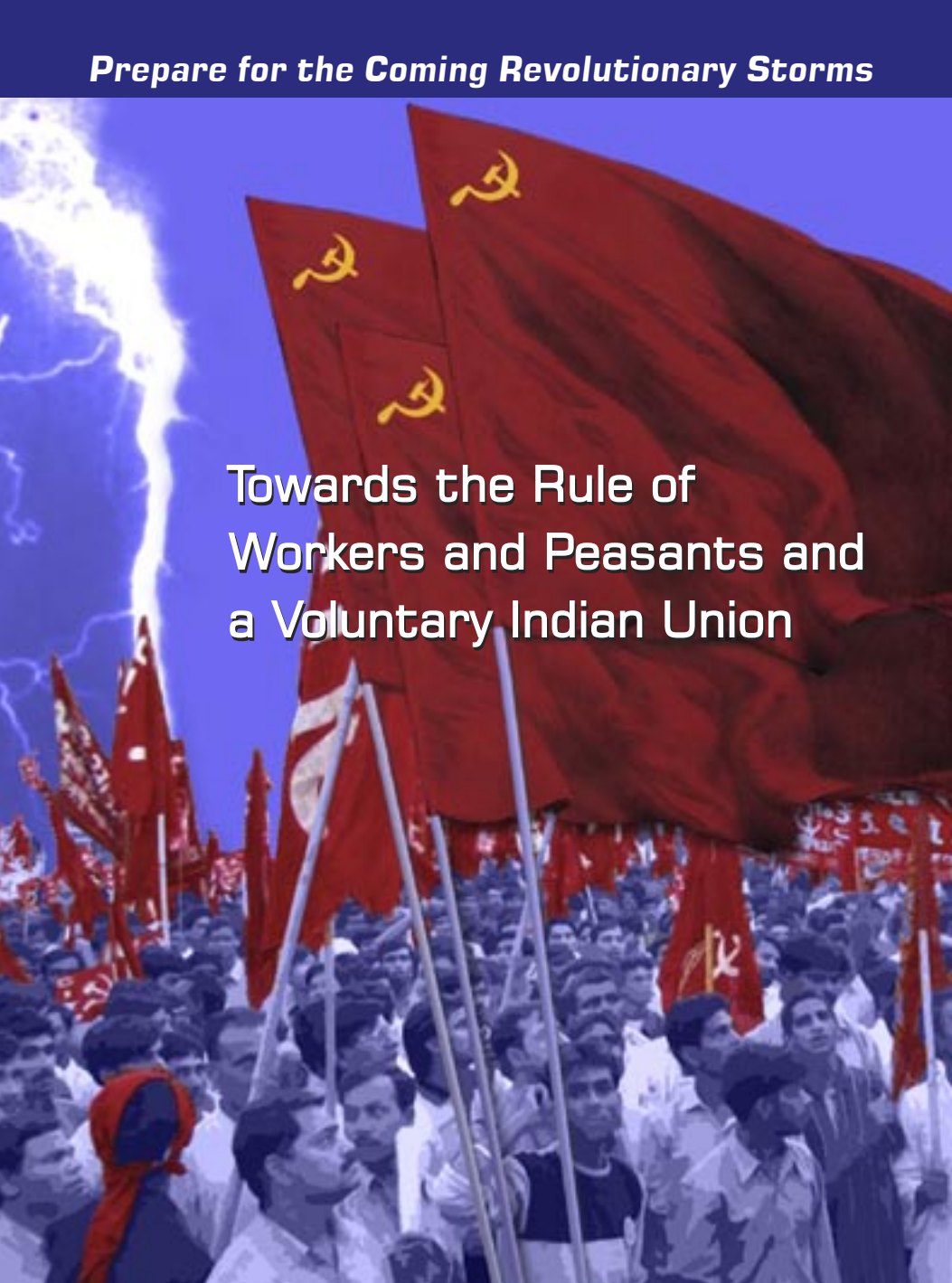


Prepare for the Coming Revolutionary Storms



**Towards the Rule of
Workers and Peasants and
a Voluntary Indian Union**



**Documents of the 3rd Congress
Communist Ghadar Party of India**

Workers of all countries, Unite!

**"March towards the Rule of
Workers and Peasants and a
Voluntary Indian Union"**

Documents of the 3rd Congress

Communist Ghadar Party of India

First published in March 2005

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Publisher's Note

This document entitled *Towards the Rule of Workers and Peasants and a Voluntary Indian Union* contains the Report of the Central Committee presented by Comrade Lal Singh, General Secretary of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, which was discussed and adopted by the Third Congress of the Party, held in January 2005.

This document also includes the Constitution of the CGPI which was adopted at the Third Congress. Two brief notes entitled "About the Communist Ghadar Party of India" and "The Genesis of the Communist Ghadar Party of India" which were approved by the Congress are included for publication.

The Resolutions adopted at the Third Congress and the messages of greetings of sister parties who attended the Congress are also included in this publication. A summary of proceedings of the Third Congress has been included by decision of the Fourth Central Committee elected by the Third Congress.

By decision of the Third Congress, this document has been edited and is being released for publication.

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Summary of the Proceedings of the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

January 27-30, 2005

The Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India was convened in the last week of January 2005. The General Secretary, Comrade Lal Singh submitted a draft report on behalf of the Central Committee. The draft report, entitled *Towards the Rule of Workers and Peasants and a Voluntary Indian Union*, and the Constitution of the Party were discussed and adopted at this Congress.

Inauguration

The proceedings began with a multi-media presentation accompanied by a militant rendering of the song *Communist Ghadar Party ne lalkar lagayi hai*. The stage was decorated with red cloth and carnations, and flanked by two flags of the Party on either side; the backdrop was formed by a banner with the slogan of the Third Congress – *March Towards the Rule of Workers and Peasants and a Voluntary Indian Union*.

The Congress was declared open by comrade Jaya, one of our veteran woman comrades. This was greeted by thunderous

applause. Then, the Third Central Committee was dissolved and a five member Presidium was elected to conduct the proceedings of the Congress. The Presidium took its place on the stage, greeted with a standing ovation by the delegates. Comrade Lal Singh was elected president of the presidium.

Comrade Lal Singh welcomed all the delegates from different regions of the country and the delegates from the fraternal parties—the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist). The Presidium proposed the agenda for the three days, which was approved by the Congress.

Participation

Delegates and observers from different regions of India, as well as from various continents participated in the proceedings. (gender distribution - *to get from Jas, who has it typed up*)

The Report was presented in Hindi; simultaneous translation was organised in various languages spoken by the delegates. In fact, right through the Congress, the attempt was to include everyone present by concurrent translations from English to Indian languages, and vice versa. The entire proceedings were organised such that after one section of the Report was read, the delegates formed groups and held discussions on that section. The groups were a mix of young and old comrades, experienced and youthful comrades, and workers, peasants, women, youth and intelligentsia. The group discussions were lively and intense and went on for more than an hour each. At the end of each round of discussion, summary reports of the discussions were presented by representatives of the groups, at a Plenary. Then the next section of the Report was taken up for presentation and discussion.

In the course of the discussions, the Report got enhanced and elaborated with the experience of so many communists in their work among various sections of people in different parts of the country. The Report became richer with the affirmation of its content by every delegate present.

Each delegate to the Congress was given a copy of the draft Constitution, either in Hindi or English, at the end of the first day, to read and assimilate before the discussion on the Constitution at the Plenary, which was held on the morning of the second day. At the end of the discussion, there being no substantive changes, the Constitution was approved by a show of hands, with the agreement that the necessary changes would be effected.

The third day of the Congress began with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The President of the Presidium invited the delegates from the fraternal parties to address the Plenary. This was followed by the presentation of the Plan of Action, group discussions and the presentation of the discussions.

The plenary session in the afternoon reverberated with the fighting spirit of the youthful delegates who were attending the Congress. Over fifty interventions were made from the floor in Bengali, Bhojpuri, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marati, Oriya, Punjabi, Rajasthani, and Telugu; delegate after delegate affirmed his/her agreement with the Report to the Congress and commitment to its implementation and to working for the establishment of the rule of workers and peasants and for a voluntary Indian Union.

Resolutions

The plenary on resolutions was a significant one; the Presidium moved five important resolutions that reflected the outcome of the

discussions on the draft report and the constitution. The Resolutions were on the adoption of the Report to the Congress, the Constitution, and the Plan of Action; additionally there were two resolutions that expressed revolutionary greetings and support to all people in struggle all over the world and specifically to all the fighting peoples of South Asia, affirming our unity in the struggle against imperialism, fascism, war. All the resolutions were unanimously passed and adopted by the Congress.

The Third Congress then elected the Fourth Central Committee of the Party, which then met and elected the general secretary and spokesperson of the Party. Concluding Session

On the fourth and final day of the Congress, the hall was filled to the brim with the families of the delegates and other the supporters of the Party. The proceeding began with the announcement of the election of Comrade Lal Singh as the general secretary of the Party and Comrade Prakash Rao as the spokesperson of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Lal Singh released the calendar of the Communist Ghadar Party of India for the year 2005, which marks all the important days of struggle and victory of the toilers and tillers the world over. The formal proceedings of the Congress came to an end with the concluding remarks made by Comrade Lal Singh followed by the singing of the International.

The delegates and their families then moved outdoors where the youth presented a cultural program of songs, dances and a satirical skit.

Part 1 of the Report

Building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle

In struggle against the anti-social offensive

United front and other mass organisations

Work towards restoration of communist unity

Followed by group discussions - in 6 groups

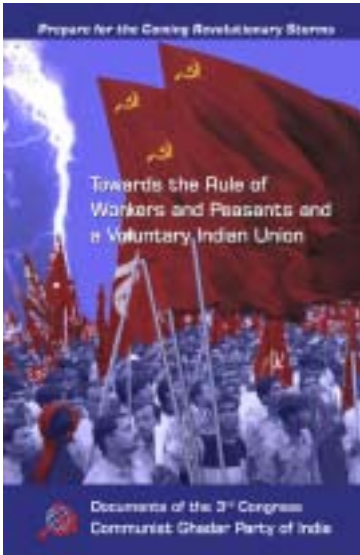
Plenary – presentation of discussion in groups on each section of Part I of the report

Presentation of Part II of the Report - March Towards Worker-Peasant Rule and a Voluntary Indian Union

Followed by group discussions - in 6 groups

Day 2

Plenary – presentation of discussion in groups on Part II on day 2



Report of the General Secretary to the Third Congress

Building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle

- Strengthening the Party
- Building organisations to empower the broad masses of people
- Work towards the Restoration of Unity of all Communists
- A record of significant successes

Building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle

Comrades, we come to this Third Congress to take up the challenge facing the communist movement. The challenge is to enable the working class to emerge as a united force that forges a powerful front with the peasants and all the oppressed. The challenge is to organise and lead this front to wrest political power from the hands of the exploiting minority and vest it in the hands of the people. The workers, peasants, women and youth of all the nations, nationalities and tribal peoples constituting India must be enabled and organised to set the agenda for the new society.

We, the communists militating in the Communist Ghadar Party of India, can and must take on this formidable challenge, because it is necessary and possible to do so. Not to take on this challenge would result in the further worsening of the misery and oppression of the working people. It would result in the further exacerbation of the threat of war, fascism and violence and the deepening of the all-sided crises facing society.

It is possible to do so because the toilers and tillers, women and youth of all the nations, nationalities and tribal peoples, are all fighting to wrest political power from the hands of their exploiters and oppressors. It is possible to do so because the movement of communist revolutionaries is forging ahead with the task of

defending and developing the general line of march for the complete emancipation of the proletariat and all the oppressed. It is possible to do so because we, the communists militating in the Communist Ghadar Party of India, have a history of facing challenges necessitated by the times, standing up on our own feet, accepting our responsibility, and turning words into deeds. No force in the world can stop us from taking up these challenges. Any force that dares to block our path will and must be crushed ruthlessly, and we will not rest until we attain our goal of establishing a just and humane society.

Our confidence comes from the fact that today we have a Party that is active in providing leadership to the class struggle; which is developing the theory of revolution and illuminating the general line, through unity and struggle. We have a Party which is developing conscious and time-bound plans based on consultations with all the fighting forces, and which implements such plans through maximum political mobilisation at all levels, within and outside the Party.

Our confidence comes from the fact that the Party we have built thinks and acts with initiative, at all levels. Every Party organisation works conscientiously to fulfil its mandate, develops its plans and carries out the work to implement them, consistent with the general line and the Program of the Party. Both in the Party and within other organisations of the people, our comrades fight for the implementation of the agreed-upon collective decisions. Those who repeatedly violate or refuse to implement decisions arrived at collectively have no place in the Communist Ghadar Party of India.

There are weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Party, but the important fact is that the struggle to overcome them through healthy criticism and self-criticism is becoming stronger by the day.

Comrades, in order to face the challenges that lie ahead we have to first of all systematically sum up our experience so far—the experience of implementing the decisions of the Second Congress, within the context of the experience of all parties and trends in the communist movement. We have to soberly assess our advances, and there are many. We must squarely address our shortcomings. We must develop a plan at this Third Congress and proceed unwaveringly to implement the same. Then we can be certain that the workers and peasants of this country will make their mark on the centre-stage of history very soon. They will undoubtedly defeat the anti-worker and anti-peasant economic program, the fascist, racist and communal onslaught and the imperialist warmongering course of the Indian big bourgeoisie, and lay the foundations for the rule of workers and peasants.

Strengthening the Party

Comrades, we have followed the teachings of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, that once the general line is established and a Program is adopted, the main work is to organise for the implementation of the decisions. Following the decisions taken at the Second Congress in October 1998, we focused our attention on implementing the Resolution on Party Building. This was based on the consideration that this is the most crucial condition for success in implementing all the other resolutions.

Addressing ourselves to this need of the hour, we elaborated afresh the role of the communist party. This we did by summing up the experience of political parties in the twentieth century in India, as also the rise and metamorphosis of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) (CPSU(B)). We studied keenly the building of the Communist Party of China, which had led a vast and populous nation such as ours in revolution; and had left a deep imprint on the revolutionary movement.

We studied the building and nurturing of the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA). Despite the small size of Albania, the PLA had the audacity to defy the almighty Soviet Union and the prestigious CPSU(B) when the Khrushchevite leadership embarked on a treacherous course. We analysed and assimilated the lessons of the final debacle of socialism in Albania when the PLA itself was disbanded.

We learnt and continue to learn from the experiences of our fraternal parties the world over who are striving to develop the appropriate forms in their respective countries for the revolutionary movement to advance within the conditions of the retreat of world proletarian revolution.

At the Second Congress we established the modern definition that the vanguard party of the working class must be an instrument for empowering the class and all the oppressed masses. We affirmed that it is the working class, as a class, which is the leader of the revolution. The role of the vanguard communist party is to provide the revolutionary consciousness and the general line of march. The Communist Party must be built as a first rate force that will enable the building of such organs as are required for the workers and peasants to seize and hold power in their hands. It is the workers and peasants who have to be mobilised to wage all forms of struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state, including armed struggle and parliamentary struggle.

We drew the conclusion that the Communist Party cannot substitute itself for the working class and seek power in its own hands. It cannot and must not be a party that is firmly entrenched in the bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy, excelling in winning elections and hanging on to power within the existing system. We have criticized and rejected the concept of a party that leaves the

working class out of the picture, does not organise them in class struggle, but itself organises armed struggle against the bourgeois state. We emphatically concluded that the Communist Party cannot aim to seize power in its own hands, through any means. We concluded that both parliamentary cretinism and individual terrorism are roadblocks to the empowerment of the working class and people.

We have stepped up the struggle, starting soon after the Second Congress, to implement the principle that the Party must be built as the advanced detachment of the working class. It must build links with the peasants, progressive intellectuals, women and youth. The task of building party organisations in the midst of the working class is the most fundamental task and cannot be relegated to a secondary position, under any pretext. We firmly repudiated the notion of the Party building 'links' with the working class. This notion is brought into the Party by those who come from the petty bourgeoisie or some section of the middle strata. It can only serve to convert the working class into the tail of the Party, and not its mainstay. We have consistently fought against such tendencies and will continue to fight against them.

We clarified and reaffirmed that a communist party that does not carry out the work of organising the working class for the revolution will lose its proletarian class character. It will start organising bourgeois coalitions or some kind of loose coalition and will then get dissolved in them, In December 1999, we organised a consultative conference that discussed the modern definition of the Communist Party, as established by the Second Congress. We discussed the principles of communist organisation, the relationship of the party to the working class, its relationship to other friendly classes, its relation to the united front, and its role in the polity.

Party Organisations

The Party is a system of organisations, linked to each other in a hierarchical arrangement of higher and lower bodies, with each body having decision-making power in its sphere of work. We have been waging a stern struggle over the past six years to build and strengthen Party organizations amongst the workers and peasants in different regions of the country.

We have recognised that Party organisations must be built in order to carry out any organised and sustained Party work, such as the building of mass organisations among specific sections of the people; bringing out the Party organ and other regular publications; laying and consolidating a modern technical base; carrying out theoretical and ideological work and establishing and running research institutions.

We have fought especially hard in the past six years to ensure that the bodies that function in every sphere of work and at all levels of the Party are dynamic. From its centre to the leading bodies in each region, and from those regional leading bodies to the basic organisations that work among the masses, and in all spheres of work, we have struggled to ensure that the Party organisations release their initiative. We have ensured that all of them work in unison to implement the decisions of the Second Congress with the Central Committee providing the overall leadership.

Central Committee

The Central Committee (CC) of our Party has strived to set an example of how a party organisation should function. It has held its plenums regularly, with a fully worked out agenda and careful preparation of the agenda items. It has ensured that all members participate actively in the deliberations and decisions of the CC. It has also called special meetings and extended plenums of the CC to discuss significant political events (e.g., war, general elections).

