

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

**ELECTION**  
**manifesto**

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MANIFESTO  
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OF INDIA

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## ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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### I

## India After Fourteen Years of Congress Rule

THE THIRD GENERAL ELECTION TAKES PLACE AT A CRUCIAL MOMENT in the world situation and in our national life. How our people participate in it and exercise their franchise will not only greatly influence the course of events within our country, but will have powerful impact all over the world.

Our people expect that as the result of these elections, the progressive, patriotic and secular forces will grow stronger and the struggle for democratic transformation of our society will gather greater momentum. People all over the world expect that this increased strength of Indian democracy will enable our country of four hundred forty million people, to play an even more important role than hitherto in the battle for world peace, for disarmament, for putting an end to the hated colonial system.

In order to understand how these expectations can be fulfilled, we must examine some of the main features of the economic and political situation as it prevails in India today.

Fourteen years have passed since the attainment of freedom by our country. These have been years of uninterrupted rule of the Congress which has always had a huge majority not only in the Indian Parliament but also in practically all the State legislatures. Few parties in countries of parliamentary democracy have had such unchallenged sway over the Government for such a long period.

The Congress has, therefore, had ample time and opportunity to carry out its pledges. It has had ample time and opportunity to put its promises into practice and to lay the foundation of a happy, prosperous India. But the Congress has not kept faith with the people.

The situation in the country is far from what it should be. Most of the promises given in the days when we were fighting for freedom remain unfulfilled. Developments are taking place in our economic, political and social life which cannot but cause deep concern to every patriot. All this would be admitted by everyone, including those Congressmen who retain the idealism and fervour of the earlier days.

The nation has witnessed the completion of two Five Year Plans and the commencement of the Third Plan. We, Communists, have fully supported every step taken by the Government that strengthens national economy and we have always stressed that the Second Five Year Plan has had a number of positive features. Among these are the growth of the public sector, the building of three steel plants and of machine-building industries, the construction of several irrigation and power projects, the manufacturing of a number of articles which we formerly used to import from outside. A number of other gains also can be cited.

The advance which our economy has registered has been facilitated enormously by the relations of cooperation that have been established between our country on the one hand and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the other. This cooperation which our Party has always advocated in India's national interest, has been a big factor in the building of heavy and basic industries in the state sector.

All this cannot, however, blind one to the reality of the overall economic and political situation that prevails in the country.

Congress leaders and the Government proclaimed that their policies would lead to rapid development of industry and agriculture. But the growth has been extremely uncertain and tardy. The survey carried out by the United Nations shows that the *rate of growth* of our economy is

painfully slow. It lags far behind not only the socialist countries, not only such capitalist countries as Japan and Italy, but even such underdeveloped countries as Iraq, Venezuela and others. Congress leaders rarely mention the fact that even after two Five Year Plans, India's per capita income remains one of the lowest in the world and that its rate of growth has failed to attain even the low targets.

Further, even this meagre increase is distributed in such a way as to increase the disparity between the rich and the poor. Unemployment figures go on continuously mounting. Prices have risen to giddy heights—enabling profiteers to amass wealth and inflicting colossal misery on the common man. The big monopolists become ever richer, while the working class is denied adequate wage rise even to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

Discontent mounts in all parts of the country, giving rise to big struggles which the Government strives to suppress with an iron hand. The sense of frustration that inevitably grows is getting more and more utilised by forces of dark reaction and obscurantism which want to disrupt the unity of the nation and destroy all the precious heritages of our national movement.

Our Party is firmly of the view that such a situation could not have arisen but for the policies pursued by the Congress Government. These policies are, in essence, a negation of what our national movement advocated and fought for.

Faced with the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders proclaim socialism as their objective. But this is only a clever device to distort and cloud the ideas of scientific socialism and keep the masses away from democratic struggles. Capitalism is in such decline and discredit today that even the capitalists and their political representatives shy away from taking its name, especially when they approach the masses.

But our complaint today against the Congress is not that it is not building socialism. For, how can one expect socialism to be built when state power is in the hands of

the capitalist class and not in the hands of the working class and peasantry? The building of socialism can begin only when the rule of capital is overthrown, only when the state passes into the control of the working people led by the working class and a proletarian, popular statehood comes into existence.

Socialism, of course, remains our goal. For, socialism alone can end exploitation of man by man, unemployment, poverty and hunger.

But in the present stage of India's development, our complaint against the Congress is that it is not using the enormous power and opportunities to resolutely wipe out the legacies of British rule, improve the living conditions of the masses and set the country on the road to rapid national advance.

For two hundred years, the British exploited our wealth and it was, therefore, rightly pledged by the Congress that free India would put an end to this exploitation. But even fourteen years after freedom, British monopolists—now joined by American monopolists, the worst international exploiters—continue to hold dominant position in several vital sectors of our economy. Handsome concessions have been offered to them under the plans and the door has been thrown wide open for fresh economic penetration by these imperialist monopolies.

New investment by foreign monopolies is readily sanctioned, sometimes in violation of the Government's own declared policies. Collaboration between foreign monopolists and Indian big business is encouraged and now there are a big number of joint-concerns. With their tremendous financial power, the foreign monopolists, through such collaboration, take advantage of India's planning and her protected market. They hit the indigenous industry, particularly small and medium ones.

Every year, the foreign exploiters pump out of our country vast amount of wealth as profits, interest, salaries, commission and various other charges. This goes on at a time when countries like Cuba, Egypt and Indonesia have

nationalised many industries of their former foreign exploiters.

The increasing collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists is a disturbing development, fraught with grave danger to the future of our nation. Through this and through the vast amount of so-called economic aid that is coming from imperialists, weapons are being forged to bring economic and political pressure on our country.

U. S. imperialists in particular take full advantage of India's backwardness, economic dependence and the difficulties that arise from this. By their so-called economic aid, they seek to create levers of economic and political pressure on our country and such pressures are already in evidence.

Where does agriculture on which depend seventy per cent of our people for livelihood stand today? What is the condition of the mass of peasants after 14 years of Congress rule?

The Congress Government proclaimed that land reforms would be carried out with a view to end the concentration of land in a few hands, give land to the peasants and agricultural workers, ensure social justice in the countryside. In actual practice, whatever land reforms have been effected, tardily and half-heartedly, they have brought little benefit to the mass of peasants. More evictions have taken place during Congress rule than in the previous hundred years. The imposition of ceilings has been turned into a farce by fixing it too high and by allowing fictitious transfers. The usurer retains firm grip on the rural poor, the trading monopolists continue to deny the peasants a fair price for their products, the Government imposes ever new burdens on the peasants in the form of various taxes—all of which together prevent adequate investment in land and a real upsurge in agriculture, the key sector of our economy. The agricultural workers who, together with their families, number 70 million continue to be denied land and a living wage. Belonging mostly to Scheduled Castes and the backward communities, they suffer from numerous social dis-

abilities. Even when some of them are abolished by law, they remain in practice in most parts of the country.

