional representation shall be introduced in all elections so that public opinion is duly reflected in the elected bodies and the monopoly of power for any single party based on minority of votes is ended once and for all. All the legislators shall be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to the electors and assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they may elect.

Judiciary shall be separated from the executive in all respects including appointments and promotions.

All the old British-trained ICS officers who are still in service will be forthwith retired and pensioned off.

However, those who have shown a patriotic and democratic approach in their work will be given useful employment in order to utilise their abilities.

All those who have 'specialised' in atrocities against the people, strike-breaking and such other activities will be given punishment. The police force will be reorganised on democratic lines and the rank-and-file policeman and government employee will be given democratic rights consistent with needs of discipline and requirements of their official responsibilities.

The top-heavy highly-paid government apparatus will be drastically pruned without causing unemployment and the salaries scaled down to around Rs. 1,000.

Administration should be reorganised to eliminate red-tape and delay which cause harassment to the people.

Stern measures will be taken to combat corruption, above all of the ministers and the top bureaucrats. Public declaration of all assets will be made compulsory for those holding office. High-powered commissions shall be set up to enquire into specific charges of corruption levelled against the ministers and high officials and those found guilty will be brought for public trial and exemplary punishment.

All the fundamental rights guaranteed under the constitution shall be enforced and all measures like the Defence of India Rules, the Preventive Detention Act, etc., repugnant to them abolished.

Power of the government to call out the armed forces for

the purpose of suppressing democratic mass movements will be withdrawn. There shall be compulsory and public enquiry by independent persons in all cases of police firing and adequate compensation shall be paid to all victims.

Police administration shall be reformed and handed over to the local elected organs of the people. The British-framed police codes shall be revised to bring them in line with democratic standards. Political witch-hunt shall be stopped and the power of the secret police drastically curtailed.

Long-term political prisoners languishing behind the prison bars for the past many years shall be immediately released, unexecuted warrants and pending cases shall be annulled and political vendetta against those valiant leaders of the people shall be put an end to.

20. EDUCATION

The educational system even after 19 years of congress rule has not yet been reorientated and radically changed to meet the needs of a developing India. The number of educational institutions, especially medical and technical, is far short of the growing number of students seeking admission. The result is that the evil of high capitation fees is openly practised restricting admittance to such institutes largely to the rich, while even meritorious students cannot get entry without unfair means. The burden of fees and price of text-books has become unbearable for the common student, and not all who are lucky enough to get through their higher education find a living or a job.

When the student rebels against all this, the ruling party tries to silence him with police repression. It even proposes to invest the heads of educational institutions with police powers. The sanctity of educational institutions and the dignity of teachers and the students are violated letting loose police vandalism.

The Communist Party of India therefore stands for:

— Free and compulsory education up to secondary stage to all boys and girls;

— Reorganisation of the entire education system to suit the

needs of a modern industrial India and reduce cost of education;

— Expansion of facilities for training in industrial and technical courses for workers; extending opportunities for higher technical and scientific education;

— Ensuring academic and democratic rights to students and teachers and ban by law the entry of police into university campuses and precincts of educational institutions;

— Respect autonomy of academic bodies and ban interference by the executive;

— Adequate salaries to teaching staff at all levels;

— Standardised text-books and other educational necessities to be made available at cheap prices;

— Minimum medical facilities and sport and physical training facilities to be made available to all students.

21. WOMEN

In order to liberate women who are doubly oppressed, by the rule of capital and by evils inherited from feudalism such as disabilities and unequal treatment on the basis of sex, it is necessary to take all measures to ensure them equal rights in every sphere of our national life including inheritance of property;

— Maternity benefits, creches and other amenities to working women;

— Equal pay for equal work;

— Special facilities in education including higher and technical education;

22. PROTECTION OF CATTLE

Under article 48 of the constitution of India (directive principles) the state is required to take steps 'for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle' for the promotion of 'agriculture and animal husbandry'.

The Communist Party stands for a positive policy of improving the quality and breed of cattle as an essential part of the nation's agro-economic wealth. For this purpose, not

only preservation, but also all modern and scientific methods of livestock farming should be employed with state assistance.

At the same time, the Communist Party cannot support the demand for a total ban without discrimination throughout the country on slaughter of cattle as this demand is unscientific and harmful.