Such meetings have also been called to plan for important initiatives of the Party (e.g., Kanpur Communist Conference in December 2000), and to study drafts of the Party's position on crucial issues in the organisational and political-economic sphere. It has organised conferences and other forums to involve the masses of Party members actively in the discussion and in the process of arriving at crucial policy decisions. There is no arbitrariness about leadership in the Communist Ghadar Party of India, as every member knows that the decisions are made and can be changed only at the Congress, at the regional conferences and at meetings of the Party organisations.

The CC has used the form of publishing Open Letters from the General Secretary on special occasions during this period. This form has been used to appeal to the entire communist movement to address vital issues such as the need for restoration of communist unity. It has also been used to appeal to all Members of Parliament on burning questions such as the US-led 'war on terrorism', peace in South Asia, and the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA).

While leading the work of the Party during these six years, the CC has led the struggle against several harmful tendencies manifested in the course of the building and functioning of the basic organisations and the regional committees. The CC has repeatedly emphasised the necessity to adhere to Party norms and has called to account violations of these norms. This is crucial because the opponents to the Leninist Party carry out their sabotage of communist organisation and work through violation of these norms. Our Party has instituted mechanisms to ensure regular submission and review of minutes of the various Party organisations (through the Minutes Committee), holding of annual regional conferences, submission of accounts at every level of party organisation to the higher bodies (through the Finance Committee) and so on.

The CC has paid great attention to the development of work in each area. It has actively provided guidance especially where it has identified weaknesses in the Party organisations, as also where such guidance has been sought by the regional and local Party organisations. It has adhered to the proper Party norms of relations between various levels of Party organisation, without violating the rights of the lower bodies to take decisions in their sphere of work or curbing their initiative. In the case of regional committees that did not follow the standard Party norms and methods, but looked at the guidelines and directives of the CC as 'interference', the CC has not adopted a liberal view. Instead, it has sorted out the problem by organising discussions with the comrades of the concerned regions, and through the method of criticism and self-criticism. The CC and the entire Party have emerged stronger as a result of this principled method of work.

The CC has led the struggle in the Party against the tendency, common in our country, to iconise individuals. Individuals are personified as heroes who are infallible and all-powerful and suddenly on some pretext the same individuals are condemned and pulled down from their pedestal. Iconisation leads to blindly following a 'leader' and not exercising one's own brain to take conscious action. Our Party recognises that individuals do play a significant role in inspiring those around them and in leading the class struggle; however, it is the collective that sustains and develops the work of the Party.

One of the most positive achievements in advancing the work of the Party has been the result of enabling younger and newer comrades to take up responsibilities and important tasks. The CC of the Party has discussed this aspect soberly and fought against the tendency of older comrades to avoid delegating or setting work for others, under the pretext that only 'experts' or 'experienced comrades' can carry out some tasks. The younger comrades have

indeed taken up and implemented very significant tasks set to them by the Party.

Through patient and persistent discussion, the CC has led the struggle against bourgeois pressures, such as ego problems, arrogance, not listening to each other, not being able to take criticism, competitiveness and jealousy. A serious bourgeois pressure that the CC has had to deal with is the pressure on individual communists to become increasingly preoccupied with the cause of improving the standard of living of one's own individual family. The comrades in our Party have been repeatedly warned to be especially vigilant against this bourgeois pressure. If one starts pursuing the mission of raising one's own individual standard then there is no end to such a pursuit. Rather, communists must remain steadfast to the mission of raising the material and cultural levels of all of humanity as the condition of prosperity and well-being for each individual.

The Central Committee of our Party has waged a consistent struggle and led the work of building basic organisations. It has emphasised that wherever the people are in struggle, it is vital that we build basic organisations of the Party in order to provide communist leadership to sustain and develop the struggle. It has emphasised the necessity for establishing and building fighting organisations among the working class, as well as among peasants and other oppressed masses.

Basic Organisations

The basic organisations are organs of class struggle. They are the base or foundation of our Party. We have fought to defend the principle that basic organisations must not be reduced to talk shops, but must be lively and active bodies that make decisions and fight on a daily basis to ensure their implementation.

We have upheld the Leninist principle that the basic organisations should play the role of being the schools of communism. The basic organisation should study the Party organ regularly, contribute actively to strengthening its content and use it as the organiser. The basic organisation must also raise money from the people among whom it works, for carrying out its activities and to support the work of the Party at all levels.

We have drawn many young and vibrant men and women from the revolutionary classes into the Party while adhering firmly to the principle that people can only join the Communist Party by working in one of its basic organisations. Working under the discipline of the Party basic organisations, such new recruits are being moulded as revolutionary communists who can lead the class struggle. Through our active intervention in the ongoing struggles, we have worked to build the basic organisations of the Party. We have done this amongst the unionised and unorganised sections of the working class, peasants and rural poor, teachers, students and working intellectuals, working class youth and anti-fascist and national liberation fighters.

The effort to establish basic organisations of the Party among the industrial workers in large cities in Maharashtra and in Delhi has been consistently carried on since the founding of the Party. In Tamil Nadu and Punjab, basic organisations were founded wherever communists working among the peasantry and plantation workers came forward to work with the Party. We have struggled to establish basic organisations in other regions of the country such as the North-East, as well as Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Following the decision made in January 1998 that the Party organ must be produced regularly in Hindi, the reach of the Party has extended to Rajasthan, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh, and new fronts of work have been opened up in these areas.

In the past six years, our Party has gained rich experience in building basic organisations to lead the mass organisation of the youth, other fighting organs of the people and the united front of workers and peasants. All communists accept in theory that we need basic organisations of the Party in the working class and other oppressed sections. However, putting this into practice remains a major problem and the focus of constant struggle within the Party.

We have opposed the tendency amongst some of the secretaries of Party organisations to ignore and violate time-tested Party norms. These include the holding of regular meetings of the basic organisation, recording and approval of minutes, submission of timely reports to the higher body and seriously addressing the problems facing the work instead of brushing them under the carpet. Such a tendency has resulted in basic organisations not meeting regularly and problems never coming to the notice of higher bodies where they could be discussed and assistance provided to the basic organisation.

This tendency has also led some comrades to use the objective problems and pressures on individuals as an argument for not holding regular meetings of the basic organisation. In the case of workers facing layoffs, closures and pressure to accept Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) and quit, questions of survival and livelihood pose severe constraints in their being able to participate in basic organisations of the Party. Very often, these workers are also entangled in long drawn-out legal battles, where the system ensures that the odds are always heavily stacked against the workers. Likewise, among the urban youth, the pressure imposed by the education system and the job market often make it difficult to even hold regular meetings of basic organisations. In the case of rural and urban poor, their poverty and abysmal conditions of survival often prevent them from participating regularly in the

meetings of the basic organisations. Such problems have been allowed to block the work and liquidate the basic organisations.

Another harmful trend that we have had to fight against is that of liquidating the Party basic organisations in the workplaces and residential areas by merging them into committees entrusted with very broad areas of work. Such committees meet only once in several weeks or even less frequently. While this has been justified in the name of 'increasing efficiency of work' it is actually based on an erroneous thinking that basic organisations are irrelevant and communist work can be organised without them.

We have waged and continue to wage a stern struggle against those who promote the individualistic style of work, whereby the collective leadership of the basic organisation is undermined. This style of work, which is decentralised and unorganised, results in anarchy. It militates against coherent planning based on discussion at the meeting of the basic organisation, replacing it with individual whims. This tendency has been opposed, by insisting on and ensuring conscious collective planning and implementation.

Another problem that has confronted us is that some comrades, who once might have done exemplary work, become tired and exhausted. They have used their position and the prestige that they enjoy in the Party to try and limit the scope of work to what suits their individual preference. They begin to organise around their individual interests instead of taking up the tasks set by the Party. Instead of setting bold targets and fighting to implement a collectively decided plan to achieve them, they tend to reduce the scope of work to a minimum, to a formality and routine. They do not pay sufficient attention to bring forward fresh energetic fighters to leading positions. This has, in some cases, led to liquidation of the Party basic organisation and its work, and set a wrong example of how to build the basic organisation.

The Party has always upheld that in the meeting of the basic organisation, all comrades must vigorously participate in discussing the work and setting the tasks, and implementing the collective's decisions. One of the serious violations of the norms of basic organisation has been non-implementation of tasks agreed upon in the collective, simply because an individual comrade may have considered it unimportant. We have recognised that every major path-breaking initiative of the Party has been possible only through the fullest discussion and participation of comrades in the basic organisations. We have also had to struggle against the tendency to curb discussion in the basic organisation, with the justification that the higher body has already discussed it.

The Leninist principle of fearless criticism and self-criticism has been one of the key principles that we have fought to implement in our effort to build the basic organisations. We have had to fight against the tendency to suppress criticism in the basic organisation using the excuse that if an individual is a member of a higher body of the Party (e.g., the CC), then s/he can be criticised only in that higher body and not in the basic organisation. In our Party, criticism has been used to expose an erroneous line, a wrong method, violation of norms of organisation, or any other mistake that weakens the organisation or hampers the work of the Party. It has not been used with a view to damage someone's personality or self-confidence. At the same time, the comrade who is facing criticism is encouraged to take it in the same communist spirit and use it to make the necessary correction.

The Secretary of any Party organisation plays the important role of preparing for every meeting its proposed agenda and presiding over the process of democratic discussion and collective decision-making. The work has suffered serious setbacks whenever the Secretary has become subjective or passive in the face of problems and conflict of views. There have been cases where a Secretary

becomes passive, complaining that nobody is listening to him/her. In such conditions, the Secretary must review her/his own views and conduct, with the humility to recognise that one's own views and conduct may be the source of the problem.

One of the examples of how the Party work has suffered because of such harmful tendencies can be found in our work among the unionised workers. There was a time when the line and work of the Party was attracting a large number of working class unions and organisations that had faced the betrayal by the Central Trade Unions. However, the failure to build basic organisations of the Party among these workers at that time led to a situation where Party leadership of their struggles could not be sustained. The Party thus lost an excellent opportunity to build the unity of many sections of the organised working class around the line of the Party. In Mumbai, where the Party could organise massive rallies each year on the basis of its strength in the working class, our Party and the working class have suffered as a result of the failure to sustain basic organisations. Likewise, in Delhi where we were a force in the working class and trade union front with the possibility of expansion, the work has suffered. Similar failure has affected the work in Tamil Nadu as well, where a number of basic organisations were allowed to die out.

Our Party has learnt, based on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and our own experiences, that there is no short cut to building basic organisations. This was reflected in the Resolution of the Second Congress and the Party's efforts to implement that decision in these last six years. Wherever and whenever we have persisted in building and strengthening basic organisations, we have seen the most spectacular results. Wherever and whenever the role and importance of basic organisations have been neglected, we have not been able to maintain or step up the tempo of the Party work there.

Lenin established the absolute necessity for the basic organisation. However, it is the task of the communists of today to defend and further develop this invention and to perfect its functioning, both in relation with the masses and in relation with the other organisations and collectives that make up the modern communist party. We recognise that the effort to build basic organisations has to continue with redoubled vigour and by overcoming the shortcomings of the past. Given the growth in the number of active young members in the Party, we need to set bold targets for expanding this work to widen and deepen the reach of the Party line among the masses.

Regional Committees/State Committees/District Committees

In our Party, basic organisations in a given region, state or district work under the Regional/State/District Committee and report directly to it. The Regional/State Committee reports to the Central Committee of the Party.

While the Regional Committee (RC) can in no way substitute for any of the basic organisations in that area, its role in providing leadership to the work in the region must not be underestimated. Therefore, we have also waged a stern struggle to build and strengthen the Regional Committees in all areas. These committees are entrusted with the crucial task of keeping themselves fully informed of all economic, political and social developments in the region and ensuring prompt response of the Party to such developments. On the organisational front, they are entrusted with receiving regular minutes of the meetings and reports of the activities of the basic organisations in the area. They must also be fully informed of the health and functioning of the basic organisations, and provide assistance and guidance as required to the basic organisations.

We have tried to organise regular meetings of the Regional Committees, with well thought out and prepared agenda. Similarly, Regional Conferences are called regularly to take stock of the work in the region. We have demanded that the RC must regularly report on its work and submit minutes of its meetings to the CC.

Wherever the Regional Committees have been functioning according to these Party norms, they have been able to successfully lead the work of the Party through the basic organisations. It is the mandate of the Regional Committees to ensure that the basic organisations in its area are functioning and healthy. The RC has to make the general plan of work and organisation for its area, and monitor the basic organisations to ensure that they are meeting regularly, making their plans and implementing the same. Wherever Regional Committees have been weak on this score, it has affected the life of the basic organisations and led to their liquidation.

In the functioning of Regional Committees too, we have had to struggle against several harmful tendencies. One such tendency is the expectation of quick results without persisting in carrying out the agreed upon plan. Those who expect quick results get disheartened when these results do not come as quickly as they wished. They then give justifications for giving up that task and moving on to something allegedly 'more exciting'. As a result, agreed-upon tasks are given up precisely when the challenge is the greatest, and where persistence and tenacity can actually lead to tremendous advances.

Liberalism towards one's own shortcomings and those of one's peers, under the guise of 'knowing their problems' is a factor that has hampered the building of the Regional Committees in this period. Various comrades in the RCs routinely practice this anti-communist method of functioning, popularly referred to as the policy of "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours". At the

same time, the challenge for peers working together in any Party organisation is that of mutual respect and listening to each other, to mutually strengthen one another by firmly and uncompromisingly fighting all negative tendencies.

Democratic Centralism

Our Party, from its founding, has affirmed and defended the organisational principles of democratic centralism and waged a relentless struggle to follow them in practice.

Democratic centralism is the most advanced theory of organisation given birth to by the most revolutionary class in society, the modern proletariat. Comrade Lenin elaborated the principles of democratic centralism. They were put into practice to build the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), which led the working class to seize political power and build the world's first socialist state in the 20th century.

In our Party, decision-making power is democratically centralised on the basis of recognising and upholding the rights of each individual and collective in the Party. Our Party is centralised on the basis of including the membership in decision-making. It draws on the strength and initiative of all its members, and it is centralised according to a single plan so that it may act as a monolithic force.

Every individual member of the Party belongs to at least one Party organisation, where he or she participates in decision-making. At every level of Party organisation, the right to have a say in decision-making goes hand in hand with the duty to contribute to the implementation of the decisions arrived at collectively. The operative principle is collective decision-making and individual responsibility. The entire membership exercises its supreme decision-making power at the Congress of the Party, in the adoption of the Congress resolutions and in electing the Central Committee.

In every Party organisation, planning and individual assignments are decided upon at the meeting of the collective. Implementation of agreed-upon decisions is also checked up and summed up at such meetings. All the members freely exchange opinions and differences are sorted out through discussion and persuasion, before finally arriving at the decision. Any difference of opinion is recorded but once the collective decision is taken, by a simple majority vote if necessary, it is the duty of every member to work for its implementation, until the decision is taken up for review at another meeting of the collective.

We have waged a consistent struggle to ensure that the decision-making power at all levels of the Party lies in the meeting of the collective and not in the hands of any individual or group of individuals outside of the Party forum.

We have waged and must continue to wage an uncompromising struggle to ensure that every Party organisation receives minutes and reports (from Party organisations that report to it) and submits its own minutes and reports regularly. Every organisation must plan its actions on the basis of investigating the facts, studying the Party documents and analysing what the facts reveal.

The Communist Party is the leader of the class. Hence we have not tolerated any division into so-called leaders and the led within the Party. We have fought to defend and develop the character of the Communist Ghadar Party of India as a party in which each individual member acts as a leader of the working class.

We have refused to give up the norms of centralised leadership in the name of 'equality' or under any other pretext. We have consistently opposed the trend of ultra-democracy where individuals compete with each other for leadership and do not want to submit to the norms of the Party organisation.

We have fought against the tendency of *chamchagiri*¹, which is incompatible with democratic centralism and well suited to bureaucratic centralism. *Chamchagiri* means to nod one's head to whatever one's 'senior comrade' says, and then expect similar behaviour from one's 'junior comrades'.

We have struggled relentlessly to ensure that every member of a Party organisation is a conscious and fully participating member of that Party organisation, and every Party organisation is enabled to exercise decision-making power at its level. Once the Congress has laid down the general line, then every Party organisation, from basic organisations to the Central Committee, has to act to implement the line, according to the collective plan and decision of that organisation. This means that every Party member must release her/his full initiative to implement that decision consciously, and take full responsibility for the action.

In every organisation of our Party, the legislative and executive powers are integrated, i.e., those who make the decisions are also responsible for their implementation. This ensures that every individual is accountable to the collective and every collective is accountable to the higher bodies. Following this in practice, we have made great strides in advancing the Party work. In cases where a Party member or organisation has bureaucratically waited to be 'instructed from above', the work has been paralysed and opportunities to take the work ahead have been lost. Likewise, in cases where individuals have acted on their own whims and violated the collective decisions, they have caused great damage to the work and the collective of which they are members.

The deviation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) from the revolutionary road was accompanied by gross violations of the principles of democratic centralism. The revolutionary party of Lenin and Stalin was converted into a

bureaucratically centralised party of a new ruling class. This party became the chief instrument of the conversion of the Soviet Union from a socialist state to a social-imperialist state during the latter half of the 20th century. Introducing anti-Marxist-Leninist notions such as 'mother party', 'big party' and 'party in power' into the international communist movement, the CPSU became the chief instrument of the subversion of the communist and workers movement around the world.