It is no wonder that the increase in our agricultural production has been meagre compared to our necessities. During ten years of planning, our country has had to import 29 million tons of foodgrains at a cost of over Rs. 1,250 crores.

The failure to attain self-sufficiency in foodgrains in all these fourteen years is perhaps the greatest condemnation of the agrarian policy of the Congress.

Increased industrial productivity, it was stated, would lead to increased earnings. But the reality has been just the opposite. Overall industrial production has gone up, as also the productivity per worker. Yet, the level of real wages, far from going up, has actually declined. Increased productivity, rationalisation and speed-up have been used to intensify exploitation, to increase work-load and to retrench workers. The Government's attitude towards its own employees has been callous and heartless, as seen in the way their just struggle about a year ago was suppressed.

The labour policy of the Government is openly pro-capitalist and anti-working class. It is against the interests of the country. Its hostile attitude towards labour is exhibited in constant appeasement of the millionaires, in unmitigated attacks on trade union rights, including refusal to recognise unions commanding workers' support. The Government officially supports and feeds the trade unions of the INTUC and the employers behave likewise. Police repression against the workers is a common occurrence.

In the present stage of our economy, small and medium industries have a very important role to play in meeting the requirement of consumer goods, in quickening the pace of industrialisation and in narrowing regional disparities. But they do not receive the necessary assistance and encouragement from the Government. They are discriminated against, in favour of big business.

In the matter of location of private industries, big business, already entrenched in certain areas, is favoured. Capital in privately owned industries is mostly controlled by those who often use it not for building industries but for

speculation, for cornering essential goods, for grabbing shares and building up private industrial empires.

The Government proclaimed that it would reduce the disparity of income. That promise was so cynically violated and gave rise to such criticism even among its own supporters that an assurance was given to institute an enquiry to find out how the increased national income has been distributed. None knows what happened to that enquiry. But then the Third Five Year Plan sticks to the same policies that have led to the inequitable distribution of the increases in national income and the widening of income disparities.

Facts are glaring enough even without inquiry. Prices have risen almost continuously during the operation of the two Plans, depressing the living standard of the common man, both in towns and in villages. During the last three years, the wholesale prices alone have gone up by about 20 per cent, the retail prices, of course, much higher.

The proportion of direct taxes in the total tax revenue has declined, while that of indirect taxes, the main burden of which falls on the poor has gone on rising. Under the Second Plan Rs. 900 crores has been raised by additional taxes, as against the target of Rs. 450 crores—here again the common man has had to bear the brunt. Now the Third Plan proposes to raise a much bigger amount through additional taxes. That these taxes will also be mostly gathered from the working people, professional classes and small traders and businessmen, has been left in no doubt.

Unemployment has grown phenomenally. When the Second Plan started the backlog of unemployment was 5.3 million. But at the start of the Third Plan, it stood at 9 million. Besides, there are 15 to 18 million underemployed persons, and the situation will further worsen in the next five years. It is one of the major failures of the Plan that it is not able to create enough employment opportunities to provide jobs to those who enter the labour market every year. The growth in the number of educated unemployed, including those with technical and scientific education, is yet another distressing feature of the whole situation.

The aggravation of the housing conditions has in no small measure added to the misery of the people. Whether in villages or in towns, the overwhelming majority of our people live in extremely congested and unhygienic dwellings and they fall easy prey to fatal diseases and epidemics. The meagre housing schemes originally provided in the Second Plan were curtailed and then even the lowered targets were not fulfilled. Urban housing is in the grip of greedy landlords who extort impermissibly high rents, coerce their tenants into all manner of illegal payments and indulge in reckless speculation in urban land. In the big cities, millions live in slums that are a living hell or without any roof at all over their heads.

At the same time, the concentration of wealth has proceeded apace. Millionaires have become multimillionaires. A few families like the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias, Jains and Thapars dominate almost all branches of private sector industry and commerce. They are dominant in banking and in wholesale trade. They own the most widely circulated newspapers which mould public opinion.

This tremendous growth in the wealth and power of big business has become the most marked feature of our economic life. The big monopolists have their trusted men in important positions in the ruling party and in the Government. The bureaucracy and the police are at their beck and call to suppress workers' trade union struggles, to arrest, intimidate and shoot them. Big business donates crores of rupees to the Congress election fund, thus degrading elections and corrupting public life. Simultaneously, some of them help to build up, by financial contribution and otherwise, parties of extreme reaction like the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra with a view to bring pressure on the Government and move it further to the right. Big business constitutes grave danger to Indian democracy.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolists, the concentration of power in the hands of one political party, and the increasingly closer relation between the two—this is one of the root causes of corruption which has come to pervade our whole economic, political and social

life. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that nothing creates such disgust in the common citizen today as this prevalence of corruption at all levels and in every sphere.

Having enjoyed political power continuously for over 14 years, the leaders of the Congress have developed an attitude of authoritarianism and intolerance. They disregard the criticism made by the Democratic Opposition. They pay scant attention even to the suggestions made by members of their own party, for it is their votes rather than their views that are wanted. Many democratically-minded Congress legislators feel helpless at this state of affairs but can do nothing to remedy it.

Congress rulers showed how hollow their pretensions of democracy are when they first engineered an unconstitutional and violent movement against the communist-led Ministry of Kerala and then arbitrarily dismissed it. The only crime of that Government was it had refused to act as an instrument of the exploiting classes and follow in the steps of Congress Ministries. Afraid that Kerala would serve as an example to the people of other States and give a powerful impetus to the forces of democracy, the Congress Party and the Central Government did not hesitate to violate the spirit of the Indian Constitution.

Further, they threw overboard all the principles of secularism, when, in the ensuing mid-term elections in Kerala, they joined hand with the Muslim League with the sole objective of securing a majority in the Assembly.

All these revealed to what length the votaries of non-violence, constitutionalism and secularism could go when the question of power is involved.

But Kerala was only an extreme example. The Congress leaders show intolerance and resort to arbitrary methods even in relation to corporations, municipalities and district boards. Conventions are violated and Government power is freely utilised to discriminate against and even supersede elected bodies solely because they are not under Congress control.

