

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

Adopted by
**EIGHTH CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA**

*Karyanandnagar
Patna, 7-15 February 1968*

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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The basic features that characterise the economic and political developments in our country since the last Congress of our party centre on the fact that the capitalist path of development pursued by the congress rulers during the 20 years of Indian independence has entered the phase of acute crisis, engulfing the whole country in its ruinous all-pervasive consequences.

From the very beginning the capitalist path of development pursued by the congress leadership contained an inherent contradiction which was bound to thwart the rapid development of our backward economy to an advanced stage. The need for rapid industrialisation and increase in production of food and raw materials demanded the establishment of a democratically-run state sector in commanding position in the economy, a firm curb on monopoly development and eradication of the remnants of feudal interests in agriculture.

But in order to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, whose representative it is, the congress government failed to take these steps. It allowed the monopolies to grow to unprecedented heights, and encouraged foreign capital to enter the country in ever-growing proportions. It failed to carry out land reform, to give liberal assistance to agriculture to grow food and raw materials in a planned manner and to protect our agriculture from the inroads of foreign imports and monopoly trading finance.

The contradiction between the dictates of the private profits of the capitalist class, especially the monopoly sector, and the interests of the national economy and the toiling masses led to the debacle in our development and made our economy vulnerable to the attacks of recession and crisis.

Despite the difficulties created by foreign monopoly capital, which does not desire the industrialisation of our country, and the imbalances and anarchy inherent in the capitalist path of development, some independent development of our economy did take place during all these years. Big plants in iron and steel, heavy engineering, chemicals, refineries, oil, etc. have been established, especially in the public sector. But the full utilisation and further development of this newly-built industrial capacity, which has a highly strategic importance in our national economy, has been sabotaged by governmental policies, bureaucratic management, incompetence and corruption. Hence our economy continues to be held to ransom by the imperialists, who are interested only in their super-profits and not the development of the country and the prosperity of the people.

The congress rulers have been trying to solve the internal problems through increased exploitation of the working masses, more concessions to internal monopolies and more reliance on the vested interests in agriculture and on foreign private capital and principally American aid.

It is this which is responsible for the rapid aggravation of the crisis during the last three years and the appearance of new features in the economic and political policies of the congress leadership signifying further and further dangerous shifts towards the right and at the same time leading to the disintegration of the National Congress as the sole and stable ruling party of the national bourgeoisie.

Devaluation: A Turning Point

The shameful and treacherous act of devaluation of the rupee, carried through by the congress ruling clique at the dictation of the World Bank, denoted a dangerous turning point in our economic and political life.

Experience has amply proved that acceptance of devaluation and the other policy changes dictated by the World Bank, far from helping to solve India's crisis in planning

and development, that had already burst out in 1965, has only led to its further aggravation.

The congress government which, by betraying our economy to the demand of devaluation, hoped to gain more foreign aid from the World Bank and foreign monopoly capital, finds itself cheated on that account also. Neither the project nor non-project aid, so abjectly prayed for by the government, has flowed into the country, which has led to further fiascos in the development plans as envisaged in the capitalist path.

Import of goods, which have become more costly due to devaluation, continues to grow despite the fact that they can be substituted by the products of our newly-built industries. The result is that our plants lie idle and foreign monopoly interests and their Indian partners in the import trade fatten at the cost of our development. Even in a year of highest bumper crop, the government commits our economy and our foreign exchange to purchase of seven million tons of PL-480 foodgrains.

Export of our goods, which have become cheaper due to devaluation, has fallen and government impoverishes our economy further by distributing vast subsidies to the benefit of the exporting houses.

Thus instead of saving foreign exchange by import cuts and gaining more of it by increased exports thereby reducing our foreign debts and dependence on the World Bank and foreign monopolists, the government takes recourse to cutting down further industrialisation and developmental plans that should go to the benefit of the people. This has aggravated the recession and crisis still further.