The Chinese Communist Party too violated the principle of democratic centralism by following a militarist line and by promoting the existence of many factions within the party, clashing with each other in the name of 'two line struggle'.

From studying the experience of communist parties around the world, and in our own country, we have noted the dangerous consequences of submitting to bureaucratic centralism and supremacy of a 'high command', which is the norm in bourgeois parliamentary parties. We have also rejected the notion of a communist party that is organised on the basis of federalism, giving proportional representation and quotas on the basis of nationality, religion or caste, thereby undermining the unity of the Indian working class. All this experience has reaffirmed the conviction of the CGPI that to persist in the path of revolution demands zealously adhering to the principles and norms of democratic centralism in building and continuously strengthening the Party.

Party Press

The Enlarged Plenum of the CC of the Party held in January 1998 emphasised that the Party paper must play its role as the organiser of the working class and its close allies such as the peasantry.

The Enlarged Plenum placed on the agenda the question of the production of the Party paper in Indian languages as the immediate

task to be taken up for solution. The Plenum called upon the comrades of the Party to implement Lenin's formula that all the Party organisations, all the basic units in all regions, must devote at least one quarter of their time and energies towards the Party paper. This means that all the basic organisations must participate in selling the paper to the masses. They should seriously discuss the feedback from workers and other communists, as well as express their own views on what the paper is saying. They must write reports of their activities for the Party paper. How seriously a Party organisation carries out the work of distributing the paper, contributing articles, reports, letters and giving prompt feedback, is an indicator of the state of health of that organisation.

Since the Second Congress, the fortnightly organ of the CC of the Party, *Mazdoor Ekta Lehar* (MEL)² in Hindi and, *People's Voice* in English and the Tamil monthly *Thozilalar Ottrumai Kural*³ have been regularly produced. The resolution of the Second Congress called for strengthening the content and distribution of the Party organ on the basis of establishing groups of writers and distributors in the class to address the real concerns and aspirations of the working people. The all-sided growth of the Party, with youthful new recruits in many regions, bears testimony to the successes achieved.

A visible result of strengthening the Hindi fortnightly has been the expansion in Party membership in the Hindi speaking areas including Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan. Reporters of MEL interviewed a wide range of worker activists from all over the country in the mass workers' rally in front of Parliament on 26th February 2003, and these interviews were promptly published. The Party received numerous letters after this event, from interested workers and activists from various states of India.

The immediate challenge following the Second Congress was to stabilise the regularity of the fortnightly in Hindi. We have

succeeded in this effort. Side by side with this effort, we have paid increasing attention to improve the content and form of the fortnightly, both the printed and web site versions.

The web site of the Communist Ghadar Party of India has been redesigned. The regular updating of content needs to be strengthened. Managing the web needs additional resources and enhancement of capacity. Web publishing in the regional languages should be taken up as part of the action plan for the coming period.

The Central Committee has taken practical measures to strengthen the Editorial Board (EB) of the Party paper in this period. The EB has critically assessed its work and has begun to address the weaknesses in its functioning consciously. A major ongoing struggle has been against the tendency to gloss over differences of an ideological nature. To defeat this tendency the Editorial Board has and continues to wage relentless struggle to conscientiously study the Party documents and the classics to ensure consistency with the science of Marxism-Leninism and the general line for this period. It fights to ensure adequate investigation and discussion before writing on important issues.

The technical base of the Party press has been considerably strengthened in recent times. The Editorial Board works closely with the technical production units in the respective languages which ensure timely production and distribution. Measures have been taken to establish and develop groups of translators, working out a common lexicon for the regional languages and in English as well.

A new initiative in this period has been the effort to establish regional editorial sub-committees. The setting up of such mechanisms has not had much success so far. Setting up editorial sub-committees in various regions should be a priority in the

coming period. Only this will ensure that the Party press comprehensively covers all the developments and struggles relating to the Indian revolution, and serves the organising work in all regions.

During the past six years, we have fought to strengthen the role of the Party paper as an organiser. We have paid attention to addressing the live issues of the time, and to disseminating the paper at mass rallies and demonstrations. This has contributed to increased readership and new contacts for the Party. We have insisted that the time-tested method of organising mass sales at factory gates, work places and residences of the toiling masses must not be given up under any excuse. This is the way our Party has been built so far, and this is the way it should be built in the future too.

We have been fighting to make the basic organisations take up the dissemination of the Party paper, regular discussion of its content and contributions in the form of reports, articles and letters. We have waged and continue to wage a stern struggle against all weaknesses on this front.

In the coming period, the situation demands a sharp increase the number of regular readers of the printed editions. We must increase readership from among the workers and peasants, and get regular visitors to the web site of the Communist Ghadar Party of India from among students, working intellectuals and other progressive sections of society. We have to set ourselves bold targets.

A leap in readership is necessary and it is possible provided two conditions are fulfilled. The first condition is the strengthening of basic organisations, to ensure the expansion in the number of trained reporters, writers and distributors of the Party paper from among the revolutionary classes and strata and from all regions. The second condition is to make sure that the work of developing theory is

further strengthened so as to elaborate the vision of the new society and the program to establish the rule of workers and peasants.

Theoretical and ideological work

The Second Congress established the General Line and Program for this period, when the world revolution is in retreat. The Report of the Second Congress pointed out the necessity for the working class to contest outmoded Eurocentric ideas as well as the reactionary bourgeois rendering of Indian thought, so as to develop the theory of the Indian revolution. It also pointed out that the seeds of revolution exist within the existing conditions of perpetual crisis and revolutionary theory must illuminate the way to nourish those seeds so as to open the path to revolution and social progress. The starting point of all theoretical work is the study of the facts and phenomena that are being revealed. Revolutionary theory must assist in analysing the class struggle within the present conditions. The Central Committee established afresh the mechanism for carrying out this work. It consolidated the Theoretical Group under its leadership.

Our Party emphasises the necessity to wage an ongoing and uncompromising ideological struggle to defend the line of march and the unity of thought and action in the Party as also in the working class and other progressive movements in society. We have noted that the ideological struggle must be aimed at exposing and defeating the lies, illusions and diversions that the bourgeoisie is throwing at the working class and other discontented masses of people. It must be waged against the enemy within the communist movement—that is, those who are acting as the channels of spreading bourgeois illusions among the workers and peasants.

The Party has waged a consistent struggle against the notion that some individual genius or expert group can develop theory and lead the ideological struggle. The struggle against this ‘expert line’

has been waged concretely by involving more and more comrades in the theoretical and ideological work. The CC has made a conscious effort to create an enabling environment for wider and wider participation in this work. This has greatly contributed to the strengthening of the work of developing theory. In addition to enriching the line, this work has assisted in raising the ideo-political level of all members of the time-tested.

In the period following the Second Congress, the Theoretical Group has organised several camps. These have brought together a large number of comrades to spend extended periods of time on concentrated research work and theoretical treatment of selected topics. Such topics have included the question of communism and affirmation of rights, the economic basis of the agrarian and peasant question, the question of the nature of the Indian State and the stage of revolution, and growing fascism in the period of the retreat of revolution.

Our approach to the theoretical and ideological work, as in the case of all other time-tested work, has been to rely on the principle of collective leadership and individual responsibility. The Theoretical Group sets its agenda of work in the light of the decisions of the Congress and the Plenums of the Central Committee, and reports regularly to the CC Secretariat. Specific tasks are assigned to individuals and groups of individuals. All products are reviewed and discussed thoroughly in the Group and only then submitted to the CC Secretariat. Only the full meeting of the Central Committee approves any document for publication in its name.

We have waged a stern struggle in the course of carrying out the theoretical and ideological work, in defence of the scientific method and implementation of agreed upon decisions of the collective. The scientific method consists in starting from actual facts and

analysing the problem as it presents itself today, based on studying the documents of the Party and the Marxist-Leninist classics. A constant struggle has been waged against the tendency to start writing without studying the facts or the Party's basic documents and the classics.

The Second Congress established the nature of the motion at the base of Indian society, the nature of the present period on the world scale, and adopted the immediate program of *Navnirman*⁴, aimed at making the toilers and tillers the masters of India. We have used theory to guide the work of explaining and exposing the basis of the bourgeois offensive, and in positing the vision of the new society. We have waged the ideological struggle in close connection with the burning issues of the time. Over the past six years, we have further laid bare the laws of capitalism as they operate at the present stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. We have investigated and exposed the content of the privatisation and liberalisation program and the so-called war against terrorism. We have further elaborated the theoretical considerations underlying the Program we have adopted. All this work has contributed to developing the content of the struggle of the working class against this anti-social program. It has contributed to the development of the programmatic calls of mass organisations of the peasantry, of the youth and of all the oppressed.

The work of the Theoretical Group enabled the CC to organise numerous conferences among communists and activists of the working class over the past six years, starting with the historic Kanpur Communist Conference in December 2000.

We must recognise, based on a sober assessment of this work so far, that we are still lagging behind in terms of elaborating the alternative political system and its political process. The task of elaborating the vision of the political power and the economic system, as also the

political institutions to be created for the empowerment of the toilers and tillers i.e., the political and economic content of the rule of workers and peasants in India, is the key challenge facing the Party. In the coming period, we need to bring to completion the key issues that we have taken up for theoretical treatment. These include the national question in India, and the peasant question in the specific historical context of our country. We must continue to carry out this work on a scientific and organised basis, and gain the confidence to meet this challenge.

In struggle against the anti-social offensive

At the Second Congress, we set ourselves the task of organising the working class to emerge as the standard bearer in the struggle against the anti-social offensive. We noted that this struggle against the anti-social economic program and political offensive of the bourgeoisie has to be waged on the basis of affirming that all persons have rights, by virtue of being human beings. Since human beings are born to society and can secure their livelihood only through society, the state and government must be organised to ensure the realisation and defence of human rights, including the right to a livelihood.

We have gained very positive experiences in implementing this resolution of the Second Congress. The work of the CGPI has contributed to the rise in the level of consciousness and political activity of the working class in recent years, which has stymied the efforts of the bourgeoisie to intensify the anti-social offensive. It has also contributed to laying the basis for building the worker-peasant alliance against the bourgeois offensive.

Our Party recognised that the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie is an all-sided offensive—economic, political, socio-cultural and ideological. It is an assault on all that the working class and peoples have achieved in terms of their rights in the

twentieth century. The Indian bourgeoisie is taking India on a course of retrogression, to achieve its aim of becoming a first rate imperialist power. It is adamant on further globalising its capital, through liberalisation and privatisation, further militarising the economy and further fascising the state. It is perfecting its preferred weapon of unleashing state terrorism, including communal holocausts. The political offensive serves to divert, divide, crush and thwart the possibility of the united struggle of the workers, peasants and all the oppressed against the economic offensive. And serving both is the ideological offensive that 'there is no alternative'.

United struggle of the working class

When the bourgeoisie launched its economic reforms program under the Narasimha Rao regime 13 years ago, the working class was not in a position to wage a united resistance struggle against this offensive, in defence of its livelihood and rights. Such a situation had been created by the class conciliators who had seized the leadership of the working class movement. The line of defending the 'socialistic pattern of society', of seeking concessions from the bourgeois state and of relying on parliamentary democracy to improve the lot of the toilers, had had an extremely damaging influence on the working class movement. It had served to blunt revolutionary class consciousness. It had served to impose class conciliation as a way of life and seeking a middle road between capitalism and socialism as the end objective.

Since the split in the communist movement in 1964, the working class movement had been continuously fragmented into different unions, with each of them being regarded as the fiefdom of one or another parliamentary party. While various struggles were waged for trade union rights and wage benefits, in ideological and political terms the class had been turned into a tail of the bourgeoisie both in thought and practice. Such a working class could not put forth positions that could win over the peasantry in

the period of intense peasant struggles that erupted in the seventies and eighties in different parts of the country. The millions of unorganised workers in town and country were left leaderless as well. The workers' unions dominated by parliamentary parties were becoming ineffectual in mounting a united struggle in defence of the workers' interests.

Using the slogan of defending 'national unity and territorial integrity', the Central Government, in the eighties, launched savage attacks on the most basic rights of the peoples of Kashmir, Punjab, Manipur, Assam and Nagaland. The people of the Sikh faith were targeted for vicious attacks in the name of fighting terrorism. In such conditions, the working class had been in the main converted into a cheerleader for the bourgeoisie and its colonial and fascist policy. Social chauvinism was imposed on the working class movement, thereby marginalising it from the national movements fighting for liberation and national sovereignty.

As a result of all these factors, when the bourgeoisie launched its reforms program in the nineties, the working class stood fragmented, isolated from the peasantry and urban middle strata, and from the national movements and other potential allies.

The first round of resistance struggles broke out against India signing the Dunkel Draft and joining the WTO. Peasant organisations all over the country waged united as well as separate battles. The working class began to come out on the streets in defence of its livelihood and rights.

The Program "*hum hain iske malik, hum hain hindustan, mazdoor kisan, aurat aur jawan*"⁵, launched by the Communist Ghadar Party of India at its Second Congress was amongst the first attempts by Indian communists to present an integral plan for halting the anti-social offensive. It is a program and plan for

opening the path to social progress, within the conditions of the retreat of the revolution on the world scale. It is a program of waging war against poverty by reorienting the economy to serve the needs of the people. It is a program against state terrorism and in defence of individual, collective and national rights. It is a program for ending the party system of governance and establishing the direct rule of the people. It is a program for the renewal of democracy and the reconstitution of the Indian Union. It is a program for vesting sovereignty in the hands of workers, peasants, women and youth of all nationalities; for peace in South Asia and on the global scale, and for democratisation of international relations

The work of the Party in these six years, armed with the Program adopted at the Second Congress, has contributed to strengthen and politically unite the resistance movement. In opposition to the bourgeois ideological pressure that 'there is no alternative' to privatisation, closures and lay offs, expansion of the scope for contract labour and other attacks on their livelihood and rights, workers began to fight with the confidence that there IS an alternative to the anti-worker, anti-peasant and anti national program of the bourgeoisie.

The second generation reforms were launched officially in January 2000, with the sale of the profit making central government owned Modern Foods Industries Limited (MFIL) to the multinational Hindustan Lever Limited. As the workers of MFIL in Delhi carried out a vigorous protest action in February 2000 on the opening day of Parliament, they were joined by hundreds of workers of the closed textile mills of Kanpur who were fighting for their reopening. Since that joint action in February 2000, our Party has paid utmost attention to ideologically arm the working class to effectively fight against the privatisation drive of the bourgeoisie.

The Party has worked to build the unity of MFIL workers in different cities as well as within each unit, cutting across party lines. This has been combined with efforts to get the active support of all trade unions for the struggle of MFIL workers. The Party has led the workers to challenge, through legal means and street actions, the right of the central government to sell any public assets to private companies.

We have contested the necessity for closing down textile mills and other so-called loss-making enterprises. In addition to mass street actions, we have also organised high profile political meetings with the participation of a wide range of trade unions in the country. The work to lead the struggle against privatisation had to be carried out at a time when some in the communist movement, had already reconciled themselves to the assertion that 'there is no alternative' to privatisation. They believed and preached that privatisation and closures were inevitable in all sectors that were deemed to be loss making. The central trade union organisations led by the CPI(M) and the CPI did not lend any support to the struggle of the workers against privatisation and closures in such sectors. The MFIL workers were left to fend for themselves, as were the workers of the electricity boards, the textile mills and other 'loss-making' units in the state sector.

Our Party organised the fighting sections of the working class to contest why these units were loss-making in the first place, who was the guilty party and who should pay for the accumulated losses. When the then Disinvestment Minister, Arun Jaitley, declared publicly that "it is not the government's business to be making bread", the MFIL workers shot back, "what then is the government's business, what is its responsibility to the people?"

As the struggle developed, the Party through its press carried out a sustained campaign to expose the true nature of privatisation and

its consequences on the working class and the society at large. The Party clarified that the privatisation program is geared to enrich only a minority of private interests, at the expense of the workers as well as the general interests of society. It exposed the private profit maximisation motive as the main source of all current economic problems. The Party enabled the working class to declare that the executive power—the government of the day—had no right to sell public property to private companies.

The National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO) emerged in response to the pressure from the mass of workers and activists, to create a body cutting across party lines to lead the united struggle of the working class and all the oppressed against the bourgeois offensive. Instead of empowering the working class to arrive at its own independent fighting program and plan for the struggle, the leadership of the CPI(M) subordinated this platform to serve its parliamentary goals and coalition-building exercise. Different organisations of workers, peasants, women and youth were included or excluded from this platform by the ‘high command’, depending on their party affiliation.

The heroic and persistent struggle of the workers of Modern Foods opened the eyes of the organised working class to the consequences of privatisation. With the workers of Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) picking up the baton and workers of other enterprises and State Electricity Boards doing the same, the movement against privatisation began to gain momentum. The mass rally of the working class on February 26, 2003 revealed the potential of the working class and its desire for unity and struggle to defeat the anti-social offensive. The Communist Ghadar Party of India intervened in this rally to point out to the workers that the time was here and now to create organisations of the working class at the factory level, to discuss and unite around one common program of the class.

The mounting opposition of the working class to the privatisation of oil companies and the inter-capitalist contradictions over who would get monopoly control of this vital energy sector led to a temporary halt to the oil privatisation program. The opportunity was opened up to challenge the entire course of privatisation and fight for its halt and reversal, both through legal means and through street actions. The countrywide strike of government employees and PSU workers in March 2004 in defence of the right to strike revealed that the Indian working class was in a mood to wage uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie. All trade unions, cutting across party barriers, joined this struggle.