Even where there is no such blatant resort to arbitrary

methods, democracy remains stunted. The constituent States of the Indian Union are denied power, resources and authority which they should have under a federal set up. Even for trivial matters they have often to wait for approval of New Delhi, Congress Ministries in the States sometimes resent this state of affairs but dare not raise their voice of protest. Under the Congress, the rights and interests of the States are surrendered.

At the same time, when the necessity arises for the Centre to act firmly in defence of minorities and in order to ensure proper investigation into the conduct of Ministers against whom grave charges are levelled by responsible persons, the Central Government pleads inability to do anything.

At lower levels, democracy, despite all talks of panchayat raj, remains formal. Thanks to the glaring inequality of income between the rich and the poor and social disabilities, the elected bodies generally get captured by representatives of vested interests. Moreover, they enjoy very little power even in such matters as local planning and development. The real power and authority rest with the officers.

As in the days of British rule, it is the bureaucrats, isolated from the people and profoundly contemptuous of them, that run the administration. The gulf between the people and the administration remains as wide as ever.

Muslims constitute the biggest religious-cultural minority in the country but they suffer—often in silence—from many disabilities and discriminations. Their just grievances are not even looked into, much less redressed. There are also linguistic and minority groups whose rights and interests are not safeguarded and even properly defined. Despite all pious declarations, the Congress regime has no firm policy for the protection and safeguard of minorities.

The practice of untouchability has not yet been eradicated. Tens of millions of our fellow citizens belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward communities live in sheer neglect, humbled and humiliated. The funds that are allocated for their uplift are not only

meagre but are misused and sometimes even not spent at all. The miserable conditions in which this downtrodden humanity lives mock at all the rhetorics about social justice.

In the field of education and culture, there is still a wide gap between the urgent needs and actual achievements. Even the constitutional directive to provide free compulsory primary education for all children by 1960 has not been carried out. New schools and colleges have no doubt come up but they are still few compared to our barest requirements. Economic and social conditions shut out the boys and girls from the peasantry, working class and other poor sections of the community from higher education.

Absence of an adequate number of secondary schools and colleges, lack of other physical amenities, high tuition fees and generally high cost of education make higher learning unapproachable even for those who are somewhat better off. Teachers are given miserably low pay and they have often to suffer indignities at the hands of managements. The opportunities for scientific and technical education are very restricted. There is calculated reluctance to change over from English to regional language as the medium of instruction in higher education.

The Indian people are heirs to a glorious and noble tradition of culture—one of the richest in the world. Even during the days of British imperialist domination, when our culture was cruelly suppressed, distorted and looked down upon by the imperialists, Indian spirit asserted itself and great writers, poets, artists and thinkers in the various fields of learning produced works of outstanding excellence and beauty, imbued with patriotic, humanist and democratic consciousness.

The Indian people expected that with the advent of freedom, fullest possible opportunities would be provided for our cultural development; that the masses of our people, deprived so long of the fruits of culture, would get facilities to create and benefit from the various fields of cultural activities, i.e., literature, drama, music, song and dance, etc.



However, the record of Congress Party rule in the field of culture during the last fourteen years presents a dismal picture. Culture under Congress rule remains a monopoly of the upper and well-to-do classes. Corruption, favouritism and nepotism, in total disregard of merit and ability, have entered even the holy precincts of the three Akademis run by the Central Government—the Lalit Kala Akademi, the Sahitya Akademi and the Sangeet Natak Akademi. Discrimination is practised against many notable writers and artists who refuse to be servile sycophants of the ruling party. Full facilities are given to organisations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom, financed by the USA, to carry on nefarious cold-war imperialist propaganda in our country and many Congress leaders join this body.

Cinema, one of the most powerful vehicles of culture in modern times, is allowed to be dominated by a small group of rich and generally unlettered capitalists who drag it down to the lowest depths. Progressive, patriotic and humanist cine-producers and cine-workers are often reduced to bankruptcy and abject poverty. An unintelligent official Censor Board prevents the free development of healthy and progressive trends in the cinema industry.

In the working of the All India Radio also, the ruling Congress Party pursues a policy of discrimination against progressive artists and writers; of favouritism, of suppression of democratic and scientific ideas and of a blatant use of this national vehicle of culture and education for the propagation and eulogy of the Congress Party and its rule.

Such economic, political and administrative policies could not but encounter opposition from the mass of people and give rise to big struggles. Like the earlier period, the five years since the last general elections, too, have been marked by many mass actions. The policy of the Government has been, as before, one of attempt to suppress these struggles by means of terror, by resort to lathis and bullets.

Inevitably, a sense of frustration is growing all over the country. There is lack of interest in the plans whose main burden falls on the poor and the main fruits are garnered by the rich. New promises and new assurances, as

held out in the Third Plan, fail to rouse any enthusiasm. There is widespread and sullen discontent. Many people are losing faith in the future and effectiveness of democratic institutions.

It is not surprising that in this atmosphere and in the absence of an inspiring national objective, which could unite the nation and take it forward, fissiparous and disruptive tendencies have grown alarmingly. The violent disturbances which took place in Assam, Jubbulpore, Saur and other places sometime back and the disturbances that have taken place recently in Uttar Pradesh show how deep the poison has gone. Attacks on the minority community on the slightest pretext is becoming a common phenomenon in several areas. Organisations like the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the Muslim League, the Jamaat-e-Islami and the Akali Party have become more active than before.

Ever in the forefront of the struggle against communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguistic chauvinism, our Party has repeatedly declared its willingness to join hand with all secular and patriotic forces, including Congressmen, to fight these disruptive tendencies. We have done so in practice too. However, we cannot but stress that these tendencies and the parties which thrive on them could not have attained their present strength but for the grave failures of the Congress itself and the sense of discontent and frustration that its policies have given rise to. Lacking any common outlook, lacking the spirit of dedication that characterised Congressmen of earlier days, intent only to maintain themselves in power by any and every means, many Congress leaders themselves resort to appeals based on communalism, casteism, regionalism, provincialism and so on. Quite often, factions come to be formed inside the Congress on the basis of caste.

In addition to all this, sometimes the Congress leaders directly strengthen parties of communalism by their opportunistic policies—such as the unholy alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala which gave new impetus to Muslim communalism all over the country, the playing between

Sikh and Hindu communalism in Punjab and allying with each by turn, and most serious of all, the attitude of sympathy and concealed support given by many Congress leaders to the Jana Sangh and other communal parties.