Primary products, which still form the main bulk of our exports already suffering from the imposition of low prices and unequal exchange at the hands of advanced capitalist countries, have become still cheaper due to devaluation. But even in this field no further gains are accruing and exports are not growing due to the financial and trading crisis in the countries of the west. Moreover, these countries refuse

to open their markets to the new lines of manufactured goods which India has now begun to produce.

A noteworthy feature of the recession is that, contrary to usual expectation, there was no fall in the level of prices as a whole. On the contrary prices continued to rise, even in the consumer goods industries, despite recession, lack of demand and accumulation of stocks. The basic reason for this is the dominance of monopoly capital in the main sectors of production, in the main arteries of the market and the main levers of finance, i.e. the banks allied with the landlord and moneyed interests in the agrarian sector.

Such a situation heightens the danger of US neocolonialist domination of our economic and political life which will get accentuated in the coming period, unless the entire policy of the congress government is defeated by people's action.

Outbreak of Crisis in World Capitalist Economy

With the devaluation of the pound and the fall in the real value of the dollar, the imperialists have intensified their attack on our economy. Their aim is to pump out more profits from India and to get our goods at cheaper rates in order to buttress their own economies, which were facing crises due to the war in Vietnam and other aggressive adventures.

But these designs of imperialism are coming up against the growing political and economic contradictions and conflicts in their own camp. This finds expression in greater aggressiveness of the imperialists, to growing international tensions and increased war danger.

The global strategy of American imperialism is at present directed towards increasing political, economic and military expansion with regard to those states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have achieved political freedom and independence and are striving for social progress. This strategy is at present meeting with resistance and defeat.

In South-East Asia, US imperialists deployed vast military power and set about building up South Vietnam as a base of aggression on the Asian continent. From here the colonialist and neocolonialist positions of imperialism are being sought to be brought under US control in a situation when Britain, reduced to economic bankruptcy, is forced to quit her bases east of Suez. Besides, the US government is hoping to exert stronger military pressure from here on developments on the Asian continent.

In the same way US imperialists are at present concentrating on undermining and subverting our policy of non-alignment and dragging India into their scheme of neocolonialist aggression and penetration into South-East and South Asia. Economic squeeze and pressure are oriented towards this political goal. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasise that the present aggressiveness of US imperialism arises not out of its strength, but precisely out of its growing crisis, weakness and isolation. Despite their massive deployment of American and satellite forces in Vietnam, they are today actually facing defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people. The devastating consequences of the Vietnam war on American economy have led to the beginning of a political crisis for American imperialism inside America itself, coinciding with the onset of an economic slump and a weakening of the dollar which has forced the mightiest imperialist power to actually put a curb on export of capital.

The mass movement inside America against the Vietnam war, merged with the struggle of the Negro people for civil rights and a new deal and with the struggle of the working class against unemployment and the oppression of the monopolies has grown into a mighty torrent during the year 1967 which has become a serious threat to American imperialism in its rear.

Significance of Socialist Aid in New Situation

In a situation, where the newly-liberated developing countries are affected by difficulties and recession, the im-

perialist countries instead of helping them to overcome these difficulties assail their independence and economic development, try to convert them into their neocolonial appendages, and aggravate the miseries of the peoples.

The countries of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, on the contrary, render disinterested aid to the developing countries. In India, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries first contributed to the establishment of bases of heavy industry, engineering, oil, etc. Now when further development of these vast industrial enterprises has been hampered by recession, leading to their closures and unemployment of workers, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries propose to buy their products and provide a stable growing market for them. Thereby they help the working people to defend their wages and standard of living and help our country to resist imperialist blackmail and take to the path of independent development.

The development and stimulation of India's trade is also sought to be achieved by the three nonaligned peaceloving countries like India, Yugoslavia and the UAR agreeing to lower the tariff walls between themselves.

Due to the aggressive advance of the imperialist monopolies against the economies of the developing countries, all the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are trying to lower the tariff walls between themselves, and are trying to unite their efforts to resist the onslaught of imperialists. In this they get the full support of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as is evidenced in the deliberations of the UNCTAD.