In these conditions, instead of building a revolutionary front based on the worker-peasant alliance, the parliamentary wing of the communist movement has joined a front with the Congress Party, allegedly to fight the ‘communal fascism’ of the BJP. In other words, the struggle against the anti-social offensive has been subordinated to the parliamentary struggle to replace one party of the bourgeoisie with another party in power, to pursue the same anti-social course. The struggle against privatisation has been reduced to the replacement of one method of implementing privatisation versus another method. The activities of the communist representatives in Parliament, led by the CPI(M), have objectively served to sabotage the political unity of the class against the privatisation and liberalisation program.

One of the aspects of the bourgeois offensive is the effort to legalise contract labour and enlarge its scope, thereby limiting the rights of labour and facilitating super-exploitation. Several areas of productive activity have been deemed to be peripheral services where part-time and daily-wage labour is allowed, and where workers can be hired on a piece rate basis. The Communist Ghadar Party of India has been an active force in the struggle of the unorganised and less organised sections of the working class in defence of their basic rights.

After a prolonged struggle, the construction workers in Tamil Nadu succeeded in forcing the state government to set up a construction workers' fund towards welfare and accident compensation. They have successfully asserted their claim that those who work for different capitalist employers have the right to receive benefits from the State. This has encouraged construction workers all over India to follow suit. There is an effort to extend this struggle to other sections of unorganised workers such as the beedi, garment, diamond and stainless steel workers. In August 2004, 15000 workers from all over Maharashtra, half of them women, gathered in Mumbai to press for their demands on security of employment, right to unionise and to receive adequate wages.

The garment workers are a significant section of the Indian working class. These skilled workers have to work in conditions of extreme insecurity, very low wages and absence of any service benefits, in most cases. The liberalisation program has severely hit this industry. Our Party has been in the forefront of organising the unions of garment workers in Mumbai to fight against this offensive, and we have gained rich experience in the course of this work. We have been actively working among plantation workers, head-load workers, and those in engineering, bus transport, electric supply, municipal services, railways, docks and other sectors. The effort has been to build fighting unions wherever necessary.

Various rival parliamentary parties collude to depoliticise the workers. They work in tandem to render impotent the defence organisations of the workers, the trade unions. The result is that while the bourgeois class and bourgeois parties are united in pursuing the anti-social offensive, the working class is kept divided and sidelined. Trade unions are necessary and indispensable defence mechanisms in the struggle against the anti-social offensive. Therefore, building and strengthening the unions as organs that fight unflinchingly in defence of the collective interests of the

workers is an absolute necessity. But this is not adequate to ensure that the working class unites on a political basis and emerges as the leader of all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle against the anti-social offensive. The experience of the past 13 years is clear proof of this. If the working class has to make any headway, it cannot limit itself to being organised into trade unions. What is urgently needed is for the workers to build one revolutionary centre—a politically united working class front—as the necessary condition for leading the struggle against privatisation and the anti-social offensive.

Our Party has contributed to the building and working of various organs of workers' unity in various regions. There have been ups and downs in our efforts to build these organisations of united struggle of workers, cutting across party barriers. We have witnessed the liquidation of some of these organisations. This liquidation is the result of the refusal of comrades working in this front to organise on the basis of democratic centralism, whereby the initiative of the workers is released and their collective will prevails. Submission to bourgeois methods of trade union organisations, of supremacy of one or two leaders, the domination of the organisation by the legal front of struggle instead of making the legal front subordinate to the political struggle, contributed to this liquidation. The failure to build party basic organisations in the different factories and work places and amongst all workers who are in struggle has been identified as the main reason for the liquidation of this work. The effort to build a country wide revolutionary centre to direct and guide the working class has to be redoubled, after closely reviewing and smashing the problems of the past.

We have also had the experience of working in various fronts of mass organisations initiated by other parties, including the NPMO, the Trade Unions coordination bodies in Delhi and Mumbai, and

so on. In such cases, there have been pressures to sideline us on the basis of numbers. At the same time, we have established that we are a factor for unity and for this reason, it has been impossible to keep our party comrades out of any working class front.

The challenge is for our party comrades to persist in such work, irrespective of ups and downs. This work has suffered in the past from an incorrect assessment of the importance and possibilities of such fronts. There are times when our comrades have underestimated their importance and not taken part in these forums to the extent possible. At other times, we have participated in this work vigorously but only for a period, giving it up when there is a block from those who conciliate with the Congress Party.

The working class front must be built both from above and below, but mainly from below. Workers have to build factory and industry committees and industrial area committees cutting across party affiliation, consisting of leaders and fighters of and for the class. In these committees, they must discuss thoroughly the ways and means to fight against and halt the anti-social program of the bourgeoisie. They must also discuss the alternative program for establishing the rule of workers and peasants.

The experience of the various working class fronts poses certain key questions that need to be resolved. What should be the role of political parties in a working class front? Can such a front be active only when the BJP is in power but become passive if a Congress-Left alliance is in power? This is a matter of concern to the entire working class. Should not the broad fighting front of the class be organised so as to retain decision-making power in its own hands, and not become the tail of one or another party and its parliamentary agenda? Should it not be open to all trade unions and workers' organisations, irrespective of ideology or affiliation? Or should it exclude organisations on the basis of religion, caste or party

affiliation? It has become necessary to involve all the organisers and activists of the class in the discussion and resolution of these questions.

The resolution of these questions assumes particular significance in the situation the working class is faced with today. The Parliamentary Left is exerting great pressure on their trade unions not to participate in any action that could destabilise the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) regime. The challenge before the class is to step up the struggle against the bourgeois offensive in spite of the difficult situation that has been created. It requires persistent work to educate, organise and inspire the workers to unite and spearhead the struggle and not succumb to any divisive pressure or illusions about the 'human face' of the UPA regime. There is need to agitate among the unionised workers in large industries like railways and ports on the necessity for *one union in one factory*. There is need for careful planning, based on a sober assessment of the potential for advancing this work in particular sectors in selected cities, taking into account the bourgeoisie's plans and the tactics of the Congress-Left alliance.

The mass rally of dozens of trade unions, peasant organisations, democratic rights organisations and women's organisations in front of Parliament on July 6, 2004 has shown that the broad masses of people and their organisations want to persist with their struggle. The fact that workers' and peasants' organisations and rights activists put forth a joint declaration of struggle and elements of an independent program shows that it is possible to build the political unity of workers, peasants and all the oppressed around a common program within the present situation.

Worker-peasant alliance

Our Party has analysed that capitalism, the remnants of feudalism and the superstructure of imperialism and colonialism are

oppressing the Indian peasantry. We have concluded that the revolutionary potential of the entire peasantry could be tapped by building the worker-peasant alliance around a program directed against the capitalist-imperialist system and the colonial legacy of an oppressive state that facilitates maximum plunder.

Our Party has analysed that the Indian big bourgeoisie, in its drive to become a global imperialist player, is committed to the course of extracting maximum profits from the unequal exchange with the peasantry. This is the main thrust of the ongoing 'Second Green Revolution', which has already led to widespread indebtedness, mass suicides and all-round devastation of the peasantry. The former alliance, between sections of propertied rural interests in the different states with the big bourgeoisie controlling the central state power, is breaking down because of the attempt of big monopoly capital to intensify its plunder. Mass struggles all over the country against the anti-peasant, anti-national and anti-social course of the ruling bourgeoisie have intensified and will further intensify in the coming years. A fertile ground exists for building the worker-peasant alliance.

Thirty lakh cotton growers in Maharashtra won an important battle with the state government when the then Chief Minister Vilasrao Deshmukh was forced to announce the continuation of the Monopoly Cotton Procurement Scheme (MCPS). The government wanted to dismantle the MCPS in the interests of big monopoly capitalist corporations. Punjab farmers came out on the streets to protest against non-payment of sugarcane dues and for remunerative prices for paddy when other input costs have increased enormously. The farmers also pointed out that while the state government talked about diversification in agriculture, it failed to provide the required inputs such as electricity and credit required for this.

Tens of thousands of farmers in Haryana and in other states have agitated against the forced collection of electricity arrears which

will make them bankrupt. Major struggles have erupted in Rajasthan over the question of water for irrigation. Dozens of farmers have been martyred in police firings and hundreds more have been incarcerated in the prisons for fighting for their rights. They have been arrested and charged with being enemies of the nation! Undaunted, the peasants have continued their struggles. Our Party has actively supported these struggles.

Important initiatives have been taken by the progressive forces to forge the worker-peasant alliance. Thousands of people participated in the mass rally of peasants called by the Lok Raj Sangathan⁶ in Nohar, Rajasthan on September 19, 2003. Peasant leaders from Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan participated in this rally, which resolved that peasants would no longer tolerate the party system of governance, which deprives them of political power. They resolved to build their own fighting organisations in every village and every *dhani*⁷ on a non-party basis.

In the period following the Nohar rally, activists of the Party in Rajasthan have expanded their work by taking on other issues such as challenging the state on the question of the role of the peasants in controlling the distribution of water for irrigation and against the supply of spurious seeds. Currently they are engaged in the struggle that has engulfed two agriculturally developed districts of the state, on the question of water and against state repression of peasants.

One of the major issues that the peasantry is concerned about is the liberalisation of the foreign trade policy by the Government of India. Following India's signing of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) and entry into the WTO, major policy changes have taken place, which have led to lowering of import duties on agricultural and allied products and lifting of quantitative restrictions on agricultural imports and exports. The flood of

imported edible oils from the South-East Asian countries have wiped out the livelihood of millions of peasants involved in the production of oil seeds and small units involved in solvent extraction. Similar has been the case of peasants involved in the production of a host of other agricultural commodities such as pepper, rubber, cardamom, etc. The Party exposed the claim of the bourgeoisie that the liberalisation of agricultural imports was in the interests of the majority of consumers. We pointed out that it is the agricultural trading monopolies that benefit most from import liberalisation, which is a policy aimed at bringing agriculture under the sway of the capitalist corporations, Indian and international.

In the course of ideologically arming the peasant struggles against the bourgeois offensive, our Party has clarified that it is the duty of the state to provide the peasants with the inputs and technology required to raise the efficiency of agricultural operations in the country. It is also the duty of the state to ensure livelihood of the peasantry, including guaranteed procurement and protection from the rapacious drive of monopoly capital. The peasants have every right to demand that the lifting of quantitative restrictions and reduction of import tariffs on agricultural commodities be reversed.

The Party has consistently defended and elaborated the inviolable rights that belong to the workers and peasants, to fishermen, forest dwellers and other victims of the economic reform program; the rights of every nation, nationality and tribal people within the Indian Union; as well as the rights of every human being in modern society. This work has contributed to arm the people to contest the bourgeois ideological pressure of each one fending for oneself in a market-oriented economy.

The coverage of peasant struggles in the Party press has increased in scope and depth. The Party has popularised the struggles of the peasantry and their major demands regarding the question of input

supply, guaranteed procurement at remunerative prices, rights over natural resources including river waters and relief from the unbearable demands of money lenders, banks and insurance companies. This has assisted the Party to build close relations with major peasant organisations in the country. The Party's work needs to be further strengthened towards developing a common program of struggle of the working class and peasantry.

The two treacherous trends in the communist movement, the parliamentary trend and the trend of individual terrorism, have together deprived the peasantry of proletarian leadership. As a result, the leadership of the peasant movement has been surrendered to sections of the regional bourgeoisie. The continuing attacks on the livelihood of the peasantry and the deepening of the agrarian crisis call upon the working class and the communists to seriously take up the task of building the worker-peasant alliance. This must be done by intervening in every action of the peasantry, by forging links with the fighting sections, by offering unstinting support to their struggles and by exposing the lies and diversions of the bourgeoisie. It must be done by building and strengthening organisations of all sections of the peasantry, especially the poor peasantry. It must be done by inspiring our heroic peasantry to take up the path of revolution and socialism. Building basic organisations of communists in the course of organising the struggle is crucial to the success in this work.

Against imperialist war, state terrorism and communal violence

Our Party has analysed that in order to defeat the anti-social offensive, the working class and peasantry must forge a powerful front of all fighting forces against communalism and communal violence, growing fascism, all forms of state terrorism, imperialism and war.

When India and Pakistan went to war over Kargil, our Party denounced the war and called for war against poverty. Our Party took the lead in rallying the democratic forces to oppose the war through various street protests, meetings, etc. In a situation when many in the communist movement refused to protest the war either because they supported the Indian State against Pakistan or because they were afraid to raise their voice against chauvinism whipped up by the ruling class, our Party stood firm and bold.

The terrorist strike in New York in September 2001 signalled the launching of the 'war against terror' by the US and its allies. It signalled increasing fascism in the US and other imperialist countries and escalation of the war for the re-division of the world. Our Party exposed the real aims of the 'war against terror' and condemned the US led invasion of Afghanistan. Our comrades had to face attacks from the Indian State, which declared all those opposing the US led war to be 'terrorists'. Very few forces were willing to join the struggle against the war in Afghanistan in the early period. While some of the Maoists provided grist to the mill of the imperialist propaganda by hailing the terrorist attacks in New York, the CPI(M) conciliated with the imperialist invasion by apportioning equal blame to 'Taliban fundamentalism'.

Our Party joined the struggle of all the democratic forces of India to defend the people of the Muslim faith from the attacks on them. We defended the right to conscience of people of the Muslim faith who were under great pressure to denounce Islamic fundamentalism, swear by 'liberalism' and support the invasion of Afghanistan, or be labelled as terrorists.

During the Gujarat genocide of 2002, hundreds of innocent people were massacred in the most cold-blooded manner. Comrades and supporters of our Party participated in the relief work in Gujarat. Party comrades working in mass organisations raised the very

important political question of how to end communal violence once and for all. The mass organisations held many public meetings to discuss this question actively. Our comrades participated in numerous rallies and marches all over the country condemning the state for the Gujarat genocide.

The keynote Speech of the Conference on Indian State and Revolution in November 2002 pointed out that the unleashing of communal violence by the Indian State is part and parcel of the anti-social offensive. Inciting communal violence and hatred and then having the Indian State intervene in the name of restoring harmony is a time-tested tactic from colonial times. Its aim is to divert and divide the resistance of the people, to portray their just struggles in communal colours and attack them.

The drive of US imperialism to dominate Asia and the whole world is being portrayed as a war against terrorism and 'Islamic fundamentalism'. Similarly, in India too the ruling bourgeoisie is resorting to communal violence, other forms of state terrorism and warmongering in order to divert and suppress the growing resistance to the second generation reforms.

The biggest roadblock in the fight against state-organised communal violence is the contingent in the Indian communist movement that exonerates the Indian State and blames only this or that party. The leaders of CPI(M) continue to paint the Indian State, which is communal to the core, as having 'secular foundations'. While condemning the Gujarat massacre, the CPI(M) blamed the BJP as the source of communalism, thus whitewashing the enormous crimes of the Congress Party.

Our Party has consistently supported the struggle of the democratic forces for justice and for punishment of those guilty of organising communal massacres. Twenty years after the genocide of Sikhs in

Delhi and other places in November 1984, the mass demonstration in front of Parliament on November 1, 2004, was a slap in the face of the Congress Party and those leftists who have extended support to its rule.

When the BJP led NDA government promulgated POTA as an ordinance, the Party took the initiative to launch a countrywide campaign for its repeal. We successfully rallied other democratic forces on this question. Meetings and demonstrations were held in Delhi, Mumbai, Trivandrum and other places in which several well-known rights activists participated. The Party has consistently played an active role in the struggle against this fascist law, beginning with the introduction of the Bill till its recent withdrawal by the UPA government. The UPA government has simultaneously strengthened the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 (UAPA), indicating the need for the struggle to continue. Our Party has supported the struggle of progressive and democratic forces to defend those incarcerated under POTA, including those arrested for the Parliament bombing case, and those arrested for the Godhra train carnage. Our Party has had to fight those forces in the communist and workers' movement who conciliate with the line of the Indian State that fascist laws are needed allegedly to counter terrorism.

For months together now, the entire people of Manipur have been carrying on an unprecedented struggle demanding repeal of the fascist Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958 (AFSPA). Our time-tested took the lead to organise a countrywide campaign against the attack of the Indian State on the Manipuri people. We have supported their just demands to repeal the fascist AFSPA and the unconditional withdrawal of the Indian Army from the region. Youthful communists of the Communist Ghadar Party of India have built broad support among the workers and oppressed masses, including the people living in working class colonies in big cities,

to take up the cause of the Manipuri people as their own. The active participation of all democratic and anti-fascist forces in the different meetings held in Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Chennai, Bangalore and other places has enabled the people of Manipur to break out of the encirclement and disinformation campaign of the central state against their just struggle.

Our Party launched an active all-India campaign against the US led invasion of Iraq and against the sending of Indian troops to Iraq. We were able to contribute to the political unity among a broad spectrum of parties and personalities on this question, which forced the Indian State not to send troops to Iraq.

One of the main problems confronting the movement against the anti-social offensive is the effort to compartmentalise it into different streams—such as anti-war, anti-ommunalism, anti-privatisation, anti-globalisation, Indo-Pak peace movement, the anti-imperialist movement and so on. The problem with compartmentalisation is that it prevents the development of a coherent and united struggle around one common vision and immediate aim. It also enables the bourgeoisie to hijack the struggles of the people and use it for its own internal dogfight and in its contradictions with other imperialist powers. While intervening in all the streams, our Party has sought to keep the struggle focussed against the big bourgeoisie and its central state.

At the World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004 January, lakhs of people gathered and expressed their desire for a united front against globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation and against imperialism, fascism and war. The CGPI pamphlet distributed on this occasion emphasised the need for the working class and oppressed masses to direct their struggle against both their 'own' bourgeoisie and against world imperialism. It boldly put forth the vision of a world without imperialism and wars. It warned the

fighting forces of the danger posed by those within the movement who are conciliating with the notion of reforming capitalism instead of organising to dig its grave. It pointed out that the fragmentation that persists in the communist movement is the sign of its immaturity; and that communists must in a principled manner restore the unity in their ranks, to facilitate the building of the unity of all the fighting forces.