The parties of communal reaction, as well as the Swatantra Party, are striving to make use of the popular discontent that prevails today. They utilise all the shortcomings and failures of the Congress Government in order to get a mass base for themselves. They indulge in demagoguery against corruption and for a clean administration and sometimes voice some genuine demands of the people. But that cannot conceal their real character. They are parties of dark reaction. They attack precisely those policies of the Government that have a progressive content.

They want our country to abandon the policy of non-alignment and peace. They oppose the development of heavy and basic industries and the strengthening of the public sector. They want all land reforms to be abandoned. They want State-trading to be given up. Some of them even go to the length of opposing the very concept of India as a secular State. Some preach that parliamentary democracy is not suited to India.

The Communist Party's criticism of the Congress and opposition to many of its policies has nothing in common with the attitude of these parties. The Communist Party considers them to be parties of extreme right, parties of dark reaction and obscurantism, whose growth and success would imperil the cause of national freedom, national advance and democracy. The Communist Party, therefore, advocates determined and sustained struggles against these parties and the ideas they spread.

The leadership of the Praja Socialist Party, blinded by anti-communism, often joins hand with these forces. This is seen in their common opposition to the Government's foreign policy. Also the Praja Socialists have, on a number of occasions, acted as disruptors of mass struggles—as in West Bengal during the great food movement of 1959. The Praja Socialists were the first to enter into open alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala.

Anti-communism has become in our country, as elsewhere, the bankrupt banner of the PSP and right reaction, which want to disrupt the democratic movement, divide the patriotic and democratic forces and keep the masses away from struggles.

In the situation that has grown in our country, patriotic and democratic-minded people are naturally asking: How to solve the problems that have arisen? How to take the country forward?

## II

### For Rapid National Advance, For a Better Life for Our People

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS FIRMLY OF THE OPINION THAT THE fourteen years of unbroken Congress rule have shown that the path of development the Congress has chosen cannot ensure an all-sided national advance or eliminate poverty, hunger and unemployment. We must seek an alternative path.

The crying need of the hour is that the tiller of the soil must be given land, every job seeker a job and the people food, clothes and other essential necessities at cheap prices.

Congress rule holds out no promise whatsoever that our people will ever get them. The alternative policies and proposals we are outlining below will alone answer this need.

*End Foreign Exploitation!*

The Communist Party stands for elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy and for securing economic independence. As an immediate step, our Party demands drastic curbs on the profits of foreign concerns and on their remittance abroad. Resources lying with them

must be taxed by the State in a greater measure and our foreign trade which they control should be taken over by the State Trading Corporation. All new private investments by foreign monopolists must be banned. Unjust concessions to foreign monopolies must be withdrawn.

Our Party is not opposed to proper type foreign economic assistance being obtained from any country provided such assistance is taken for the creation of a modern economy and for other truly nation-building projects. Every effort, however, must be made to ensure that India's foreign liabilities do not needlessly go on increasing. With this end in view, imports should be further cut, exports vigorously stepped up and loans repayable in rupee given preference. These objectives, as experience has shown, can be achieved by greater economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which offer the most disinterested and needed assistance to our country.

But this necessitates the reorganisation of India's trade pattern as well as the removal of other obstructions and inhibitions. Our Party stands for further strengthening of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as an essential feature of national planning.

#### *Land to the Peasant*

The Communist Party has been tirelessly fighting against the anti-peasant policies of the Government. It most emphatically demands radical agrarian reforms and reorganisation of our agriculture. All land transfers made in recent years must be re-examined and fictitious transfers declared null and void. All loopholes in the existing land legislations, particularly in regard to ceilings must be forthwith removed and ceilings to eliminate the concentration of land-holdings and for benefitting the peasants must be introduced in every State and effectively enforced. Land must be distributed to the landless labourer and the poor peasant.

Economic burdens on the peasants such as high rents, high taxes and debts, must be reduced. The peasants must be guaranteed a fair price for their produce and protected

against market operations which rob them. Fixation of minimum and maximum prices for this purpose is essential.

Minimum wage for the agricultural labourer must be fixed everywhere and strictly enforced.

To emancipate the peasantry from its age-long bondage is the most urgent task to enable the remaking of the nation. Without this, rapid economic progress is impossible and democracy would be a misnomer. Our Party stands for a radical orientation of the Plans so as to do away with all semi-feudal survivals and bring about an upsurge in our agriculture.

#### *For Rapid Industrialisation*

The Communist Party stands for a comprehensive programme of rapid industrialisation in which the public sector must at once be given the leading role and capital goods industries the pride of place. The public sector must be democratically organised and efficiently run and it must be kept free from all influences of big business. Small and medium industries must be given every encouragement and assistance by the State and their promotion must form a vital part of national planning. This is essential for arresting the growth of unemployment.

The Communist Party stands for a special programme of industrial projects for the industrially backward regions in order to reduce regional disparities in the country's economic development and help the backward regions to catch up with the advanced regions. The Party demands all necessary readjustments in our Plans for such a fair deal to the backward regions.

The Communist Party demands nationalisation of banking, general insurance, iron and steel, coal and other mining, oil, sugar, jute, tea-plantations under foreign control as well as export and import trade. To allow any sector of our vital and strategic industries to remain in the grip of foreign monopolies is to put the economy and the country to great risks. The nationalisation of banking, we repeat, brooks not a moment's delay.

### *Raise Wages, Respect Trade Union Rights*

The Communist Party stands for a general rise in basic wages and for raising and fixing of minimum wages. It demands a sliding scale of dearness allowance with full neutralisation of rise in prices in all organised industries, trades and professions. The Party would continue its fight against rationalisation or productivity that leads to retrenchment, to greater workload and no commensurate rise in wages. The Communist Party demands that bonus be treated as a share of the workers in profits. In defence of the vital interests of the working class and for its trade union and democratic rights, the Party will conduct resolute struggles. Trade union rights must be unequivocally guaranteed. The labour policy of the Government must be changed to conform to the principles of democracy and social justice.

### *Curb Monopolies*

In Parliament and in State Legislatures and more so outside, our Party has been ceaselessly exposing the malpractices of Big Money and fighting it in action. For this, many of our comrades have had to share along with others dismissals and persecutions at the hands of the bosses of industry and severe repression by the police and Government. It has been our Party's proud privilege to be in the forefront of the struggle against the monopolies and bear the brunt of their fury.