Attack of the Monopolists

The Indian monopolists, having the main levers of economy in their hands, are seeking a way out of the crisis which will strengthen their position at the cost of the working masses and the middle classes and even the non-monopolist bourgeoisie.

The congress leadership is showing its utter bankruptcy by surrendering to the demands of Indian monopolists step by step. Instances of this are:

—Abandonment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan and its replacement by a so-called 'One-Year Maintenance Plan'.

—Rejection of nationalisation of banks and instituting in its place a 'social control' of banks and promise to divert more credits to rural areas.

The real meaning of this is to provide banking credit for development of capitalist agriculture on a large scale and to bring about a tie-up of the big business houses and the upper strata of the rural vested interests.

—Indiscriminate decontrol in the interest of the monopolies.

—More and more concessions to foreign private capital and increased foreign collaboration.

—The attempted wage-freeze by Morarji Desai which was only temporarily halted by the powerful united resistance of the working class and the government employees.

The emphasis now being given to 'maintenance of law and order' and 'political stability' and the forging of new weapons of repression like the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act.

The congress leadership is thus seeking solution of the crisis in favour of the monopolists, big business and the upper strata of the rural vested interests. It would be a mistake to underestimate the manoeuvring capacity which the Indian bourgeoisie still has in the present situation. It is against this background that political developments in our country have to be viewed.

Mass Popular Upsurge and the 1967 Election

The mass popular upsurge that swept the whole country in the form of the bandh movement in 1966 assumed the

form of a nationwide revolt against the antipeople policies of the congress government and the all-round ruin and sufferings they brought on all sections of the common people. The mass upsurge of 1966 was a unique and unprecedented one in the whole history of postindependence India. It set in motion vast new sections such as students and youth, teachers, women, government employees and varied sections of working masses among the middle class and professional classes. It set in motion forces of all-in working-class unity of the type that was witnessed in resistance to Morarji Desai's wage-freeze proposal. It set in motion the forces of unity of the left and democratic forces in certain parts of the country. The initiative of the Communist Party led to the first successful steps towards forging unity of left and democratic parties in certain states, though the degree of unity forged fell far short of the needs of the situation. The mass popular upsurge accentuated the conflicts and the contradictions and hastened the process of political differentiation within the Indian bourgeoisie and initiated the crack-up and disintegration of its party, the National Congress.

It is this that led to the debacle of the Congress party in the fourth general election and the rise of noncongress governments in nine states. It is true that in some states it is the parties of right reaction—the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh that espouse the cause of the monopolist vested interests—who have been the main gainers from the debacle of the Congress. They strengthened themselves taking shrewd advantage of the discontent of the masses and by riding on the wave of the mass yearning for a change. The failure of the left parties to forge a left democratic front with an alternative programme was a factor which also assisted the process.

The noncongress democratic governments formed in the states, specially those in which the left parties played a significant role, became instruments of popular struggles and mass movements against the vested interests, for securing the long-standing demands of the workers, peasants and

other exploited strata of society, for strengthening left and democratic unity and for an alternative path to the discredited and bankrupt capitalist policies pursued by the congress leadership.

Some of the noncongress governments espoused the cause of the exploited and refused to allow the state machine to be used as before to suppress the masses.

Even those noncongress governments in which the left parties participated, but did not occupy dominant positions, were instrumental in securing some concessions for the people, further strengthening the unity of left and democratic forces and exposing not only the intrigues of the Congress, but also the reactionary nature and machinations of the parties of right reaction such as the Jana Sangh. These governments with all their limitations and varying degrees of utility also contributed to strengthening the all-India struggle for breaking the monopoly of congress power.

Attack Against Democracy

The formation and activity of the noncongress democratic governments with the participation of left parties, despite all their initial vacillations and weaknesses, did set in motion new forces and processes.