An exciting but difficult situation confronts the working class in its effort to become the standard bearer of the struggle against the anti-social offensive. The arrogance of the Indian and world bourgeoisie has been punctured to some extent by the heroic struggle of workers, peasants, women and youth of different nations and nationalities in India and throughout the globe. There is increasing confidence amongst the fighting forces that they can halt the offensive of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the class conciliators are busy sowing illusions amongst the class about the possibility of a human face to globalisation, liberalisation, and privatisation. They are busy extolling the virtues of a political system and political process that deprive the vast majority of people of power.

In such a situation, the challenge facing the Party and all communists is to boldly work to build the united front of the working class, peasantry and all those who are excluded from power today. Such a revolutionary front must be built both from below and from above but especially from below.

Building organisations to empower the broad masses of people

The Second Congress recognised that the political aim of empowerment of the masses of people must begin to shape the vision and course of the ongoing struggles. It recognised that the

program and plan of the Party to elevate the working class, peasants and other oppressed masses of people from a position of the powerless, to the position of the rulers of all of society, needs to become an integral part of the resistance struggles against the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie. The Second Congress also decided that the program has to be further enriched by the working class and people themselves, through the summing up of their experience of struggles. Only thus will the united working class, in close alliance with the peasantry and all the movements for social and national liberation, emerge as a powerful political force that can challenge the status quo and isolate the bourgeoisie, as a prelude to its defeat.

Based on our experience of participating in mass organisations, we realised that a political movement committed to wresting sovereignty from the exploiters and vesting it in people's hands cannot be a loose federation. It cannot be a coalition of organisations that have temporarily come together on some issue. It has to be built as one cohesive organisation that speaks in one voice and acts with one united aim. The organisational principle of democratic centralism has to be affirmed as the basis for building such an organisation for people's empowerment.

The Second Congress resolved that the Party should take initiatives to give organisational shape to the movement for people's empowerment, enabling it to become the converging point for all the disempowered and marginalised classes and strata of society. One of the main challenges identified was how to ensure that the leading body of such an organisation develops a life of its own, taking the necessary political initiatives, responding promptly to political events and organising political actions among the people in unity with other organisations. The Party has waged a stern struggle against all manifestations of sectarianism, pointing out that a revolutionary United Front can be built only if communists

work closely with others who are active in the movement for people's empowerment. Communists must act in the interest of political unity at all times, never conciliating on principles but flexible in order to build political unity.

The Second Plenum of the CC held in January 1999 began the discussion on the issues that need to be addressed in order to build an organisation that has the aim of empowerment of the masses of people through the democratic renewal of the political system and political process. Which classes and strata of society should be targeted and mobilised for participating in such an organisation? It was decided that what has to be built is an organisation with numerous regional and local branches spread across the country, with mass membership from among the workers, peasants and all sections of the people who are excluded from power. It was decided that membership should be on the basis of the program and political aim, irrespective of party affiliation or any ideological consideration.

Comrades of our Party have paid serious attention to the building of such an organisation where workers and peasants, toiling men and women, participate alongside political leaders, learned professors, retired bureaucrats and judges. We have struggled to build this as an organisation that will intervene in the political arena in defence of the people's rights and with its program for their empowerment. The Party organisations with responsibility for advancing this work have enabled important initiatives to be taken by the progressive democratic forces, including the creation of a popular web site. This web site is serving as a vehicle for exchange of information and views, and for developing common political positions. It has played a unifying role against imperialist war and illegal occupation as in Afghanistan and Iraq, and in developing common positions in defence of the rights of toilers and tillers, of women and all human beings, including the right to conscience;

and in defence of the rights of nations, nationalities and peoples within India.

We have been building and must continue building this organisation in the course of waging uncompromising struggle against the economic 'reform' program and the drive of the bourgeoisie towards fascism and war. It is in the course of opposing the anti-social program of the bourgeoisie that the fighting forces have, and will in the future, rally around the alternative program of becoming the masters of society and reorienting the economy to ensure the well-being of all.

As before, the focus of organising work must be on building political unity around a common action program against the unjust rule of capital and its unbridled drive to maximise private profits of a few at the expense of the rest of society. We must continue to struggle against the pressure to divide the polity on the basis of ideological considerations such as secular/communal outlook, religious outlook and differences of caste or political party affiliation.

An important component of preparing the people to become the masters of society is the work of agitating for changes in the existing political system and political process. The experience of such agitations, both during election campaigns and at other times, points to the widespread desire among the people for a radical change in the political process. The time has come to present a comprehensive program of electoral reforms and build the broadest possible unity around it, attracting all those individuals and small parties that are opposed to the stranglehold of the big bourgeois parties over the polity. The time has come to present a proposal for reviewing the Constitution of the Indian Union by a Constituent Assembly elected by the people, through a process not dominated by parties.

The challenge facing the Party in this front of work is to ensure that the political organisation for spearheading the movement for vesting sovereignty in the hands of the toiling and oppressed majority matures as a sovereign body capable of implementing its own program. Communists must be in the forefront of the efforts to establish and expand mass membership of such an organisation, working hand in hand with others in the movement. In the coming period, the Party must especially pay attention to the question of mass membership and regularly functioning local *samitis*⁸, which remains a major challenge.

Work among the youth

Since its founding, our Party has paid special attention towards working among the youth. Youth, by its very nature, rebels against everything that is old and moribund and gravitates towards a modern vision of society that would open the path to progress.

The vast majority of working class youth as well as urban youth from the middle strata are faced with an uncertain future, with a lot of unfulfilled aspirations in terms of education, living conditions, prospects of a livelihood, etc. Youth are deeply affected by the stark inequality and injustice in the existing system and are driven by the urge to change this situation. In the absence of revolutionary leadership, youth are easily mobilised by the mainstream political parties as muscle power for their criminal political ends, or are misled into the dead-end path of individual terrorism. However, the revolutionary leadership of the vanguard party of the working class can mobilise the youth into an important force for the revolution. It is with this perspective that we have worked among the youth. Particularly over the last 6 years, the line of the Party and its work has attracted a sizeable number of youth who wish to seriously take up the cause of ending this system of exploitation and building a new India.

One of the important initiatives of the Party over the past 6 years has been the decision to enable the youth to build their own organisation, united around the call "Let us organise to be the rulers and change society!" This decision was taken by the CC of the Party, after extensive discussion in the entire time-tested about the need for such an organisation. We noted that the fighting spirit of the youth needs the political leadership of the communist party and that the youth need political education and training, so as to be able to organise themselves and become a force for revolutionary change.

We decided that the youth had to be organised on a political basis, around the vision of a new India where the masses of working people shall be the masters and the economy will be oriented to serve their needs. They must be organised to win over to revolutionary positions the vast majority of discontented youth who may be associated with various other parties or organisations or movements at this time. Towards this end, after prolonged discussions in the CC as well as among the youth and other comrades in various regional committees, we decided to build a mass organisation of the youth, with a very clear-cut political program for social change. Its membership would be open to all youth who agree with its program and are willing to work for its implementation.

From our study of the working of other youth organisations led by political parties, we were very clear that the youth organisation must not be converted into a mere appendage of the Party. It must take its own decisions and not act only according to the orders of the Party 'high command'. Right from its inception, therefore, we worked to establish the sovereignty of our youth organisation, its right to make its own decisions and implement them. The leadership of the Party is not exercised

by orders from above, but by the conscious and active participation of the youthful comrades of the Party, who lead by their own personal example and inspire the other youth members in their work.

The youth organisation has been built, right from the beginning, on the basis of the organisational principles of democratic centralism—of collective decision-making and individual responsibility. It is led by an elected All-India *Samiti* headed by a *mantri mandal*⁹, with *samitis* in each region headed by their respective regional *mantri mandals*. The *samitis* are the decision-making bodies, while the *mantri mandals* are executive bodies to ensure that the *samiti*'s decisions are implemented.

The regional *samitis* meet and make the plans for the work in their area, organise to implement them, drawing on the support of other member and non-member youth, run membership campaigns, organise meetings, public actions, study sessions and other social, cultural and political activities. They report on their work to the all-India *Samiti* through their *mantri mandal*.

One of the major achievements of the youth organisation has been the publication of its newsletter. The newsletter has been characterised by a high level of political clarity in dealing with the burning issues faced by youth and society at large as well as an attractive presentation. The Party has paid and continues to pay attention to training the youth to express their views effectively in writing, through art, etc., and the newsletter receives contributions from members in different cities and villages.

Today, the members and supporters of the youth organisation participate in the mass movement of the oppressed peoples, as a live and active youthful political force with a clear political stand. It is an active organisation that is full of life and takes various

initiatives on a regular basis, including youth camps, tours to other regions, sports tournaments, theatre workshops and study sessions.

Whenever and wherever the Party basic organisations and Regional Committees have functioned properly, the work of the youth organisation has advanced. But wherever and whenever there have been problems in the functioning of the Party basic organisations or the Regional Committees, the youth organisation work has also marked time. In addition, organising the youth has also posed its own specific problems. Some of these are: family and parental pressure, especially in the case of girls; academic and examination pressures; need to earn a livelihood; poverty and lack of money in the pocket; migration in search of jobs; general social pressures and mood swings; inter-personal problems, etc. Special attention has also had to be paid to developing healthy working relations amongst young women and men and to nip any unhealthy tendencies in the bud. The youth must learn to organise and work together on the basis of the principles and vision of the *new human being* that we are trying to create.

The youth organisation decided to field one of its members as a candidate in the state elections in one region. The selection of the candidate was done in a well-attended public meeting, by citizens of that constituency, many of whom, irrespective of their own political affiliations, came up and spoke in favour of selection of the candidate. The entire campaign was carried out primarily by the members and supporters of the youth organisation. Contacts were established in many new areas, some of which now have the potential of bringing in many new members into the organisation.

To break the tradition of political parties and big business funding election campaigns, the members of the youth organisation appealed to the public in their constituency to contribute generously for the election campaign of the candidate of their own choice. Not only

did this assist the campaign financially; it also won the youth organisation and the candidate a lot of respect and admiration for the principles that were being established. These principles, as the youth explained to the people, were a step in the direction of breaking the stranglehold of the big political parties of the bourgeoisie over the electoral process, a small but significant step towards empowering the people.

There is now a vibrant and growing organisation of youth that is capable of attracting the younger generation and channelling their energies towards the revolutionary transformation of society. The Party must continue to pay serious attention in the coming period to the further strengthening and expansion of the youth organisation and its work.

Work towards the Restoration of Unity of all Communists

At the Second Congress, a plan of action to unite the class around its own program was approved unanimously by the delegates. At the same time, we recognised that there are many communists outside the Party, all over the country, militating in different parties and groups within the communist movement, each with its own plan and program, sending different signals to the class. As a result, the proletariat was disabled from emerging as the leader of the revolutionary front against the bourgeoisie. This situation has kept the working class disoriented and assisted the bourgeoisie to pursue its own self-serving agenda. To end this fragmentation in thought and practice, the Party set itself the task of restoring the unity of all communists in one vanguard party as one of the most crucial tasks of the time.

We have struggled to establish the principles based on which the unity of all communists in one vanguard can be restored. We have

assimilated the lesson that communist unity can be restored only through the continuous elaboration of the general line for this period, as it unfolds, based on the development of contemporary Indian theory of revolution. Communist unity can be restored only through raising the ideological and political level of the working class, in the course of its transformation from a class *in itself* into a class *for itself*; that is, from a ruled class to a ruling class. It is only through the relentless and uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie and its ideology and theory, that this unity can be restored. It is only through waging the sharpest polemical struggle, against those within the communist movement who compromise with bourgeois ideology, that this unity can be restored.

We have rejected and opposed the harmful illusion that communist unity can be restored through a merger of the different parties in the movement, following agreement among the leaders at the top. Such a notion leads to undermining of the necessity to build and strengthen the Communist Ghadar Party of India, as the crucial subjective factor for the restoration of communist unity. We have reiterated that the conditions for communist unity have to be created at the base, through unity of thought and action among communists, which needs to be led by the Party.

When communists begin to attack each other in the name of ideological struggle, separate from the concerns of the class, it leads to splits and to the weakening of the movement. That it does not lead to any real advance for the working class has been recognised by one and all in the communist movement. The differentiation between who is and who is not a communist will become evident only in the course of taking the struggle against the conciliators with social-democracy through to the bitter end. It is the intensification of class struggle that will differentiate the communist forces as those who are actually organising the workers and peasants to seize political power and emerge as the new rulers

of India. The intensification of the class struggle will expose and isolate those forces that are organising to keep the workers and peasants tied to the program of the bourgeoisie. Such forces are active today, spreading illusions about bourgeois democracy and about capitalism with a 'human face'.

We have taken several initiatives in this period to develop the ideological struggle within the communist movement, in full view of all the communists and activists of the working class. At a conference on communist unity, held at the Desh Bhagat Yaadgar Hall in Jullunder, in October 1999, our Party presented its views alongside the views of the CPI(M), CPI and other parties and questioned what the working class had gained from the split of 1964. The members of numerous parties who participated in this conference received this with great enthusiasm. This experience confirmed the correctness of our assessment that the Party can and must use every possible occasion to boldly present its views in front of all the communists. We confirmed the necessity for organising conferences to which all communists are invited.

In December 2000, the CGPI organised a communist conference and mass rally in the city of Kanpur to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the communist movement on Indian soil. The significance of this historic conference, in which communists from numerous parties participated, was the adoption of the resolution: *One Working Class, One Program, One Communist Party.*

Since the Kanpur Communist Conference 2000, the Party took several initiatives to organise discussion and debate among Indian communists on issues such as the Indian State and Revolution, and on the inviolable rights of the people. More recently we have organised a conference among communists and activists of the working class and peasantry on "What has changed and what has not since the coming of the UPA government?" In organising these

discussions, the Central Committee of the Party has worked out new forms of engaging communists from different groups in analysing political developments and planning for united action based on analysis.

When our Party organises such conferences, it starts with the recognition that issues of theory and tactics are not going to be resolved in one day. We start with the recognition that all those who are in the communist movement have something or other to say on these issues and it is quite possible that there are as many different views as there are individuals and organisations. We have refused to succumb to the prevailing sectarian trend of first drawing lines of demarcation, as to who can be talked with and who cannot. We believe and act on the belief that the communist movement must have the maturity to criticise the erroneous lines within it and defeat them through a process of struggle.

In the conduct of the conferences that we have organised, we have tried to create an atmosphere befitting the vanguard of the working class, where democratic centralism is ensured and defended in practice in the conduct of the meetings. This has been in direct conflict with the bourgeois method of organising meetings. This undesirable method has penetrated the communist movement, wherein interactions are based on notions of big and small, and there are backroom manoeuvres to keep some people or groups out.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India has worked to ensure that the discussions among different communists take place in full view of the class. In other words, our Party ensures maximum mobilisation of its members and supporters for active participation in such discussions. We do this because we firmly believe that all members can contribute to and learn from these discussions. We also firmly believe that the Indian working class and peasantry do not need a party in which a handful of leaders can lead them astray

by the simple mechanism of carrying out discussions of theory and tactics of revolution behind their backs.

The work of the Party to organise the working class to spearhead the struggle against the anti-social offensive has led, and is bound to lead, to the development of the differentiation within the communist movement. The differentiation is developing between those who want to organise the class around its own independent program of establishing rule of workers and peasants and those who want to restrict the class to tailing one section of the bourgeoisie or another. Our party comrades have boldly fought to implement the line in defence of the independent program of the working class. This has won the support of an increasing number of communists, progressive individuals and groups, who are in favour of a single united communist leadership of the class and are seeking ways to achieve this.

Lines of demarcation are developing on all the burning questions of the time. On the question of privatisation and liberalisation, on the question of war against Pakistan, on state terrorism including communal violence, an acute conflict is developing between those who want to fight uncompromisingly against the bourgeoisie and those who want to reconcile with the bourgeois positions and slogans. Differentiation within the communist movement is developing between those who want to halt the privatisation program and those who want to change only the way it is implemented. It is developing between those who are defending human rights and national rights as inviolable, and those who conciliate with the bourgeois imperialist notion that rights can be given or taken away depending on considerations of 'national security', 'war on terrorism' and the so-called 'defence of the unity and integrity of India'.

As a communist party, our Party has upheld the rights of nations and nationalities to self-determination, up to and including secession. We have consistently opposed the violation of human rights and the reign of terror imposed on any section of the Indian people by the armed forces of the state. Our Party came out in full support of the just demand of the people of Manipur for repeal of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act. The CPI(M) and other parliamentary communist parties, together with the Congress, BJP and other bourgeois parties, declared that the AFSPA cannot be repealed since its imposition is necessary for 'defence of unity and integrity' of the country from the threat of 'secessionists and extremists'.

In the aftermath of the communal violence in Gujarat and the massacre of Muslims in the state, the Party elaborated once again that the Indian State was communal in nature and we can have no illusions that only the BJP is communal while the Congress Party is anti-communal. We patiently explained to the broad masses of people that both secularism and communalism of the Indian State are twin weapons to divide and rule over the exploited masses. They are part of the inheritance from British colonial rule.

The principle of sovereignty of a country, the right of self-determination of nations, the fundamental rights of human beings to life and security without reference to their origin, religion or nationality—have all come under attack by the bourgeoisie in this period. Our Party has spared no effort to defend these basic principles and positions that have been established in the course of the historic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We have severely criticised those in the communist movement who compromise with the bourgeois line of attacking the sovereignty of the peoples in the name of defending 'national unity and territorial integrity'.