Our Party demands an end to all pro-Big Business, pro-monopoly policies of the Government and far-reaching progressive changes in the State policies. Managing agency system must be scrapped. Concentration through interlocking, take-overs, subsidiaries and similar devices must be firmly checked by the State. The Party stands for higher taxes on Big Business and also for tapping of the resources through compulsory loans. Ceilings must be imposed on profits, as well as on the salaries of high business executives. State policy should be directed towards breaking their economic power and compelling the monopolistic capitalists to fall in line with the basic principles of social justice and democratic planning.

The vicious grip of the Big Business over the newspaper industry must be broken.

In curbing monopolies, the cooperation of workers and the employees and their trade union organisations is of utmost importance.

### *Bring Down Prices*

Our people must be saved from the depredations of high prices. The Party stands for all possible monetary, fiscal and other effective measures to check price rises and hold the price line at a level within the reach of the common man. Strong actions must be taken against the monopolists, profiteers and speculators who hold back stocks, manipulate markets, create artificial scarcities to fleece the consumer. The state sector must be extended to internal trade in essential commodities and state-trading in such commodities must be undertaken on a large scale.

### *Plan for the People*

To realise the above urgent objectives and ensure rapid economic and social progress, the Communist Party demands certain fundamental changes in our Five Year Plan. Planning must be first and foremost for the people. The Plans must mobilise to the fullest possible extent India's vast manpower resources and create labour enthusiasm by constantly improving the living conditions of the working people. To them must go a progressively bigger proportion of our national income. The present yawning disparity in both rural and urban incomes must be reduced. The Plans must strike hard at the out-dated socio-economic conditions that stand in the way of India's rapid progress. Our Party stands for bigger and bolder plans and for a much higher rate of economic growth.

### *Make the Rich Pay for the Plans*

The Communist Party demands that the rich be made to pay their due share towards the resources for the Plan. Enormous accumulations lying with the monopolists, big speculators, former princes and big landlords must be fully

tapped. Former princes who have huge fortunes locked up in foreign banks and foreign securities must be compelled to surrender as loans these assets to the State. The payment of privy purses to them is impermissible and this must stop.

The Party stands for raising the direct taxes on the richer classes while, at the same time, reducing indirect taxes that hit the poor. Huge quantities of gold worth over a thousand crores of rupees held in bullion by the monopolies and speculators must be made available for financing the Plan.

#### *Expand State Sector for Raising Resources*

The Communist Party demands that the state sector be rapidly expanded in different sectors of our economy to raise resources for the Plan. For this, not only must new undertakings be started by the State, but a number of existing private industries and business concerns, as we have already suggested, must be nationalised. State-trading in our internal market should be developed as a major source of revenue.

#### *Strengthen Parliamentary Institutions, Extend Democracy*

The Communist Party of India is deeply interested in the strengthening of our parliamentary system, both in form as well as in content. It stands for bringing the system increasingly closer to the democratic urges and aspirations of the masses. It fights for the extension of democracy in all spheres of the State. It must 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 the Parliament. The emergency powers of the President must be abolished. The power of the President and the Central Government to dismiss a State Government so long as the latter enjoys the confidence of the State Assembly must be annulled. The Governors must be directly elected.

Proportional representation should 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 legislators must be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to their electors and to assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they elect. The Upper Houses are superfluous and expensive and these must be abolished.

The Communist Party demands that there must be Standing Committees in Parliament and in the State Legislatures with requisite statutory powers so that all parties and groups represented in the Legislature may be directly and actively associated with the initiation and formulation of policies by different Ministries and Government. Such Committees should also have the power to review the implementation of the Government policies and the work of the administration.

Judiciary must be separated from executive in all respects, including appointments and promotions.

The process of reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis must be completed. Hence the Communist Party stands for the reorganisation of the present bilingual Punjab State on a linguistic basis. Where the situation so demands, as in the case of Nepali-speaking areas in Darjeeling (West Bengal) or the compact Adivasi area of Chota Nagpur (Bihar), regional autonomy should be granted. Rights of Adivasis to their distinct culture and self-expression must be fully recognised and respected.

#### *Give More Power to the States, Democratise Local Bodies*

The Communist Party firmly stands for wider power and authority, particularly in financial and economic matters, being 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 that of the Central Government. Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi must have democratic set up and responsible Government.

Our Party demands greater power for the panchayats and other local bodies, as well as adequate resources for them. Elections must everywhere be direct and by secret

ballot without any bureaucratic interference. Our Party demands adult franchise for municipal elections in Calcutta. It stands for ending all bureaucratic control over local bodies and for raising their status and dignity. The guiding line in all these matters must be decentralisation and democratisation. Masses must be drawn closer to the functions of the State.

#### *Strictly Enforce Fundamental Rights*

Fundamental rights must be scrupulously respected. The Party stands for revocation of all laws, rules and regulations that conflict with fundamental rights. Directive principles which relate to the fundamental rights of the people must be made enforceable by necessary amendments to the Constitution. All repressive measures directed against the democratic forces or which are liable to be so used must be withdrawn.

There must be compulsory, independent public enquiry into all cases of police firing. Police administration must be reformed and the existing police codes revised to bring them in line with democratic standards. Except where question of defence of the country or its security is involved, there must be no reference to secret police reports in deciding appointments, promotions and so on. Political witch-hunt must stop.

#### *Release Long-term Political Prisoners*

The continued incarceration of long-term political prisoners who have already spent many years behind prison-bars can now be regarded only as an act of political vendetta. Our Party demands immediate release of all such prisoners and withdrawal of warrants pending in connection with political cases which arose over a decade ago.

#### *Probe Into All Corruption Charges*

To fight and stamp out rampant corruption in high places and in administration, our Party demands the setting up of independent impartial commissions at the Central as well as the State levels for promptly probing into all cases

of official corruption, malpractices and improprieties. Those found guilty must be severely dealt with.

#### *Promote National Integration, Protect Minority Rights*

The Communist Party stands for uncompromising struggle against the forces of communalism, casteism, of narrow provincialism and separatism. In order to wipe out these dark, ruinous forces and promote national integration, efforts must be made in every sphere—economic, as well as political, administrative as well as cultural. The policies that breed these evil trends must be changed.

The Party stands for the creation of permanent minority commissions at the all-India and the State levels whose functions shall be to study the problems of the minorities, examine their grievances and formulate concrete measures and tasks for protection and safeguard of minority rights and interests.

Larger funds must be allocated for the uplift and welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and these funds must be administered through popular agencies commanding their confidence. All other effective measures should be taken for their uplift and advancement.

Harijans must be given land and relief. The Communist Party stands not only for effective Government actions but a national campaign for the implementation of the Untouchability Abolition Act and the complete removal of all social disabilities.