In the states where the left and democratic forces played the leading part in these governments by taking measures of concrete relief for the people, by preventing the use of police from assisting the exploiting classes and vested interests and by initiating new policies, these governments started projecting an alternative to the bankrupt path of the congress governments.

In other states where the left and democratic forces were not in a leading position in the governments, struggles developed in these united fronts on questions of policies. This experience of the parties and the people was slowly leading them to the conclusion that a real alternative to the congress regime was a government working for a left democratic programme.

The Congress party leadership saw in this process the beginning of its final break-up and disintegration, and the crystallisation and formation of a left democratic alternative leadership that could eject the Congress party from power at the centre and rescue the country from the miseries imposed on the people by the capitalist path.

This process also alarmed all the forces of reaction in the country. The Swatantra Party and important sections of the Jana Sangh started playing soft towards the Congress, called for a coalition government of such forces, and on crucial questions of mass democratic character began siding with the congress government at the centre.

From the very inception of the noncongress governments, the congress government at the centre launched efforts to subvert and undermine them by withholding adequate food supply and by exerting financial and economic pressures. It encouraged and utilised the hold-up of production and closure of factories by big business to blackmail these governments, and unleashed a virulent campaign about the 'breakdown of law and order'. The congress leadership even stooped to down-right bribery to purchase and wean away unstable and vacillating elements and thus spread the scourge of 'defections' in order to bring about their downfall.

And when all these proved still ineffective and the left and democratic forces grouped around these ministries continued their steady advance and their struggle to implement the common programmes agreed upon, the congress leadership at the centre resorted to their final weapon—assault on the very principles of parliamentary democracy itself—in a frantic bid to reverse the trend of the last nine months and the verdict of the fourth general election. The governors in states are being utilised as agents of the congress government at the centre to carry through this dangerous game of destruction of parliamentary democracy.

This is the meaning of the illegal and unconstitutional dismissal of the united front ministry in West Bengal. The

ministry in Haryana also was dismissed in the same way. The dirty conspiracy of 'defections' was organised to topple the Bihar and the Punjab ministries.

Right from the moment of its coming to power, the UF government in West Bengal had become the special target of attack of the congress rulers at the centre. The reasons were, firstly, because it was a government in which the communists and other left and democratic forces together played a decisive role and which frankly leaned on the side of the working class, the peasantry and the middle class. Secondly, West Bengal is the state which is the nerve-centre of monopoly capital, both foreign and Indian. And the monopolists openly proclaimed that they would not invest in Bengal and would carry out a flight of capital, i.e., sabotage of production, unless the ministry was dismissed.

It is not an accident that the dismissal of the West Bengal ministry was hailed by the Swatantra Party and by important sections in the Jana Sangh. Reaction both inside and outside the Congress saw the danger-signal in West Bengal.

Like the UF government in West Bengal, the UF government in Kerala too has been a special object of hatred on the part of reaction inside and outside the Congress. Unable to topple it through defections, it has been subjected to most invidious discrimination in the matter of food supplies. Efforts are being made to create an atmosphere which may enable the Government of India to dismiss the Kerala ministry.

In the case of the DMK government in Tamilnad, a campaign of 'law and order in danger' and a cry about the so-called 'communist menace' are being raised by the congress leadership and attempts made to hamstring that government and discredit it in the eyes of the masses.

Counter-offensive of Reaction

The counter-offensive of reaction against democracy and the war against the noncongress democratic governments

received official endorsement at the Hyderabad session of the Congress party. As a result, the democratic rights of the people and the very foundations of democracy stand in dire peril at the hands of the congress leadership.

The Swatantra Party which unashamedly champions the line of US neocolonialism and Indian monopolists is engaged in bolstering reaction's offensive. It has supported the dismissal of Bengal ministry, has called for a ban on the Communist Party of India and the CPM, has expressed satisfaction with the economic policy being pursued by the present leadership of the Congress, and has called for an anticommunist coalition in the country.