At the present time, a section of those who call themselves communists are creating illusions about the 'human face' of the economic reforms and the 'secular' credentials of the Congress Party. Worse, they are actively involved in framing policies and programs in such a way as to help the bourgeoisie fool the people into believing that something is being done for them. This blatant collaboration with the bourgeoisie, on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and others, has made it imperative to raise to a higher level the communist ideological and polemical struggle at this time.

A record of significant successes

Summing up the work of our Party since October 1998, we can conclude that we have recorded significant successes in implementing the decisions of the Second Congress.

Having established the General Line and having adopted the Party Program at the Second Congress, we have been concentrating in the past six years on the work of organising to implement the agreed upon decisions. As a result of the close attention paid to the strengthening of the Party organisations, we come to this Third Congress with our Party united like steel around its line and Program. We have a strong Central Committee that is free from factionalism and capable of leading the entire Party to overcome every kind of bourgeois pressure. The emphasis on organising work has to continue and be further strengthened in the coming years, as it is the key to turn our successes into a decisive victory.

The focus in the coming period has to be on emulating the successes achieved. The arsenal of organisations and institutions that the Party has given birth to in this period must be multiplied across the country, to implement the program adopted at the Second Congress.

Guided by the principle adopted at the First Congress that "**we are our own models**", let us **emulate** the best we have created and spread the Party and its line far and wide across this land

Comrades, we are building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle. We face many challenges. The success of our mission depends on the strength of our Party and on the depth and spread of its roots in the working class and among the broad masses of our beloved land. Only by strengthening all the organisations of the Party, from the basic organisations to the Central Committee, by regularly writing for our Party papers and by striving to maximise their distribution, by defending democratic centralism, and by strengthening the Party both theoretically and ideologically, can we attain our goal. Facing these challenges boldly and firmly, we will be able to create the conditions for ushering in the rule of workers and peasants, women and youth of our country, and a reconstituted voluntary Indian Union. We shall create the conditions for unfurling the Red Flag atop the Red Fort, as the symbol of a revolutionary India that marches on the high road of civilisation.

Endnotes

- ¹ *chamchagiri*: Sycophancy; a chamcha is a yes-man, a servile flatterer, a lackey or toady.
- ² *Mazdoor Ekta Lehar*: Name of the Hindi fortnightly paper of the Communist Ghadar Party of India; it means Wave of Workers' Unity.
- ³ *Thozilalar Ottrumai Kural*: Name of the Tamil paper of the Communist Ghadar Party of India; it means the Voice of Workers' Unity.
- ⁴ *Navnirman*: Reconstruction, to build afresh, a thoroughgoing renewal.

- ⁵ *hum hai iske malik*: 'We are her masters!' — the Program adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India in October 1998 was characterised by the slogan: *Hum hain Iske Malik! Hum hain Hindostan! Mazdoor, Kisan, Aurat aur Jawan!* — which means Workers, peasants, women and youth — 'We constitute India! We are her masters!'
- ⁶ Lok Raj Sangathan: Name of a political organisation established in the 1990s, with the aim of making the people the rulers of India; it means Organisation of People's Rule
- ⁷ *dhani*: farm
- ⁸ *samitis*: committee, usually elected by an assembly of members of a community/locality/region/nation
- ⁹ *mantri mandal*: Cabinet

Towards the Rule of Workers and Peasants and a Voluntary Indian Union

- Introduction
- International situation
- Crisis of Indian society
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Towards the Rule of Workers and Peasants and a Voluntary Indian Union

Introduction

The Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India is being convened at a time when the world revolution is still in a period of retreat and the forces of retrogression are on the offensive. The peoples of the world are threatened with all-round intensification of super-exploitation, multiplication of unbearable poverty and misery, growing fascism and reactionary wars. At the same time, workers and peasants are rising up in struggle against capitalist reforms; nations and peoples are refusing to accept the imperialist dictate and unjust wars, and attacks on their rights. Within the period of retreat, the class struggle is growing more intense, pointing to the fact that the tide of revolution is bound to turn from ebb to flow.

US imperialism, in its drive to become the unquestioned super power of the world, is dismantling the doctrines and institutions of global security that originate from the victory over Nazi fascism and from the Cold War period. It is replacing them with doctrines and institutions that suit the present day ambitions of US imperialism. The justifications offered by the Anglo-American leaders for the naked aggression and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq stand exposed as blatant lies and deception. US imperialism

stands increasingly isolated and exposed, as a power that arrogantly violates all international norms governing the relations between countries. The recognition is growing among the peoples that US imperialism poses the biggest threat to the sovereignty of nations, and to peace and security in the world.

Mass global protests are continuing against the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, the crimes being committed against Palestinians, and all the predatory activities of US imperialism aimed at conquering Asia and dominating the whole world. The governments that participated in the US-led coalition against Iraq have been discredited and put on the defensive in their own countries.

The drive of US imperialism towards a uni-polar world under its dictate is coming into conflict with the aims and plans of France, Germany and other imperialist powers. Inter-imperialist contradictions have divided Europe, not only on the question of the war and occupation of Iraq, but also on the future of the European Union and of NATO. The plans of US imperialism also have areas of conflict with the aims and ambitions of Russia, China, India and Brazil.

India is seeking a place at the privileged high table, to carve up the world. The Indian big bourgeoisie, in pursuit of imperialist aims, is seeking closer collaboration with US imperialism as well as with the European Union and Russia. China is seen as a major competitor, while it could also be a potential collaborator. The Indian bourgeoisie is colluding and contending with other imperialist powers, seeking to expand its own sphere of influence in the world, especially in central and South-East Asia.

Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, stands increasingly exposed as a system that cannot prolong its life without raining

death and destruction on a colossal scale. It is being exposed as a system that is unable to sustain itself without militarisation and wars of conquest, without intensifying the degree of exploitation and misery of the labouring people, and without destroying entire nations and continents. Capitalist globalisation—through liberalisation, privatisation and fiscal stabilisation—has been exposed as nothing but unbridled robbery and plunder of the nations and peoples of the world in the interests of monopolies and financial oligarchs of a few big and emerging powers.

It is estimated that there were 273 crore (or 2.73 billion) people in the world living below an income of US\$2 (approx. Rs. 90) a day in 2001, including more than half the population of South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. More than 84 crore people were estimated to be chronically undernourished. In the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, in West Asia, the Caribbean and other regions of the world, the old colonial and imperialist powers of Europe and the US have unleashed bloody massacres and civil wars. They have taken the lives of millions of people in their striving to get monopoly control over the rich natural and mineral resources of the countries of these regions. Any government, that is a block to the rapacious strivings of the imperialist powers and capitalist monopolies, is sought to be overthrown under one pretext or another.

Within the capitalist democracies, the regimes in power are openly showing their contempt for the well-being and rights of the working class and peoples. They are openly revealing themselves as the tools of finance capital and of the biggest and most aggressive capitalist monopolies. The political process of bourgeois democracy, in its parliamentary and presidential forms, stands exposed as a process designed to concentrate political power in fewer and fewer hands, to the exclusion of the vast majority of people. More and more people are protesting this exclusion from

power. They are protesting the fact that they have no say, except to vote once in a few years to legitimise the rule of one or another party or coalition of the bourgeoisie.

The banners of democracy and freedom that US imperialism uses to justify its actions are discredited in the eyes of the peoples, who are refusing to submit to American style 'nation building'. The recent presidential elections in the US have once again exposed the nature of the political process of American democracy, as a process designed to impose the will of the monopoly bourgeoisie and to sort out the contradictions between different monopoly camps. The so-called 'free and fair elections' in the US have yielded a regime that is committed to continue on the path of increased attacks on democratic rights, intensification of the anti-social offensive at home, and wars and aggression abroad.

Mass resistance to the capitalist offensive has been growing over the past six years in countries across the world from Mexico to South Korea. Workers are taking to the streets along with the unemployed, small farmers, national minorities, women and youth in North America and Western Europe. Massive united actions have become a regular feature in these countries, facilitated by and facilitating broad networking among people's organisations.

The heroic struggle of the people of Iraq against the illegal occupation forces has scored one success after another. Mass global protests have become common phenomena against the continuing occupation of Iraq. The peoples all over the world are expressing their discontent with having such a dangerous power as US imperialism as the driver of the world economy and world affairs, organising 'regime change' wherever it pleases, either through the ballot or with bombs.

The government and people of Cuba continue to march forward in spite of the US imperialist blockade and pressures. The US drive to dominate the Caribbean and South American countries through a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) is meeting with stiff resistance from peoples. This is also reflected in the emergence of popular governments in a growing number of countries in this region, who are resisting this domination.. The imperialist pressures and dictate are also being defied by governments such as Zimbabwe and Sudan in Africa, and in Asia by North Korea, Iran, Malaysia, China, and others.

The developments on the world scale reveal the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to solve the problems of the people. They also reveal awakening of class consciousness of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, within the context of rising mass opposition to the bourgeois imperialist offensive on the world scale. The aspiration of the peoples for an alternative to this capitalist world, is evident in fora such as the World Social Forum in Mumbai in January 2004. So also is the diabolical aim of the bourgeoisie to divert the struggles of the people.

Worldwide, the situation is pregnant with dangers and at the same time full of opportunities to be seized by the revolutionary forces. Communist parties and other progressive forces in many countries are striving to provide the mass movement with the consciousness and organisation necessary for defeating the bourgeois offensive. The necessity for the alternative has begun to take root in the hearts and minds of the angry masses on the streets. The struggle is on to place the working class at the head of the mass movement, with the immediate program to isolate and defeat the bourgeoisie. This is complicated by the fact that the communist movement remains fragmented, with many parties and trends having abandoned revolution and the aim of socialism and communism, and embracing

the aim of finding a 'better road' to capitalist reforms. Developing the program and vision for a world without imperialism, wars, exploitation and oppression of peoples and nations is the challenge facing the communists today.

The class struggle has intensified in India over the past six years, with the active participation of organisations of workers, peasants and other working people across sectors and regions. The workers and peasants, women and youth, as well as the small entrepreneurs have organised massive actions to express their complete opposition to the economic reforms program of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. The working class, enabled by the work of the Communist Ghadar Party of India and other revolutionary forces, has emerged in the front ranks of the broad opposition to the market reforms program of the bourgeoisie over the past six years. The struggle against state terrorism and communal violence, and against war and fascisation has brought increasing numbers on the streets. The oppressed and exploited nations, nationalities and peoples are increasingly refusing to accept the violation of their sovereignty by the central state. Increasingly, the people of India are refusing to passively accept the multi-party representative democracy as the last word on democracy. They are seeking ways to their empowerment.

The replacement of the BJP led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government by the Congress led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government is aimed at stemming the growing class struggle in our country. It is aimed at pacifying the toilers and tillers and reconciling the trade unions and peasant organisations to the program of stabilising bourgeois rule and prettifying capitalist reforms by providing them a 'human face'. In such conditions, what is required from communists is an uncompromising struggle against this illusion mongering and in defence of the program of the working class. This is complicated by those within the

communist movement who are conciliating with the 'middle path' promoted by the Congress Party and want to stabilise the UPA regime. Such class conciliators within the movement are acting as the main roadblock for the popular resistance to turn into a revolutionary movement.

The times are calling on all Indian communists to redouble their efforts to forge the political unity of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, oppressed nations and nationalities, tribal peoples, *dalits*¹⁰, women and youth. Such political unity can and must be forged on the basis of uncompromising opposition to the bourgeoisie and its anti-social program; and for the realisation of the program for the *Navnirman* of India. This is a program for taking India out of the world imperialist system by making a clean break with the colonial legacy in economic and political terms. It is a program to establish the rule of workers and peasants, and a voluntary Indian Union, with the economy being oriented to fulfil the needs of the toilers and tillers. The Communist Ghadar Party of India, as a contingent of the international communist movement, is dedicated to adopt tactics that will pave the way for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and those who conciliate with it, and ensure the victory of the program for the *Navnirman* of India.

International situation

In 1990, the imperialists of North America, Western Europe and Japan signed the Paris Charter imposing free market reforms and multi-party democracy on all countries of the world. Proclaiming that socialism is dead and there is no longer any danger of war, these victors of the Cold War proceeded to carve up Eastern Europe and the rest of the world amongst themselves. They declared that capitalism would now flourish peacefully, without crises and destruction of human lives. However, the unity of these imperialists was short lived, with clashes breaking out between different powers

over the partition of Yugoslavia, and over other countries of Eastern Europe and the newly independent states that emerged with the dismantling of the Soviet Union. Since then, the contradictions amongst the imperialist powers have further sharpened, first on the question of the conquest of Iraq, and later over Ukraine. As the contention amongst the imperialist powers intensifies, the danger of Asia, Europe and the world being plunged into new inter-imperialist wars has increased sharply.

The Paris Charter had proclaimed that free market reforms and multi-party democracy would be imposed on all countries of the world. It declared that a market oriented economy and economic policy, and an electoral process that is dominated by two or more parties were the minimum requirements for any country to qualify as a civilised one.

The events of the 1990s have shattered the illusions promoted by the bourgeoisie that capitalism would now flourish peacefully. They have fuelled the awakening of the peoples on the world scale. The working class and peoples have awakened to the reality that free market reform is a euphemism for unbridled super-exploitation and robbery by the capitalist corporations and financial institutions. Liberalisation, privatisation and ‘fiscal austerity’ mean that entire peoples must be held to ransom for the benefit of monopoly capital, which is satisfied with nothing less than the maximum rate of profit under all circumstances.

In the initial phase of this bourgeois imperialist offensive, between 1991 and 1997, capitalist growth accelerated moderately on the world scale. This was partly a result of the technical-scientific revolution brought about by the developments in Information Technology and computer applications. The opening up of the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe for plunder by finance capital and the monopolies was another factor.

While capitalist growth accelerated moderately on average between 1991 and 1997, it was extremely uneven across different regions and countries. The majority of the peoples of the former Soviet Union suffered an absolute decline in production and incomes. In Russia, the program of liberalisation, privatisation and fiscal stabilisation financed by the IMF and the World Bank led to the destruction of industrial assets and plunder of natural resources on a massive scale. Billions of dollars that were pumped in by the agencies of international finance capital served to strengthen the positions and Swiss bank accounts of Yeltsin and his Mafia gangs. They were the new monopolists and oligarchs who were in control of political power in post-Soviet Russia. This led to cumulative debt on the heads of the Russian population. Public assets were stripped and liabilities were piled up, while the economy suffered an absolute decline. According to data published by the World Bank, the Gross Domestic Product of Russia in 2000 was less than two-thirds of what it was in 1989; and in Ukraine, it was only one-third.

The developments of 1991–97 paved the way to another period of worldwide crises, of recession and deceleration of production and capital accumulation. In this period, the world witnessed a major financial and currency crisis in the so-called Asian tigers. Japan witnessed a banking crisis and absolute decline in economic output, while its outstanding debt rose from 50% of GDP in 1995 to about 180% by 2004. Europe has been characterised by prolonged stagnation and rising unemployment, within which Germany has gone through a serious recession undermining its dominant position within the European Union. The world has also witnessed the stock market crash and the bursting of the IT bubble, which showed the extent of decline of the average rate of capitalist profit, independent of the will of the capitalist class.

The boom in IT stocks ended with a big crash, exposing the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system. Increase in labour

productivity, instead of benefiting the whole of society, becomes a factor that depresses the average rate of profit and leads to stock market crash and crisis of the economy. It has also become a factor that aggravates the problem of unemployment and the phenomenon of jobless growth.

Analysing the unfolding crisis in 1998, we recognised that the root of the crisis of capitalism lies in the sphere of production, even though the crisis manifests itself most visibly first in the sphere of distribution, in the form of financial and currency crises or a stock market crash. We said in the Second Congress Report, “what was initially branded as an ‘Asian crisis’ by the Anglo-American bourgeoisie is now revealing itself as the crisis of the world capitalist system”. The crisis did engulf the US and the most advanced capitalist economies of the world, proving that it is indeed the crisis of the world capitalist system, which is dominated by finance capital and the monopolies.

In spite of all kinds of measures taken by bourgeois governments to guarantee the maximum rate of profit, capitalist monopolies are unable to escape the consequences of the objective laws of capitalism. This includes the tendency for the average rate of profit to fall. The bourgeoisie tries to counter this tendency by intensifying the degree of exploitation of labour and the robbery of peasants and other small producers. This leads to further restriction in the purchasing power of the toiling majority, thereby fuelling a recession and fall in the growth rate of the capitalist economy. The recession of the 1997–2001 period once again showed that the limited aggregate effective demand for commodities remains a formidable barrier to capitalist growth on the world scale. It is a barrier that capitalism itself creates and is unable to overcome.

The rate of global capitalist growth has picked up once again in recent years, rising to 3% in 2002 and to 3.9% in 2003. Much of

this growth was on account of Asia, especially China, India and the South-East Asian countries, whose economies together grew at 6.4% in 2002 and 7.8% in 2003. In the advanced capitalist countries, economic growth remained low, or reflected a moderate recovery from a very low base, or was dominated by militarisation and arms production that do not add any real economic value.

Militarisation and arms spending are witnessing acceleration in all the major imperialist economies in recent years, with the US alone accounting for 50% of the increased arms spending. Following the 9/11 events and the war on Afghanistan and Iraq, the growth of the US economy, the world's largest economy, has been driven largely by militarisation and war spending.