The language of the linguistic minorities in different States must be fully safeguarded and given their due status. All rights of the Urdu-speaking minorities must be strictly enforced and all legitimate grievances of the Urdu-speaking people of our country should be forthwith removed.

Sindhi should be recognised as a language of our Republic and included in the Eighth Schedule of our Constitution.

The Communist Party is of the view that reduction of regional disparities in economic development is essential for national integration.

The Communist Party advocates effective steps at all levels, including joint campaign by all secular parties, against propaganda and activities which are designed to rouse communal passions, caste feelings. Our Party is totally against intrusion of religion into politics in any form or under any cover. It demands that the administration be rid of all communal elements.

Our Party is prepared to work with all secular forces in the country in order to combat the forces of communalism, casteism and separatism and promote national integration. We are, at the same time, conscious that in the final analysis, the problem of national integration is a problem of democracy and social progress.

#### *Reorientate Education*

The Communist Party demands a radical change in the education policy of the State so that our boys and girls are trained to take their rightful place in building of the nation. Education must be infused with a social purpose—with deep love for India's rich cultural heritage and above all, with a spirit of service to the people and the country.

The Communist Party stands for greater financial allocations for education and extension of opportunities for scientific and technical education.

The change-over to regional languages as the medium of instruction must be expedited and the State must render all required assistance for the purpose. Education must be made cheaper.

Condition of teachers, especially the primary school teachers, must be improved. Bureaucratic interference in education must end. Academic bodies should be under the control of qualified, progressive-minded educationists. The Communist Party demands an all-out national campaign to wipe out illiteracy.

#### *Culture to the People*

The Communist Party of India stands for the rooting out of all corruption, favouritism, bias against democratic popular ideas and tendencies from all the national vehicles

of culture; it demands that the common people of our country should be beneficiaries of all our cultural activities. It stands for the development of a people's democratic culture, for a generous and unbiased help to literary and cultural bodies and organisations; for the establishment of national theatres in all the major cultural centres of our country; for a policy of developing the cinema industry of our country on progressive lines; for drawing in of the largest mass of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia in the manifold fields of cultural activities. It stands for rescuing culture from the grip of profiteers and foreign and Indian reactionary influences. It stands for the economic rehabilitation of thousands of our writers, artists and workers in the various cultural fields by providing them with the fullest opportunity, in an atmosphere of freedom and joy, for the development of their talent and for the efflorescence of a popular and democratic culture.

#### *Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women*

The Communist Party stands for equal rights for women in every sphere of our national life. It demands equal pay for equal work for women and removal of all restrictions in respect of employment of married women. The State must see that the social reforms that have been passed to uplift the status of women are strictly enforced.

Our Party stands for adequate financial allocations and extra facilities for education of women. The system of maternity benefits must be widely extended and granting of maternity leave must be made obligatory on the part of the employers. Social welfare schemes for women and the organisations engaged in such work must be given State assistance. To raise the status of women in every way must be regarded as of prime importance for the remaking of the nation.

#### *Improve Housing*

The Communist Party demands larger schemes and bigger financial allocations for rural housing as well as the speediest implementation of such schemes. As for urban

housing, the State must take an increasingly direct part in construction of tenements and buildings for workers and lower income groups in addition to financial assistance given to individual or to employers. The claims of housing for lower income groups must be given topmost priority and wasteful and luxury constructions for the rich must be prohibited. Urban tenants must be protected against the extortions of landlords and the unconscionably high rents now paid by them must be brought down by law. Larger targets should be set under industrial housing schemes and the employers must be compelled to fulfil their obligations.

#### *Provide Gainful Employment to Refugees*

The Communist Party demands speedy rehabilitation of all refugees including the partially rehabilitated. They must be provided with gainful employment. Our Party is totally opposed to any abandonment of rehabilitation work by the Government before the refugee problem is satisfactorily and finally solved.

### III

## For World Peace, Against Colonialism

THE BURNING ISSUE FOR ALL MANKIND TODAY IS THAT OF PEACE or war. Peaceful coexistence or a devastating thermo-nuclear war are the alternative facing humanity.

Our emphatic answer is that a third world war can and must be averted by the joint efforts of the forces of peace. We, Communists, consider it our prime task to work for peace and peaceful coexistence and thus deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction.

Imperialism which brings about war is no longer in its past dominant position. It is on the way out. The socialist system is becoming today the decisive force in the development of society. Many Afro-Asian nations have in recent years shaken off the colonial yoke and emerged into the world arena as free nations.

The breathtaking achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been exerting increasing influence in shaping the destiny of mankind. The historic Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which heralds the establishment of a communist society within the life-time of the present generation brings inspiration and strength to the cause of freedom as it deals a staggering blow to the forces that make for war and colonialism. The cause of peace gains new strength with every passing day.

At the same time, it must be recognised that since the end of the Second World War, the danger of a thermo-nuclear war has never been so grave at any time as at the present moment.

Imperialism headed by the USA is madly driving the world to the edge of a catastrophe. West Germany under the former Hitlerite generals and the revenge-seekers, has not only been armed to the teeth but it is about to be equipped with nuclear weapons. Once again German militarism, lavishly backed by the USA and NATO powers has been revived. Once again, it spells war and destruction.

The signing of a peace treaty with both German States and the conversion of West Berlin into a de-militarised free city is essential to lessen this threat and safeguard peace.

Both the Soviet and the German Democratic Republic have made repeated proposals for such constructive steps. But the only answer of the USA to the Soviet proposal has been heavier military spending, calling up of reserves, further intensification of the war drive and finally a brazen threat of nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Communist Party appeals to our people to heighten their vigilance and redouble their efforts at this critical juncture against the US and other imperialist warmongers.

On the occasion of the third general elections, our Party renews its pledge to devote all its strength and energy to the cause of preservation of world peace. It extends its cooperation, across the barriers of party and other loyalties,



to all those who are dedicated to this noble cause. Let this general election be a mighty demonstration of our people's resolve to defend world peace.

Our Party attaches the greatest importance to India's role in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. It has always worked for enhancing this great role and exposed and fought the opponents of India's policy of peace and anti-colonialism. We warn our people against those forces within our land who, while paying lip-service to the policy of non-alignment, are in reality trying to undermine India's foreign policy and push our country towards the imperialist camp.

Our Party seeks the mandate of the people so that India can assume a still greater role in the coming days in defence of world peace, so that our great country becomes a most potent ally of all those fighting against colonialism.