At its Calicut session the Jana Sangh, while criticising the dismissal of the Bengal ministry, has sought to fasten responsibility for this murder of democracy more on communists than on the Government of India. Within the non-congress governments in Bihar, UP and MP, the Jana Sangh has sought to sabotage even the limited measures of agrarian reform and state trading. In Punjab it sought to sabotage the proposed legislation to link wages with the cost of living index. It doggedly opposes Urdu being given its rightful place. It continues its efforts to whip up Hindu chauvinist sentiment, to whip up Hindu-Muslim tension to divide and disrupt the democratic movement to the benefit of vested interests. In MP, UP and Bihar it has gone to the extent of organising communal riots. Some of its leaders have openly voiced their desire for an anticommunist coalition with the Congress. Some of the top leaders have been campaigning for a merger of all right reactionary forces in the country in one party.

It is an ominous development that communalism, linguism and chauvinism are being increasingly whipped up in different parts of the country to disrupt the unity of the working class and the democratic mass movement and facilitate the attacks of the vested interests against the living standards of the working masses.

The congress leadership has kept the issue of language, of interstate border disputes and use of river-water etc.

seething and festering, instead of solving them on the basis of just and democratic principles. Its policy and practice towards the tribal peoples have also led to justified discontent amongst them. All this has provided fertile ground for bourgeois-nationalist, chauvinist forces to raise their head, and to utilise them in order to sidetrack and disrupt the unity of the democratic mass movement on a big scale. As a result, the unity of the country is being subjected to severe strain.

The Shiva Sena in Bombay, which has rapidly grown into a menace by utilising the justified discontent of the people arising from widespread unemployment and grim economic conditions, is organising anticommunist attacks with the open connivance of the congress government and the police and the backing of sections of the big millowners and industrialists. Reaction utilises such diversionary and disruptive forces to attack and split the unity of the working people.

The present counter-offensive of reaction is a reflection of the increased grip and power of monopoly over our economic and political life and the reaction it engenders in all spheres of life and within the ruling class itself and its political party. Even during the period of crisis of our economy and the recession, the top monopolists continued making their super-profits and adding to their wealth and power at the expense of all other sections of society, including the middle bourgeoisie.

Also to be noted is the increasing grip of the bureaucrats over administration and in the state machinery during the last four years and the role they are playing in the current reactionary offensive. Through them, the monopolies and the foreign agencies are exerting greater influence over formulation and implementation of policies. They play a more marked role in sabotaging democratic policies formulated by the democratic united front governments. Placed in key control of several public-sector undertakings they are more and more sabotaging the public sector and laying it open to infiltration by the monopolists.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate or minimise the real danger of the present counter-offensive of reaction, arising from the greater degree of cohesion and political articulation of the forces of the right, as well as their far greater degree of entrenchment in the party organisation and governmental leadership of the Congress, and in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and the military.

The forces of right reaction are increasingly strengthened by the CIA which has intensified its activities in India in recent years. The CIA played an active part during the last general election. PL-480 funds in the hands of the US embassy in India are a dangerous source of subversion. The CIA has penetrated into some of our educational and cultural institutions and has been seeking to corrupt our intelligentsia. It has influential direct contacts in the top echelons of the bureaucracy and the military, in addition to their links with reactionary political parties. They utilise these fully in order to subvert democracy and buttress the forces of chauvinism and disruption.

The offensive of reaction and the increasing influence of imperialist powers in the politics of our country is also apparent in the weakening and undermining of the policy of nonalignment and in particular the emasculation of its anti-imperialist content.

Examples of this are the failure to condemn American aggression in Vietnam, allowing important materials to be exported to the puppet government of South Vietnam and the continued refusal to recognise the GDR.

Menacing as the counter-offensive of reaction is, it should not be mistaken to be a sign of its increased strength. On the contrary the developments of the recent years have shown the strength of the forces of democracy and the increasing participation of the masses in the struggle in defence of their demands, of democratic rights and for curbing the monopolies.