The developments in the US economy, as well as the results of the policies adopted by the US imperialist bourgeoisie to overcome the crisis, reveal the inherent problems of the capitalist system. The US economy grew relatively faster during the 1990s as compared with Western Europe. While real wages of the working class declined for most part of this decade, demand for goods and services continued to grow thanks to the credit card business and extension of relatively cheap bank credit for investing in housing. This so-called stimulus for capitalist growth has now been exhausted. The level of indebtedness of the population has reached too high a level to be sustained. The average household savings rate has declined to less than 1% in the US compared to around 10% in Europe. Even bourgeois economists are raising doubts about how long the recent acceleration of economic growth in the United States and on the world scale will last.

By artificially propping up the exchange value of the dollar, that is, pursuing a *strong-dollar policy*, the US imperialist bourgeoisie has managed to finance its war budget with relatively cheap credit,

alongside cuts in taxes for the rich. However, the strong-dollar policy pursued by successive US governments has led to a massive trade deficit. The rise of the Euro as a rival currency of world trade is now threatening the position of the US dollar in the world economy. The US treasury is now compelled to devalue the dollar in order to boost exports and curb the trade deficit.

The rate of economic growth in Asia is estimated to have risen above 7% in 2004, the highest since the crisis of 1997-98. The opportunities for big monopolies to expand their space for reaping the maximum rate of profit through the export of their capital have been large in China and India. More recently in India, and even earlier in China, foreign investments have been directed to massive and long-term projects in infrastructure, requiring state guarantees, which are being ensured by the respective states.

Measured at purchasing power parity, China is estimated to be the world's second biggest economy, accounting for almost one-third of the world's economic growth over the past three years, a bigger share than that of the US. Within the pathetic state of the world economy, characterised by repeated cycles of recession and of lopsided and jobless growth, China has stood out as an economy growing close to 10% on average in the past decade. However, the rate of growth in China has begun to decline. The Indian economy has grown by over 5% per year on average in the 1990s. International finance capital is pinning its hopes on the prospect of economic growth accelerating further in India. However, the critical dependence of the Indian economy on the agricultural sector, which is in deep crisis, poses a serious challenge for accelerated capitalist growth.

The Russian economy, which was in an absolute state of decline, at the end of the last decade, has since been showing signs of recovery. However, its massive debt to the imperialist financial

institutions and political instability pose serious problems for international capital.

Even in those years when the world economy grew relatively rapidly, such as during the peak period of the IT boom, the benefits of economic growth were concentrated in very few hands. Both during periods of growth and stagnation, the rich have grown richer while the number of poor has increased enormously, as also the degree of uncertainty among the middle strata about their future. In the United States, it is reported that as much as 12.5% of the population was living below the officially declared poverty line in 2003. The trend is similar in Canada, Britain, France, Germany and other developed capitalist countries.

On the one hand, the overall scope for the expansion of capitalism has become more and more restricted. On the other hand, the rivalry among the monopolies and among the states within the imperialist system has become more and more acute. The crisis of capitalism is thus leading inevitably to sharper rivalry over markets for the export of capital and commodities, over the control of sources of raw materials and their supply routes, and over respective territories and spheres of influence of rival states.

These developments reveal and reconfirm the Leninist thesis that capitalism, at its highest stage of imperialism, cannot prolong its life without wars, or without the destruction of life and productive assets.

The establishment of the World Trade Organisation in 1995 was an important landmark in the efforts of imperialism to open up the markets of all countries for its domination and plunder. The US and European Union have preserved their right to spend billions of dollars every year to subsidise agricultural exports. By compelling the majority of poor and dependent countries of the

world to lower import tariffs and reduce subsidies, the WTO has served to tilt the already unequal terms of international trade further in favour of the richer countries. The resistance and opposition to this agenda of trade liberalisation have grown tremendously in recent years, leading to a kind of stalemate within the WTO.

Efforts at reaching agreement collapsed at the WTO Summit in Cancun in Mexico, as a result of deep divisions and conflicts between US imperialism, the European Union, and the Group of 21 countries including China, India and Brazil. Following this fiasco, the US and European imperialists organised consultative meetings in which only these few big emerging powers from among the G-21 were included, while the majority of oppressed nations were left out. The imperialist big powers thus organised to split the Group of 21 and weaken the resistance to imperialist domination, and the Indian bourgeoisie is participating in this game.

The Indian big bourgeoisie has imperialist aims and ambitions, sitting at the head of a country of continental size at one of the most strategic points in the globe. It is in control of one of the largest markets, as well as the sources of relatively cheap raw materials and highly skilled human labour power. It is contending and colluding with other imperialist powers to achieve its own empire building aims. It presents itself as a 'leader' of the 'third world' when it wants, in order to manipulate anti-imperialist sentiments and use them to bargain with the big powers to expand its space. It has embarked on a path to reorganise the security architecture of Asia within the changing geopolitics of Asia, to buttress its claim to big power status.

The Indian big bourgeoisie is armed with a mighty and massive apparatus of the Indian State and its colonial style bureaucracy and armed forces, which ensure that the entire land, natural and

human resources of this vast country are at its disposal. It follows a colonial and imperialist policy towards the nations, nationalities and peoples within the territory of India. It thereby blocks the path to the resolution of deep-seated questions of identity and national rights, such as in Kashmir, Punjab, Manipur, Nagaland and other north-eastern states of the Indian Union.

The expansionist aims and big power attitude of the Indian bourgeoisie towards the neighbouring states in South Asia have been among the major roadblocks to the development of anti-imperialist unity among the peoples and states of South Asia. India's aims have merged with the plans of the US in the region, including the 'no war, no peace' policy with respect to Pakistan.

Recently, there has been much talk about Indo-Pak peace, first championed by Vajpayee and Musharraf and later by Manmohan Singh and Musharraf. Washington is wasting no time during this 'peace' interlude to sell sophisticated weapons systems to both India and Pakistan.

Within the current international situation, the source of the danger of war in South Asia lies in the drive of US imperialism for world domination and in the imperial and reactionary ambitions of India and Pakistan towards each other and towards other peoples. Indo-Pak peace can have meaning only if it is based on India and Pakistan abandoning their imperial and reactionary ambitions and taking a principled stand against interference in the region by the US or any other imperialist power. Only then can they get together and solve their problems without threat of force. There is no evidence to suggest that the bourgeoisie of either India or Pakistan has given up ambitions to carve out its own sphere of domination. Similarly, there is no evidence to suggest that either of them is a champion of the anti-war movement globally. In fact, both states supported the

US invasion of Afghanistan, and neither of them has taken a categorical stand against the ongoing war and occupation of Iraq by the US-led forces.

While the peoples of India and Pakistan have expressed their desire for peace and friendship between the two countries, it is not the peoples' sentiments and desires that is driving the current Indo-Pak dialogue. Several geo-political factors are contributing to the efforts to establish a temporary truce between the rival states. These include India's attempt to reorganise its security architecture, the aims of US and European powers to conquer Asia, and the Chinese aim to become the sole 'pole' of Asia. The state of Pakistan is embroiled in deep internal crisis and faces a real threat of disintegration. All these factors have contributed to the mutual engagement of India and Pakistan in the name of peace talks. All the big powers, while loudly 'supporting the cause of Indo-Pak peace', are at the same time preparing to join in an eventual war in South Asia. The current interests for 'peace' on the part of the ruling classes of India and Pakistan are actually driven by self-serving considerations to create new arrangements for the pursuit of their respective imperialist and reactionary aims.

Three years after the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan has become a non-NATO ally of the US, while the Indian military is getting ready to acquire modern weapon systems from the US as it upgrades its Russian and European arsenal. US military advisors are entering all the countries of South Asia under the umbrella of 'war against terrorism'. Joint military exercises are taking place in the South Asian mountains, seas and skies. Concurrently, a political offensive has been launched to steamroll a 'Kashmir solution'.

Many recent developments are providing new room for deepening the division of Kashmir to the detriment of the Kashmiri people. The US has officially reversed its opposition to the recognition of

the LoC as the permanent boundary. Pakistan has begun to move away from its insistence on the 1948 UN resolution. India has displayed ambivalence on its traditional stand that united Kashmir is an integral part of India, and is willing to adopt the cease-fire line as the permanent border. Any 'solution' based on dividing the people of Kashmir will be extremely dangerous for peace in South Asia, as it could potentially create a new hotbed for interference in the region.

China has been anticipating such a development and positioning itself with its own initiative to bilaterally engage India and multilaterally engage Russia and India, or Russia, Korea and Japan. India is seeking to take Myanmar out of the sphere of influence of China. India's trade, investment and military agreements with Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and other countries of South-East Asia, such as Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand—Economic Co-operation (BIMST-EC), are geared towards shoring up its positions in Asia vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. Pakistan has not given up its ambitions in Afghanistan or Kashmir; Musharraf is doing the bidding of the US, firmly believing that the US will not allow India to emerge as the kingmaker in Asia. Bangladesh has emerged as the largest supplier of foot soldiers for the US misadventures worldwide (in the form of peace-keepers) while Sri Lanka and Nepal are fast becoming ammunition dumps and staging stations for the US Special Forces. India is collaborating with the US to militarily assist the Nepalese government to suppress the popular revolt in Nepal.

Economic and political realignment amongst big business houses and governments of the region is taking place at a frantic pace. This is reflected in the Indo-Sri Lanka defence treaty, Tata's planned investment in Bangladesh, Indo-Russian oil and gas agreements, Indo-Myanmar agreements to crush the aspirations for sovereignty of the peoples of North-East India and Myanmar, etc. Every government and business is in a hurry to seal the deals before their

rivals block the way. Meanwhile, the Indian and Pakistani states are rapidly militarising. The peoples of South Asia need to exercise utmost vigilance in responding to these developments. There is no room for illusions that the rulers of these countries are for peace, or that economic and political collaboration between different imperialist interests will lessen the danger of war in the region.

The US pursuit towards a uni-polar world under its dictate is coming into conflict with the aims of France and Germany. Contradictions between the US and the European powers have been sharpening within the WTO, UN and the NATO. Contradictions between the US and the old European powers are fuelling the continuing internecine wars in Africa. The imperialist powers contend with each other over who should control which territory, while they collude to suppress the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples.

While the European big powers went along with the Anglo-American war in Afghanistan, sharp differences have emerged on the war and occupation of Iraq. The Iraq war has divided the powers of old Europe down the middle, with France and Germany leading the camp of 'Euro nationalists' who would like to be at the head of a European Union that becomes a rival power centre to the United States. Britain and Italy are leading the 'Atlanticist' camp, of those who want to retain the US leadership within a north-Atlantic alliance in order to block the ambitions of Germany and France. The countries of Eastern Europe, the new entrants, are mostly lining up behind the Anglo-American alliance, in order to insure themselves against a revanchist Germany and an imperialist Russia.

The US pursuit towards a uni-polar world is coming into conflict not only with the old powers of Europe, but also with the ambitions of other emerging powers such as China, India, Russia and Brazil. US imperialism is keen to maintain and enhance the flow of its capital into China, while it continues to use the weapon of 'human

rights violations' to keep the pressure on China. It is keen to strengthen its collusion with the Indian big bourgeoisie, characterised as 'natural ally' on the front of the 'war against terrorism' and against 'Islamic fundamentalism'. The US is opposed to the idea of a Russia-China-India axis, originally floated by the Russian bourgeoisie. The US is actively staking its claim over the former Soviet republics and is coming into contention with Russia on this. It is also opposed to the idea of an oil pipeline from Iran to India through the territory of Pakistan, which will mean that Pakistan gives security guarantee to Iran and India. The Bush administration has made no secret of its aims on Iran as one of the next targets in its 'war against terrorism'.

Recently, India and Brazil, along with Germany and Japan, launched a joint bid for permanent membership in the UN Security Council. These powers apparently believe that it is their 'birth right', which they have been 'unfairly denied', to join the select five powers that dominate international affairs through their permanent membership of the UN Security Council.

The forces pushing for a uni-polar world and the forces pushing for a multi-polar world that is re-divided among the big powers, are both factors that accentuate the danger of further inter-imperialist wars. Hence, while focusing the fire against the drive of US imperialism, which constitutes the main danger at this time, communists must make use of the political space opened up due to inter-imperialist rivalry. They must not however harbour any illusions about the role of those imperialists that are pushing for a multi-polar imperialist world.

Developments such as the coming to power of governments in Germany and Spain with declared opposition to the Iraq war reflects the significance of the worldwide anti-war movement at this time. The resistance of the Iraqi people and the continuing struggles of

the Palestinian people and Afghan people are providing new inspiration to the peoples everywhere to continue their opposition to predatory wars.

The developments since 9/11 have revealed that the economic offensive of the bourgeoisie at the present time goes hand in hand with growing fascism in the sphere of politics. In the United States, in India and in many other countries, the slogan of waging a 'war against terrorism' has been accompanied by measures to attack the rights of the peoples and curtail civil liberties. Such measures include the Patriot Act in the US and the Prevention of Terrorism Act in India, which has now been replaced by a strengthened Unlawful Activities Prevention Act. Following the re-election of Bush, further measures to restrict the rights of the people are being put on the table in the US.

Racism and communal propaganda against 'Islamic fundamentalism' are being used to mystify the fact that imperialism is the source of war and terror in this world. US imperialism is leading the fascisation of the state machinery within the framework of multi-party elections that are dominated by the monopolies and the financial oligarchy. The Indian bourgeoisie presents its rule as a 'mature democracy' because its track record in using state terrorism and individual terrorism to drown the struggles of the people in blood is even longer than that of the US imperialists.

The working class has been coming out on the streets more frequently and in greater numbers in many capitalist countries, including India, against privatisation and the attacks on social benefits including public health and education. This is shown by actions such as the demonstrations at Seattle, Geneva, Cancun, South Africa and other places against the G-8, WTO, IMF-World Bank and others. The mass demonstrations in South Korea and India, the massive rally of workers in Amsterdam in October 2004 and the militant

demonstrations in the US during and after the presidential elections in November 2004, all point to the intensification of the struggle of the working class against capital over the past six years.

The ‘war against terrorism’ unleashed by the US and others temporarily succeeded in diverting the attention of the masses from the anti-social offensive. However, recent developments show that masses have moved forward. The overwhelming mood of resistance to capitalist reforms has found its reflection in the mass struggles of workers and peasants in various countries.

Within the United States, the declaration of different levels of security alert, racist profiling and harassment by the police and immigration authorities, racist attacks by gangs with police backing, have all been stepped up in the name of fighting terrorism. Masses of workers and working people, women, youth and the unemployed have taken to the streets and declared through the slogan, “Not in our name!”, their opposition to the course being followed, and the wars being waged against others.

The peoples of the former Soviet Union and former socialist countries of Eastern Europe have learnt through bitter experience that the destruction of all remnants of the socialist system and implementation of capitalist reform has brought them much more pain than gain. The per capita income in most of these countries, including Russia, is lower today in absolute terms than it was in 1990. Disenchantment with capitalism and capitalist reform is spreading among these peoples.

The past six years have witnessed the intensified penetration and plunder of agriculture by the capitalist monopolies, facilitated by the international financial institutions and trading authorities under their control, such as the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. A direct result of this offensive is the rising trend of disaffection

among the peasantry, the growing anger among the rural masses against globalisation and the so-called economic reform program. This has also added fuel to the contradiction between the US and the European Union over the question of agricultural subsidies, as seen at the WTO.

The growing discontent among the rural masses has fed into the struggle in defence of sovereignty and the right of nations and peoples to self-determination. It has also fuelled the so-called anti-incumbency trend in state and central elections in India, where the majority of voters are from the rural areas. The growing discontent among both workers and peasants, in urban and rural areas, and the glaring poverty that nobody is able to hide, are the reasons why capitalist governments as well as the World Bank and the IMF are having to promise 'growth with poverty reduction' and 'reforms with a human face'.

The development of events since 1998 further exposed the credibility crisis of capitalist democracy and its political process on the world scale. Governments in the US, UK and other countries have been exposed to be pursuing wars abroad for narrow interests, without the popular support of the people at home, or even of their troops. Governments that have pursued the anti-popular course of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation in the teeth of mass opposition, such as the NDA government in India, have also been exposed.

The bourgeoisie faces a crisis of credibility due to the fact that its multi-party democracy and 'free and fair elections' are becoming increasingly exposed as means to exclude the vast majority of people from political power. In increasing number of countries that have adopted this multi-party system, the sharpening class struggle as well as the intense dogfight amongst the biggest monopoly houses for control over the state machinery is contributing to the

credibility crisis of bourgeois democracy. This is evident in US, India, Japan, Canada, South Korea and Australia. There is growing recognition that it is a miniscule minority that actually rules and makes all the decisions concerning society. More and more people in these and other countries are expressing their opposition to the multi-party system and electoral process that gives no room for the electorate to influence the course of their country. The struggle to innovate a new political system and process that would end the domination of parties over the political process, and the marginalisation of the people, is gathering momentum.

Internationally, the US is pursuing a unilateralist, militarist and war-mongering policy to achieve its goal of becoming the leader of a uni-polar world. It is actively and openly undermining and destabilising the UN. It has created new institutions outside the UN framework like the "coalition of the willing". It has advanced the justification for pre-emptive wars. This is bringing the US into contempt amongst the world's peoples. It is also sharpening the conflict with other member countries of the UN. They increasingly regard the US as an uncontrolled aggressive imperialist power, a rogue state which does not listen to the will of the UN, but simply decides unilaterally that some other country is a 'rogue state' and decides to attack that country. The majority of peoples and countries of the world want the United Nations to fulfil its role of providing security to all countries from threats from this or that imperialist power. They want the UN General Assembly to be the decision maker, not the permanent members of the Security Council with VETO powers.