The present agitation for ban on cow-slaughter is being conducted in a manner which is repugnant to the concept of India as a secular and multireligious state. This agitation creates an atmosphere of hysteria and intolerance, harms the unity of the democratic masses, and goes against the social habits of minority communities like Muslims, Christians and certain other sections. Further, this agitation in its present form is being utilised by imperialist and reactionary forces to divert the people's anti-congress wrath, into wrong and disruptive channels. The Communist Party warns the people against falling victim to this conspiracy.

23. THE ARMED FORCES

The armed forces of our country, both the ranks and the officer-cadre are drawn from all the states and in a way represent the federal unity of India. In the recent conflict they have shown patriotism, skill and heroism.

But in the defence forces still continue many of the inhibitions, nuances and anti-democratic and obsolete practices of the old imperial army. India has yet to build her armed forces with a national-democratic ideology, imbued with the pride in our great nation and equipped with Indian-made weaponry. Our top officers and command cadre still carry the imprint of the British Sandhurst imperial army training. They still tend to constitute an upper caste which is isolated from the lower ranks of the army in all aspects—social, cultural and political.

The congress leadership with its capitalist-landlord class outlook has failed to build the new national army of a newly-independent, anti-imperialist democratic and progressive country. Hence, this leadership has kept the jawan as a barrack man, isolated from the people, devoid of literature and poli-

tics, not allowing him access even to his Parliament member, for whom he is allowed to vote by post. Our soldier-jawan must be allowed to become a citizen and defender, democrat and army-man, combined in one, in ideology, outlook and culture. More sons of the working class, peasantry and middle class must be promoted to ranks of officer and command corps. Such an army alone can be a mighty bulwark of peace and democracy and national independence.

24. DEFENCE AND TAXES

Our party supports the strengthening of the defence of our country. At the same time, it is opposed to levying unconscionable taxes on the toiling people in the name of defence. Defence expenditure has become the source of making high profits for many and the utility value of every rupee spent on so-called defence is far less than it ought to be, because in the capitalist system, the life of the jawan and the defence of the country are also made into a source of private profit and graft, which ultimately spells danger to the whole nation.

25. FOREIGN POLICY

The congress government generally pursues a policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism which should serve to strengthen independence and give her international prestige but it is accompanied by vacillations and compromises under the pressure of Anglo-American blackmail. In recent time it has made a series of concessions which weaken and undermine these policies and in particular emasculate its anti-imperialist content.

The new escalation of aggressive activities of imperialism, particularly of US imperialism, demands that our nonalignment policy is strengthened and based firmly on active and consistent anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism particularly in regard to the following questions:

— Full support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression, effective action together with other nonaligned powers to halt US bombings of North Vietnam, the complete withdrawal of all US troops from South

Vietnam and the recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people;

— Granting diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic which is a factor for peace and against West German revanchism;

— Safeguard the Tashkent spirit, work for the further realisation of normal relations between India and Pakistan to struggle actively against new attempts by reactionary forces to aggravate and inflame relations between the two countries;

— Over the issue of Kashmir efforts should be made for a lasting accord with Pakistan on the basis of making the existing cease-fire line as the international boundary with mutually agreed adjustments;

— Despite the continued hostile attitude of China it is in the interest of the Indian people and the country as a whole to explore all avenues for a peaceful settlement with China either directly or through the good offices of friendly neutral powers and propose a no-war pact to China;

— India should quit the commonwealth — the link with which gives India no advantage whatsoever.

26. PARLIAMENT

The dignity and utility of parliamentary democracy has been eroded very much in this period. The blame is laid on the opposition parties for this, particularly on the communists and the SSP. But this is not true.

From its very inception Parliament and state legislatures have been treated as mere rubber-stamping instruments of congress policies and as a talking shop for all and sundry.

Every popular grievance, exposure of corruption and injustice, protest against oppression, firing, arrest is sought to be suppressed in the name of procedures and rules. In this, the most guilty party is the Congress, which is following the practices of the erstwhile British rulers. In questions and answers, in replying to exposures, the ruling party's ministers want to hide information, dodge attempts to elicit facts. Shielding of corrupt officials and profit-hunters is done so

blatantly that when ministers are caught in the attempt, the presiding authorities of the house, including the speaker, are obliged to run to their rescue. This naturally leads to legitimate protests.