Such is the political and economic situation facing the country today.

For Strengthening Left and Democratic Unity

In this situation, the Communist Party regards it as an urgent national necessity for the left and democratic forces in the country to come closer together, strengthen unity in action and take steps to evolve a *common democratic platform, as an alternative to congress policies*, to serve as the basis for a *joint political battle* against the counter-offensive of reaction and the policies of the congress government. Such a common democratic platform alone can enable the left and democratic forces to overcome their present *political weakness and disarray* and give them the striking power to unitedly hurl back the challenge of reaction and carry forward the pre-election mass upsurge to a higher plane which the present situation demands.

Such *political unity of the left and democratic forces, backed up by a common democratic platform*, becomes all the more necessary for the coming period when the confrontation between the forces of reaction and neocolonialism on the one hand and those of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism on the other becomes sharper and more bitter and the *power at the centre* comes on the agenda as the crucial political question before the nation.

Possibilities of Wider Democratic Front

The fourth general election has opened up such possibilities in actual political life of the country. The left and democratic parties have gained in strength and stature. New democratic parties and forces have emerged on the scene. The cracks inside the Congress have also brought to life some new democratic forces on the political scene.

It is also to be noted that anticommunism does not hinder as before the establishment of united front relations between these parties and forces. They have come together on minimum programmes to form UF governments and they have led and are leading, together, huge united mass political actions.

The experience of the last nine months of the united front governments in the states, the present counter-offensive of reaction and the great mass resistance movements that have developed in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab, are also giving rise to new crystallisation of political forces and bringing about new shifts inside various political parties in the country. It is exposing the hollowness of the claims of reactionary parties like the Swatantra and Jana Sangh to their being alternative to the Congress and laying bare their real character. It is strengthening the trends in favour of unity and united action inside the various left parties and the consciousness within the left and democratic parties of the different united fronts that they must close up their ranks and strengthen their unity.

The glorious mass resistance and civil disobedience movement of the people of West Bengal has forged such firm all-in unity of the left and democratic forces of the state as was never seen before. Similar has been the experience of the united front mass movement that has developed in the Punjab and in Bihar, after the toppling of the united front ministries, and that are still only at the initial stage.

These mass movements have already resulted in further disintegration and confusion in the camp of reaction. The new course of policy adopted by the congress rulers—economic and political—will further intensify the contradiction between imperialism on the one hand and the Indian people on the other; between the narrow clique of monopolists and landlords on the one hand and the vast majority of the people, including the middle bourgeoisie on the other; and last, but not least, between the congress government and the popular masses.

Left Unity—Crucial

The Communist Party emphasises once again that the responsibility of the left parties in this critical situation is crucial and decisive. They must take urgent steps to strengthen their unity, as well as the unity of the trade-union

movement in action and launch a sustained all-India mass movement to defend parliamentary democracy and the living standards of the working masses. They must also break new ground and take urgent steps for forging minimum *political unity* on the basis of a *common democratic platform*, for lifting the mass movement to the level of a *national political battle for new policies*. Such left unity on a *political plane can give* a political direction and orientation to the other democratic and middle-of-the-road parties and groups in the country, as well as to democratic sections within the Congress and the masses still following the Congress and help to pave the way for the national democratic front.

Overcoming the schism in the ranks of communists and establishing unity of action and mass organisation is one of the vital elements in conducting further battles against the ruling classes and reactionary forces, in India as elsewhere.

For a Common Democratic Platform and Joint Action

The mass popular upsurge in the country and the counter-offensive of reaction have raised burning issues on the basis of which a massive united countrywide movement and left and democratic unity to hurl back the offensive of reaction and go forward has to be built.

The Communist Party of India puts forward the following six-point programme on the basis of which this left and democratic unity on the widest possible basis has to be built in the coming period:

1. Defence of democracy; mass struggle against the subversion of parliamentary democracy as seen in the toppling of the united front governments in West Bengal, Punjab and Bihar, imposing minority governments on the people and denying mid-term elections. The mass movements in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab should be supported by all-India coordinated action of all left and democratic forces.