In the recent period, however, the Government of India has shown some unbecoming vacillations, particularly on issues of anti-colonialism. After the Bandung Conference at which India had played so admirable a part, great expectations were aroused above India's contributions to the struggle against colonialism. But today many Afro-Asian nations have the feeling that India is backsliding and trying to softpedal the fight against imperialism. The hesitation of the Government of India to recognise the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has caused dismay and disappointment and brought no credit to our country.

The Government of India recognises the aggressive militarist Federal Republic of Germany which openly denounces India's foreign policy and even supports the Portuguese over Goa. But the Government of India does not still recognise the German Democratic Republic, which subscribes to Panch Sheel and is fully in agreement with our country over the Goa issue as on all basic questions of peace and anti-colonialism. This discrimination in favour of West Germany is not only inconsistent with the policy of India's non-alignment, but gives comfort to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. To India's friends abroad, this attitude on the part of the Indian Government has always seemed in-

comprehensible and it has indeed compromised our country's position in their eyes.

The haste with which the Government of India offered to sell sugar to the USA when the Kennedy regime stopped buying sugar from Cuba in order to blackmail and punish the Cuban people for their heroic revolution is yet another example of the Indian Government's deviation from anti-colonialism.

When President Kennedy pours huge quantities of military hardwares into Pakistan and equips her military machine with supersonic planes, the Government of India, strange as it may seem, indulges in public adulation of the Kennedy administration!

The Congress rulers refuse to call such military aid to Pakistan an unfriendly act, although such a declaration would go a long way to rouse world public opinion against the Kennedy-Ayub arms deal. Evidently the US dollars that are flowing into our country are choking the voice of the Congress Government.

The Communist Party stands for a consistent and unwavering application of India's broad foreign policy in defence of world peace and national independence.

Our Party stands for vigorous efforts by India to bring Western powers to their senses and make them agree to general, complete and controlled disarmament.

The Communist Party demands that the Indian Government accord full recognition to the German Democratic Republic and the Algerian Provisional Government, as well as render the Algerian freedom struggle every possible assistance. Our Party urges India's full support to a peace treaty with Germany and for the creation of a de-militarised free city of West Berlin.

The Communist Party demands that the Government take all necessary steps so that the newly liberated nations like our own and the socialist world find their due place in the executive of the UNO and in all its leading bodies.

US military aid to Pakistan must be denounced as an unfriendly act of the USA towards our country and every

effort must be made to rouse world public opinion against US military build-up in Pakistan.

Our Party stands for the abolition of all foreign military bases.

Our Party demands that the Government take a firm stand against the US violations of the Geneva Agreements in regard to Indo-China, especially against the US military build-up in South Vietnam.

The liberation of Goa and thereby the completion of the process of national independence must be effected without any further delay. To free several lakhs of our long-suffering brothers and sisters from savagery and violence of the Portuguese imperialists, armed action by the Government is fully justified. Indeed, it has become a pressing necessity. Our Party is convinced that such a step will receive wide support throughout the freedom-loving world.

For the cause of world peace and the progress of our nation, friendship and cooperation with the socialist world and all other peace-loving nations is of utmost importance. Our Party stands for the strengthening and consolidation of this friendship.

#### *For a Peaceful Settlement of India-China Border Dispute*

Our Party has viewed with grave concern and distress the deterioration of the relation between our country and China—the two great countries between whom bonds of close friendship have always existed and who jointly proclaimed the historic Panch Shila.

We have made it clear that, in our opinion, the frontier of India in the Eastern Sector lies along what is known as the MacMohan Line, that in the Western Sector it is the traditional frontier between the two countries that should be recognised and that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan forms a part of India. Our Party has made it known time and again that it stands for the territorial integrity of the country. We reiterate these declarations.

We have always urged that this dispute between India

and China should be settled through peaceful negotiations and this is in full accord with India's approach in regard to disputes among nations. Indeed, it redounds to the greatness of our nation that India adheres to this only correct approach for the solution of the problems which have arisen between India and China today. Our Party is confident that peaceful negotiations with China, which now need to be carried forward on a political basis and in which the country's territorial integrity and the cause of friendship between the two countries will naturally be given paramount importance will bear fruit and bring the present unhappy chapter to a close.

The Communist Party fervently hopes that the threads of negotiations will be picked up and efforts for a peaceful settlement continued, bearing in mind such vital political considerations as the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity, maintenance of world peace, struggle against colonialism. For the advance of all these noble objectives, the friendship and cooperation between the two great countries of the world—India and China—has become an imperative need of history.

## IV

### Our Appeal

WE HAVE PUT BEFORE OUR PEOPLE THE ALTERNATIVE POLICIES OF the Communist Party, as well as the immediate measures we would like the Government to take. These policies and measures accord with the interests of the whole nation. We are confident that their implementation will release the mighty creative energies of our people and bring them happiness, prosperity and a cultural resurgence.

For these policies and measures, our Party has been persistently fighting, both inside and outside legislatures, along with other progressive forces. In the short span of 28 months, the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala has shown that the Communists mean to practice what they preach.

For its unshakable loyalty to the masses, the only reward the Communist Ministry in Kerala got from the Congress rulers was arbitrary dismissal.

Born in the stormy days of India's struggle against British rule and steeled in many a fight for people's rights and interests, the Communist Party has always stood loyally by the people. In the fight for freedom, Communists were in the forefront of militant mass actions, especially of the working class. Ours is the Party that first carried the message of socialism to our working people and imparted to them a new consciousness about their historic destiny. It has always striven to direct numerous popular struggles, big and small, into the broad mainstream of our national democratic movement. Our Party has always resisted anti-national currents of communal, caste and similar other disintegrating forces.

When foreign rulers and internal reaction instigated Hindu-Muslim riots and conflicts our Party fought this foul challenge, held aloft the banner of communal harmony and in so doing not a few of our comrades gave their lives. After independence, the Communist Party has carried forward this patriotic tradition in many popular movements and heroic struggles in defence of the rights and interests of our people, for democracy and for the consolidation of our hard-won national independence. In this march forward, our Party has had to face often severe repression and many of our comrades made the supreme sacrifice of their lives.

Our Party has worked for strengthening India's nascent parliamentary system. It is known to our people how the Communist Party has countered the forces of reaction in the parliamentary arena, fought them and striven to bring our Parliament and State Assemblies close to the urges and aspirations of the masses. These efforts our Party will continue in order to shape India's parliamentary institutions as genuine instruments of people's will. The Communist Party stands for the peaceful way of India's progress.