The resistance to the exposure of Kairon affairs, shady deals of Biju Patnaik, Biren Mitra and Aminchand Pyarelal, Jayanti Shipping, etc., in recent days are examples of how the capitalists and ministers are sought to be shielded in Parliament by the Congress party.

The performance of the government over devaluation in Parliament does not bring any credit to our parliamentary system. Parliament was bypassed and ignored and then presented with the fait accompli plotted in Washington behind the nation's back.

Parliament and state legislatures pass laws and adopt policies but their execution by irremovable executives is never allowed to be checked by the members and particularly by the opposition parties which belong to the exploited classes. The legislatures are dominated today by the representatives of the exploiting classes and capitalists and landlords or the votaries of their ideology. Hence, they are losing whatever limited democratic attributes they possess.

The Congress party is trying to rule more and more by the use of force, bypassing even the well-established ways of parliamentary institutions and the constitutional rights of the people. The congress government has been rightly accused by eminent jurists of the country of tending to become 'constitutional dictatorship'. The Communist Party will fight with all its might such subversion of India's nascent parliamentary system. It will try to make parliamentary democracy a genuine instrument of national democracy, reflecting loyally the will and interests of the toiling masses and all other anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic forces.

The Communist Party takes this opportunity to once again strongly repudiate the calumny that it is opposed to parliamentary democracy and is wedded only to force.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA APPEALS:

The Communist Party of India again approaches our people for their sympathy and support in the crucial fourth general election. In doing so our party derives inspiration and strength from the fact that our great people today are already on the march to take their destiny in their hands. It has been the privilege of our party to be with and to serve loyally these irresistible forces of the future.

Our party is selflessly dedicated to the cause of the completion of our unfinished national revolution by wiping out the last traces of the colonial past. It is pledged, not only in words but more so in action, to preparing our people for advance towards the road to socialism which alone can end the tyranny and degradation capitalism perpetuates in our national life.

In recent years, as in the past, the Communist Party of India has been in the forefront of all struggles to uphold the independence, honour and integrity of our nation. Our party has been second to none in organising heroic economic and political mass actions of the working people throughout the country for the defence of their vital rights and interests, against plunder and oppression by the ruling classes. In this our party has never daunted or spared any sacrifice. Members of our party have faced police bullets and courted imprisonment in their hundreds all over the country. Our party's record has been one of unflagging devotion to our great cause and of ungrudging suffering for the good of our people. It is this credential of humble but fearless service that gives us the title to claim the support of our people in the coming election.

In Parliament and legislatures our party has functioned as the tribune of the masses voicing their deep sorrows and urges and constantly working for making their life a little better and bearable. Our party has always treated the forums of legislatures as an arena of struggle and it has resisted the Congress party's attempt to use it as a mere instrument of blatant misrule and tyranny. This is why the role of our party in the legislative front has been acclaimed by broad sections of the people.

Whether in the mass movement or in legislatures our party

has always worked for uniting the patriotic and democratic forces in a common front. Such unity has always been and remains the watchword of the CPI.

In the fourth general election, the Communist Party of India once again seeks fresh mandate from the people to carry forward the tasks of people's movement and of building a national democratic front which is destined to become the true alternative to the class rule of the discredited Congress.

Our party has always been and continues to be the most uncompromising fighter against communalism and forces of dark reaction. These forces must be isolated and defeated to save the country from the evil conspiracies of disaster and ruin.

Our nation has reached a stage when the defeat of the Congress and its removal from power has become a life and death question. The Communist Party of India is confident that our people will exercise their franchise in the coming general election to bring about the overthrow of congress power.

The Communist Party of India approaches our people and the electorate today as the unifier of all progressive forces and builder of mass movements and seeks their vote so that the party can become stronger for discharging its solemn responsibilities. The stronger the Communist Party of India, greater the strength to the cause of the people.

The Communist Party of India appeals to the electorate and the people to support its candidates throughout the country.

To build a new India of the dreams of our martyrs and of the living generations and to fulfil the challenging task of the new era in the service of the toiling millions of our country, of its independence, its democracy, its economic rejuvenation and its all-round prosperity, its cultural, scientific and spiritual values, resting on world peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, we appeal that the candidates of the Communist Party of India and its allies be elected everywhere.