A powerful mass campaign all over the country in defence of the united front government in Kerala against the central government's conspiracies to subvert it.

Struggle for democratic changes in the federal constitution of the country, so as to divest the union government of its overriding powers to interfere in the affairs of the states, and in order to widen the autonomy of the states, especially in the matter of finance and state economy. Struggle to make the elected assembly and the council of ministers as the sole and representative authority in the state by doing away with the institution of governors and the second chambers, and eradication of the special covenanted privileges of the superior services.

2. Defence of the wages, employment, living standards and the democratic rights of the workers and employees in all spheres against the offensive of the employers and the government.
3. Struggle for the enforcement of urgently-needed land reform, reduction of land ceilings, distribution of all kinds of waste and fallow as well as surplus lands to the agricultural labour and landless peasant, security of tenure to all tenants-at-will and sharecroppers.

Struggle for a national campaign for rapid breakthrough in agriculture and for a national food policy based on state trading in foodgrains and for stoppage of PL-480 imports.

Struggle for an integrated price policy which ensures remunerative price for the peasants and which also protects the interests of the consumer.

Struggle for the reduction of rent and tax burdens on the peasantry and for the supply of credit, other inputs as well as consumer goods the peasant needs in adequate quantities at cheaper rates and for the expansion of consumers' cooperatives to protect the interest of the peasantry.

Struggle for free house sites and a reasonable minimum wage to agricultural labour.

Struggle against the eviction of adivasis from the lands they are cultivating, and for patta land under possession, for household lands, for their right to the forest produce and fair prices for the same.

4. Defence of national sovereignty and building up of economic independence.

Struggle for nationalisation of banks, general insurance, oil and export-import trade and for effective steps to break up the monopoly houses; moratorium on foreign debts.

5. Struggle for national integration and safeguarding the class unity of the working class and the working masses, for safeguarding secularism and combating communalism and casteism and for protecting the rights of Muslim and other religious and linguistic minorities.

Struggle for uniting the peoples of various language groups in the interest of Indian democracy and unity.

National consensus regarding language question. To help arrive at such a national consensus the CPI will put forward concrete proposals on the basis of the following:

- (a) Indian languages to replace English as medium of education and administration at all levels in the respective regions.
- (b) The current controversy regarding link language should be resolved by adopting and implementing the principle that neither English should be imposed on Hindi-speaking states nor Hindi be imposed on non-Hindi-speaking states. Till non-Hindi-speaking states accept Hindi as the sole link language, English together with Hindi should continue to be the link language.
- (c) No unequal burden on account of language in the matter of selection for services under the central government.
- (d) All Indian languages are equal.

Struggle for more powers to the states, especially in matters of finance and planning.

Support for the abolition of the category of union territories and their upgrading as full-fledged states wherever possible.

Struggle for arriving at democratic solutions by mutual discussions on issues of interstate disputes, and against all narrow bourgeois-nationalist trends on these issues.

Fight for the economic and cultural demands of the tribal peoples and for their right to full autonomy within the present state or statehood within the Indian union, depending on the stage of development, compactness of the area, distinctiveness of their language, culture and tradition, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas.

Support for extension of full autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian union, for all-round development of the economy of the state on a sound basis, for the removal of all regional imbalances, for full civil liberties and unfettered democratic rights to the people of the state.

Active struggle for preserving, strengthening and extending the unity of the working class in the face of the onslaught of the forces of communalism, chauvinism and disruption, by a planned campaign to enhance their political consciousness.

Struggle against obscurantist, revivalist and other reactionary ideological trends propagated by foreign and internal reaction, and for the flowering of a progressive national culture.