The making of a new India of the dream of our martyrs and of the living generations calls for a clearer perspective, as well as the unity and struggle on the part of all

progressive forces of the nation. The supreme need of the hour is a broad national democratic front of all patriotic and democratic forces. Our Party is pledged to build this historic front and seeks our people's support and inspiration for the fulfilment of this noble task.

The forces of reaction working from both within and outside the Congress have already brought about some shift to the right in Government policies. They are out to sabotage democracy and reverse the course of development in a reactionary direction. It is the unity of all progressive forces that can defeat right reaction and all its treacherous moves.

The answer to these trends and to the anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Congress Government is the unity and struggles of the democratic forces for a shift to the left. Either such a shift to the left is brought about or the right reaction turns the wheel back. There is no third alternative. The Communist Party will continue to fight for a progressive orientation of Government policies in all fields—for a decisive shift to the left. In this struggle, our Party counts upon cooperation and unity with all those who stand for progress.

We know many Congressmen cherish the great traditions of our freedom fight and share the democratic sentiments and aspirations of the masses. We know that these Congressmen and many of those who support the Congress feel unhappy at the growing distress and frustration of the people, at the loss of moral values under the present Congress regime. May we, in all humility, appeal to them to ask themselves why, even after fourteen years of independence, this great land of ours, with its vast areas under the plough, has still to depend on heavy food imports year after year? Why is it that after the two Five Year Plans, unemployment has grown to dimensions never known in all our history? Why is it that in spite of the claim of the Congress Government that it is working for the establishment of a socialist pattern of society, the monopolists are growing alike in their economic power and in their political influence? Why is it that with all the promise of a "good life", the people groan under crushing burdens of heavy taxes and

high prices? Why is it that corruption and nepotism has become so rampant today? How is it that extreme reaction is fast acquiring a mass base in some States and is able to find support among influential elements within the Congress itself?

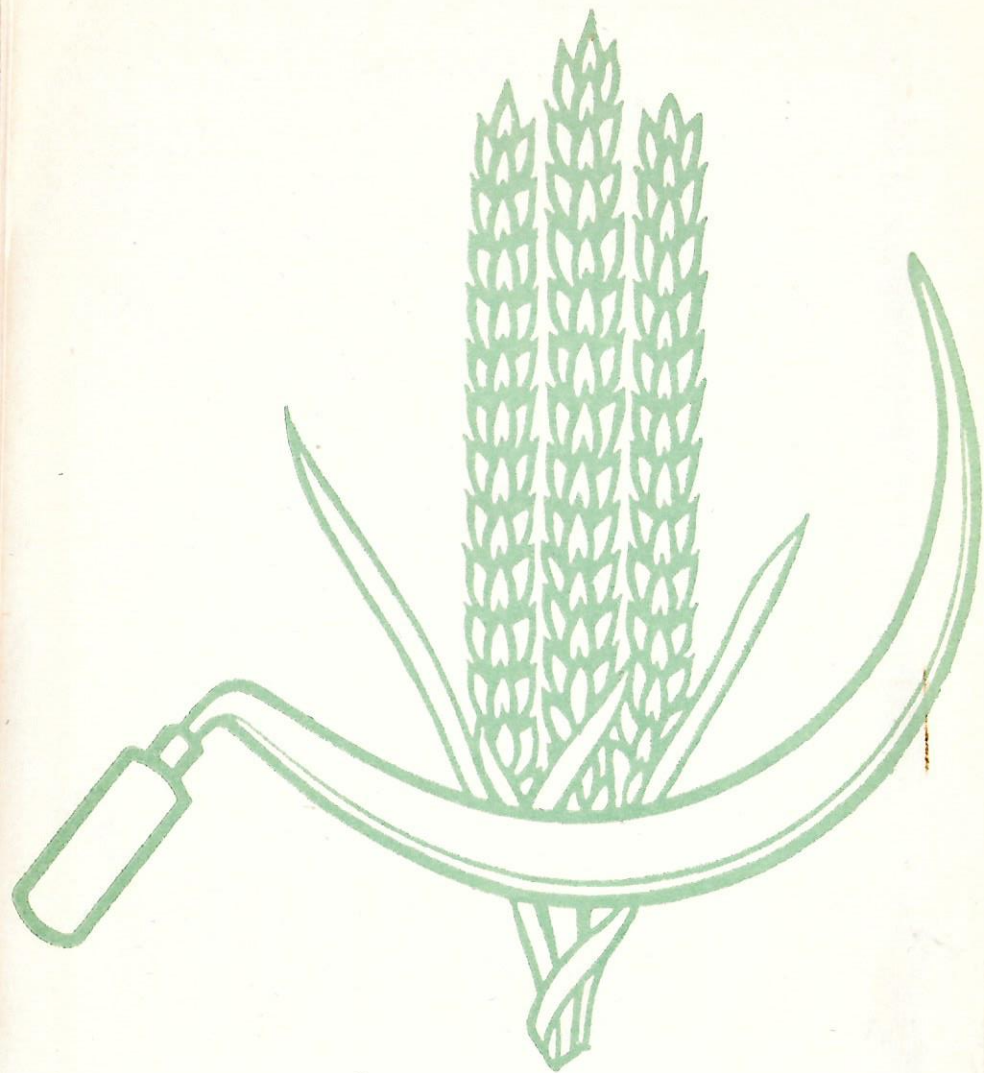
To the right-minded Congressmen and the masses of Congress followers, their leaders surely owe an explanation.

The monopoly of power of the Congress and the big majorities it enjoys in Parliament and Assemblies out of all proportion to the votes it receives in elections has become today a positive hindrance to the growth of democracy and the advancement of people's cause. This stranglehold degrades the country's political life and helps reactionaries to gain upper hand within the Congress and the administration. Progressive-minded Congressmen are systematically pushed to the background.

More than ever before, it has become today a national necessity to weaken and break this monopoly of power by returning in large number of Communists and other candidates of Democratic Opposition to Parliament and the State assemblies.

Ten years of experience in the Parliament and in the State legislatures are a convincing proof that communist representation there helps the masses to fight for their interests and rights, as well as the broad progressive forces to effectively intervene in the affairs of the State and the nation. After the 1957 election victories, when a communist-led Government was formed in Kerala, that event gave a tremendous impetus to all democratic forces throughout the country.

In the past two general elections, our people gave the Communist Party their massive support and that gave us the strength to fight for their cause. In this third general elections, we once again approach our people for the renewal of their confidence and support so that our Party can discharge, with greater strength and assurance, its responsibilities in the service of the Indian people and of world peace.



election  
symbol of the  
communist  
party of  
india