6. For a foreign policy of peace and nonalignment, of active struggle on all issues against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and of growing friendship and cooperation in all fields with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and newly-liberated countries—a policy based on the interests of the defence of India's sovereignty and safeguarding and strengthening our economic independence. For all-out solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

For recognition of the GDR; for understanding and amity between India and Pakistan the way for which has been already paved by the Tashkent agreement; for a no-war pact and a peaceful settlement with China; for support to all liberation movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia; for solidarity with the Arab peoples in their struggle for liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression; for support to the struggle of South African peoples against racial oppression and for national liberation.

For Strengthening the Party and Extending Its Independent Mass Activity

The task of building up the unity of left and democratic forces in our country on the basis of a common democratic platform to hurl back the challenge of reaction requires *immense independent mobilising and organising work by the party* in the coming period. The complexity of the present situation and the sharp differences that still persist among the various left parties on key political issues and the persistence of opportunist trends and anticommunist prejudices create a situation where such unity cannot come by means of top negotiations alone. It can come only through a process of patient, protracted and persistent struggle on our part, involving powerful independent mass campaigns and powerful independent mass actions and joint actions initiated and carried out by the party and the mass organisations.

The importance of such independent initiative and activities by the party in the coming period will be decisive for forging the unity of left and democratic forces.

Finally must be emphasised the supreme importance of rapidly building up the independent strength and striking power of the party, of developing and improving it as a mass party and as a disciplined revolutionary force, steeled in struggle and ideologically tempered in Marxism-Leninism.

Only such a party can stand up to the requirements of the coming period.

For All-India Mass Movement

*For Mid-Term Poll in West Bengal, Bihar,
Punjab and Manipur*

*For a New Government of Democratic Coalition
at the Centre*

Twenty years of congress misrule have brought the nation to a state of serious crisis. It has unleashed forces of disruption and disintegration of the nation. It has weakened the unity, freedom and sovereignty of the nation.

The ruling class has now started striking at the roots of democracy itself in order to preserve the capitalist order.

In such a situation, the question of a *democratic alternative* to congress rule, *both at the centre and in the states*, assumes urgent practical importance. The common people of our country are eagerly seeking such an alternative.

The Communist Party of India regards it as its sacred duty in the coming period to work for the removal of the Congress from power at the centre and to replace it by a new government of democratic coalition, pledged to implement a democratic programme of national regeneration.

Such a government can only come if the left and democratic forces in the country unite and forge a common political front on the basis of a common democratic platform. Such a united front will also act as a rallying point for the democratic elements inside the Congress to break away from that organisation and take their place inside the front.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India pledges to our people that the party's entire energies in the coming period will be devoted to the noble task of realisation of this goal cherished by them.

The Communist Party realises that the defence and strengthening of the democratic rights of our people and of the parliamentary institutions of our country, the rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action are of decisive importance for the

achievement of this goal. The Communist Party is confident that by following this path, the democratic forces in our country can muster such overwhelming strength on their side as to isolate and defeat the plans of reaction and advance victoriously to their goal.

The Communist Party demands mid-term elections in West Bengal, Punjab, Bihar and Manipur as the only democratic method of ascertaining the will of the people of these states regarding what government they want. The party will concentrate upon building up a militant united all-India mass movement in the immediate future for the realisation of this demand.

The success of the militant all-India mass movement for securing mid-term elections in West Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Manipur, in defence of democracy and people's rights, and strengthening the hands of the Kerala ministry to advance forward, will consolidate the democratic forces and create the conditions for going forward to achieve the overthrow of the Congress party from power at the centre and installation in its place of a new government of democratic coalition.

Popular noncongress democratic governments in the states, based upon coalition of left and democratic parties and pledged to effectively implement a commonly worked-out democratic programme, can not only give some amount of relief to the working masses, but can also serve as instruments of building up the mass movements as well as left and democratic unity for removal of Congress from power at the centre. The Communist Party pledges to do everything in its power to bring into existence such governments in all states.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon all left and democratic parties and forces in our country to rise to the occasion and subordinate everything to the interests of building up that unity which the people are so ardently demanding today and which alone can save our nation at this critical hour.