The struggle for the affirmation of the right of nations and peoples to self-determination has found expression in international fora such as the UN General Assembly and elsewhere. This reflects the fact that nations and peoples are no longer willing to put up with imperialist dictate. The heroic struggle of the people of Iraq has

dealt heavy blows on the occupation troops, and has been accompanied by the rise of a broad worldwide anti-war and anti-imperialist movement. The US led “coalition of the willing” is in crisis. The Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights against the genocidal policy of the Zionist state of Israel has continued without letup, winning the support of the vast majority of countries and leading to the isolation of the US and Israel. The Cuban people and government have won worldwide support in their heroic and continuing struggle against the economic blockade and military blackmail by the US imperialists.

Within Latin America, there is growing popular support for any force that promises to break away from the path of toeing the line of US imperialism and the prescriptions of the IMF and the World Bank. Various countries in Africa and Asia—including Zimbabwe, North Korea, Iran, Malaysia and China—are persisting in following the political and economic systems of their choice, in defiance of the imperialist pressures and blockades.

All these developments show that capitalism, at its moribund stage of imperialism, is unable to prolong its life without raining death and destruction and restricting democratic rights and freedoms. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has not led to a vibrant capitalism without crises and wars, as the bourgeoisie proclaimed in 1990. The capitalist crisis and the response of the bourgeoisie have accentuated the contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited, as well as within the camp of the exploiters. It has also accentuated the contradictions between imperialism and monopoly capital, on the one hand, and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other hand. It has aggravated the credibility crisis of bourgeois democracy, which is being exposed as a vehicle for growing fascism.

There is increasing opposition to capitalism and capitalist reforms, and imperialism and imperialist wars, growing dissatisfaction with

the multi-party system and political process, heightened consciousness and struggles in defence of national sovereignty, and for the right of every people to become the masters of their own destiny. In these conditions, the imperialist bourgeoisie in different countries is adapting its tactics to prevent the working class and peoples from rising up in revolution. The US and other imperialist powers are preparing for fascism at home and wars of conquest abroad. The reactionary bourgeoisie in different countries is inciting racism and chauvinism, and deploying terrorism against the fighting peoples. It is deploying its twin weapons of naked force and apparent concessions to suppress, divert and divide the growing mass opposition of the working class and peoples.

The developments since 1998 reveal that we are still living in the period when the world revolution is in retreat. At the same time, the situation is marked by intense conflicts and contradictions, presenting new opportunities for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces to make an advance and bring closer the turn in the tide of revolution.

The times are calling on the working class and all progressive, freedom and peace-loving peoples to step up their struggle in defence of the sovereign rights of peoples and states in the international arena. This includes the right to set one's own economic policy and to establish and follow one's own political system, without outside interference or pressure of any kind. Democratisation of the United Nations on a fresh, modern basis, with all decision-making power vested in the General Assembly, has become an urgent necessity. The imperialist agenda that goes by the name of trade liberalisation must be opposed as a matter of principle, just as the imperialist wars of conquest being waged in the name of fighting terrorism must be opposed. The onerous claims of the money lending institutions, headed by the IMF and the World Bank, must be challenged and contested with the demand for an

immediate moratorium on paying debt service to such institutions. The resources so saved can be redeployed to invest in the working people and their well-being.

The times are calling on communists to lead the working class to forge a broad political unity against the imperialist system, for the defence of national sovereignty and democratisation of international relations, as the necessary conditions for lasting peace. Within each country, the communists have to lead the working class to forge political unity against one's 'own' bourgeoisie, for the renewal of democracy and the realisation of the rights of all the toiling masses.

Crisis of Indian society

Fourteen years since the program of globalisation through liberalisation and privatisation was launched with much fanfare in 1991, Indian society is caught in an all-sided crisis. This program began as a promised solution to all the problems created in the previous period of capitalist growth, under the framework of the 'socialistic pattern of society'. With every passing year, it has been exposed as a program to enrich the super rich minority of big business families, while expanding the army of the unemployed and the number of peasants being driven to suicide. It has been revealed as a program that accentuates the disparity between the rich and the poor, among the various states as well as among the people within each state. What was promised as a road to prosperity for all stands exposed as a program that spells widespread insecurity for the vast majority, and rapid accumulation of wealth for a privileged few.

The bourgeoisie is persisting in the same course, withdrawing state support to any section of society except the big business interests. What has been added is the promise that the anti-social and inhuman program will somehow be implemented in a humane way. The

essential thrust of this so-called reform program is the demand that every family better fend for itself in the market place, while the central and state governments focus their efforts on guaranteeing maximum profits for the capitalists in the name of improving the investment climate. After pleasing the capitalist investors and guaranteeing the best possible climate for them to expand their wealth and private empires, the government will also take steps to address burning problems of the majority such as unemployment, but only as much as the resources permit. An increasing majority of people in the country are not willing to accept this logic, and are demanding that their claims must be fulfilled as a matter of right.

The failure of the economic system to fulfil the claims of the toilers and tillers is coupled with the failure of the political process to give them any say in decision-making. Suppression of political rights and unleashing of state terrorism, including communal violence, have accompanied the economic reforms. More and more people are seeking a way out of the never-ending cycle of reactionary bourgeois governments, replacing one another through periodic elections, to implement the same program of the big bourgeois class, with new slogans and old promises in new clothing.

The bourgeoisie is unable to satisfy the masses of people, either in economic or in political terms. The masses of people are unwilling to live with ever increasing levels of insecurity, exploitation and poverty, with their rights being violated with impunity. These are the features of the crisis that has enveloped Indian society today.

In these conditions of all-sided crisis, the Indian big bourgeoisie is determined to forge ahead on the course of globalisation of its capital, its markets and spheres of influence, through more intense exploitation within India and through expansion abroad. It is persisting in its aim of becoming a first rate imperialist power, claiming its share of the spoils from imperialist plunder, as an active

participant in the ongoing contention among big powers for the re-division of the world. It is stepping up arms spending and beefing up its military might, not merely for defensive reasons but mainly for potential aggression and participation in wars of conquest.

India as one of the “emerging markets” today is being eyed by all the capitalist monopolies and financial oligopolies of the world. The rate of profit in the Indian economy has been higher on average than in many other countries, as a result of the combination of modern technology with a relatively cheap pool of computer literate labour force. Indian companies as well as foreign companies have been investing in IT related services to reap the maximum rate of profit. Foreign capital inflow into India has accelerated in many sectors, accompanied by the export of Indian capital to other countries.

It is the big monopoly capitalists, both Indian and international, who have gained the most from the phenomenon of *business process outsourcing*. This actually means that Indians sit at computer terminals in India and carry out assignments set by their bosses sitting in the US or in Europe or some other place. Employment in this ‘new economy’, which is replacing the millions of old jobs that are being destroyed in manufacturing industries and old kinds of services, is based on super-exploitative conditions. Educated computer trained persons are employed at a fraction of what is paid to similar labour in the United States or in Europe, with no job security whatsoever. These modern day wage slaves do not even enjoy those minimum rights that workers on the factory floor have won through years of struggle. The bourgeoisie is trying to establish a new standard so as to make the working class accept insecurity as a fact of life. However, the expansion of the labour force in such sectors is also raising the level of education of the Indian working class and its potential to use modern technology in its own favour.

In the 1991-97 period, private investments took place in several sectors of basic infrastructure, such as electricity generation and telecommunication, and in export oriented agro-business. The opening up of imports and exports of agricultural produce led to large-scale destruction of the traditional means of livelihood for millions of peasants, rural poor and the tribal and hill peoples. It precipitated a grave agrarian crisis, leading to an increasing number of peasants and other rural population turning against the so-called reform program of the big bourgeoisie.

At a time of worldwide recession after 1997, the big bourgeoisie focused its attention on restructuring its capital through mergers and acquisitions. A small number of big business groups have emerged with core strengths to capture dominant positions on the global scale in particular sectors—such as computer software, petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals and two-wheelers. The big bourgeoisie also focused on maintaining and expanding its military superiority in the region, along with the major step of becoming a nuclear power and stepping up spending on the most sophisticated arms and weapons of destruction.

The pace of implementation of the privatisation program was escalated by the BJP led National Democratic Alliance government, in the interests of such private monopolies that want direct control over various key sectors, such as electricity, petroleum and telecommunications. The resistance among unionised workers grew in this period to massive proportions, as one sector after another came within the ambit of the privatisation program being spearheaded by a Ministry of Disinvestment.

The pace of import policy liberalisation was also accelerated by the NDA government., Measures adopted included the lifting of quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural commodities and agro-based industrial products such as processed foods, and

the lowering of import duties on industrial goods in general. The impact of these measures was a sharp squeeze on the incomes earned by millions of peasants, including those who grow oilseeds, spices and other crops whose prices have been most acutely affected by the flood of imported edible oils and processed foods.

Both the Congress Party and the BJP, as well as other bourgeois parties that have come to positions of power in various states of the Indian Union in the 1990s, have embraced the policy of globalisation through liberalisation and privatisation. While pretending to sympathise with the plight of the toilers and tillers when they are in the opposition, they have tried to outdo each other and earn the praise of the bourgeoisie as a 'reformist' government when in power.

A specific feature in the past six years has been that workers and their unions have joined hands in united actions against the bourgeois offensive, cutting across sectors and across party affiliation. This has been achieved in the face of the tactics of the Congress, BJP and other bourgeois parties to keep the trade unions they control away from the path of united struggle. This has also been achieved in spite of the efforts of the CPI(M) and others to subordinate the struggle of the working class to the electoral tactics of defeating the BJP and installing a bourgeois government with the support of the Left Front.

When the Vajpayee government unleashed the second generation reforms, the CPI(M) and the CPI did not respond to the demands of the workers to mount a powerful and united resistance to the privatisation program. They left the workers to fend for themselves. It was in such difficult conditions that the Communist Ghadar Party of India and other communists carried out the work of ideologically arming the working class to fight back effectively against the bourgeois offensive. The heroic struggle of the workers of Modern

Foods against its sale to Hindustan Levers Limited served as a source of inspiration for the entire class in its struggle against the privatisation program.

Unity in action was achieved by the workers in spite of the compromising positions taken by the leaders of the largest communist parties. At the same time, there were internal contradictions between the big business houses over who should gain direct control of vital infrastructure sectors. Together, these resulted in some partial gains for the working class, such as the temporary halt to privatisation in the oil, banking and other sectors.

The Second Congress Report pointed out that capitalist development in agriculture has not led to the uplifting of the conditions of life for the majority of the tillers of the soil. The Green Revolution expanded the space for commercial agriculture, bringing an increasing number of peasants to the market. Even with relatively small amounts of land it is now possible to engage in commercial agriculture, but the peasant has to invest more in terms of seeds, irrigation, electricity and other inputs. This has increased the risks of investment for the peasant, and has made him increasingly indebted to formal sector financial institutions as well as to the local usurers.

The Second Congress concluded that the capitalist path would not liberate the peasantry from old and new forms of oppression and exploitation. It put forward the demand for banning all private transactions in land, and to the elimination of private players from wholesale agricultural trade and foreign trade, as essential conditions for defending the livelihood of the tillers and restricting the scope for imperialist plunder. It presented the immediate defence of the security of land holding and guaranteed livelihood for the peasantry, accompanied by voluntary collectivisation of land with free technical assistance from the state, as the path to solving the agrarian crisis. It called upon workers to give unstinting support to

the peasantry in its ongoing struggle against trade liberalisation and for state guaranteed livelihood.

Developments during the past six years have proved the sturdiness of the analysis of the Second Congress. Capitalism has continued to advance in agriculture in different parts of India, but with increasing devastation for the peasants. The crisis of Indian agriculture has become especially acute. The destructive effects of trade liberalisation, contract farming and measures to develop the land market, have coincided with successive years of widespread drought. The groundwater table has declined to dangerously low levels in many regions, as a result of capitalist development.

The peasantry has been squeezed between the rising insecurity of incomes and the inflexible demands of their creditors. It has been facing increasingly deteriorating conditions and unaffordable burdens of debt servicing and insurance premia. The contradiction between the big bourgeoisie and its financial institutions, on the one hand, and the masses of the peasantry of all sizes, on the other hand, has intensified. The bourgeoisie has no solution to the problem except to extend more credit through the banks. This can only lead to the further sinking of peasants into debt, given that banks are reorienting their business towards reaping the maximum rate of profit at all times.

In the early 1990s, various political parties promoted the illusion that peasants will gain from trade liberalisation and the WTO agreements. Peasants were offered loans to produce more of cash crops for the market, at the expense of food grains for their own family consumption. Export concessions were announced for agricultural products. But the first few years of the 21st century have shattered many of these illusions. It can be said that the wheel has turned a full circle. Those leaders and parties who came to power by promising milk and honey for the peasants turned against them, once

in power, and thereby stood thoroughly exposed. This freeing of the peasants from past illusions, has made them veer closer to the position that the state should provide them guaranteed support, not as a concession but as a matter of right. For the communists and the working class, this development has opened up enormous possibilities for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

The most glaring manifestation of the inhuman consequences of capitalist reforms has been the growing incidence of suicides by the peasantry. It is said that the suicide toll of the peasants has crossed 10,000 in the recent past, with Andhra Pradesh accounting for the lion's share. Suicides of peasants on such a mass scale, including even 'well-to-do' peasants, made the entire country wake up to the seriousness of the agrarian crisis. The rural masses have expressed their resentment in no uncertain terms by voting out the incumbent parties of the bourgeoisie, including the reformer Chandrababu Naidu in Andhra Pradesh.

The anti-social offensive and the growing opposition to it have led to the further aggravation of the political crisis in the country. The efforts of state governments to cut subsidies to farmers in the name of fiscal adjustment and power sector reforms, for instance, have come into conflict with the rural bourgeois interests in various regions. This has threatened the political power sharing arrangements at the state level. Following the defeat of Chandrababu Naidu in Andhra Pradesh, the Congress Party that came to power in that state announced a 'free power' for farmers policy. This clearly was an attempt to repair the alliance of the big bourgeoisie with the rural bourgeois groups of coastal Andhra. The Congress Party leadership in New Delhi is meanwhile trying to devise a *modus vivendi*—a path to implement capitalist reforms without losing the rural vote. This is an indication of the real motive behind the slogan of 'reforms with a human face'. Escalation of arms spending and the growing burden of servicing the debt of the

central and state governments have led to the intensification of the fiscal crisis. This is because the bulk of revenues collected from the population of the country gets consumed for the most unproductive purposes, leaving no room to invest in infrastructure or provide basic social services. Outright plunder of the state treasury by corrupt administration functionaries is not helping the matter either. All these have led to the sharpening of conflict between the people's demand for public services, and the demands of the money lending institutions and arms merchants who lay first claim on the lion's share of government revenue. The Communist Ghadar Party of India has worked to popularise the demand for a moratorium on debt servicing and cut backs on arms spending. Given the fact that the Government of India has over \$120 billion of foreign currency reserves, the conditions are favourable for insisting on an immediate halt to servicing the debt to foreign financial institutions and on taking any new loans from them.

Throughout the past twenty years, the big bourgeoisie has pursued its strategic aim of strengthening its international stature and developing India into a big imperialist power, through so-called reforms to streamline the system of exploitation in its own favour. It has steered the country on a course that is fraught with dangerous consequences, and stuck to this course no matter how strongly the working people opposed it on the streets. The economic policy measures have, at each stage, been accompanied by the unleashing of state terrorism against different sections on a racist or communal basis, to divert the people, terrorise them and drown their struggles in blood.

A long series of events in the last two decades have shown that state terrorism, communalism and communal violence, warmongering and war are all part and parcel of the arsenal of the bourgeoisie. They are tools in aid of the anti-social offensive. These include the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 following the assassination

of Indira Gandhi, the destruction of Babri Masjid and the organising of communal violence following this gangster-like act, the persecution of Muslims in the name of combating 'Islamic fundamentalism' and 'cross-border terrorism', the Kargil war and the build up and maintenance of tension along the border with Pakistan, and the Gujarat genocide in 2002. Recent elections in the country have revealed the depth of anger and discontent among the broad masses of people against the economic reform program of the bourgeoisie. They also showed the people's anger and discontent with the existing political process that is dominated by criminalised parties. Voters showed their disgust with the self-serving vote bank politics based on religion and caste, practiced as a matter of course by parties that serve the big bourgeoisie.

In spite of the monopolisation of the political sphere, including television time, by the six 'recognised national parties', recent voting trends show that more and more people are coming forward to challenge this monopoly. The share of votes against these six parties, i.e., the vote share and seat share of the 45 recognised regional parties and more than 700 registered parties that are not recognised by the Election Commission, have gone up over the past ten years. In the 14th Lok Sabha elections held in April-May 2004, the parties outside of the BJP-led coalition and Congress-led alliance won in 137 constituencies, which is 24 more than in the previous Lok Sabha. They received approximately 27% of the votes cast, which is higher than the vote share of either the BJP or the Congress Party. In addition to all these parties, there were 2,369 independent candidates who contested these elections. All these facts show that the majority of people are not willing to be excluded from political power.

The 14th Lok Sabha elections revealed the longing of the people for a change of course. It brought forth a variety of attempts, some led by communists and others by various local and regional

organisations, to experiment with new forms of protest and interventions to politicise the broad masses of people. People asserted their popular demands and rejected the so-called choice between different bourgeois parties that are committed to implement the same anti-social program. However, the elections resulted in a government being formed by the big bourgeoisie, to pursue the same anti-social program but in a way that takes into account the mood of the masses and the need to reconcile them to the course being followed.

Although the BJP and the Congress Party received only 21% and 22% of the votes respectively, the big bourgeoisie made sure that the BJP led alliance in power was replaced by a Congress led alliance. Although the majority of people expressed, in no uncertain terms, their opposition to the course being followed, what they have now is a government committed to pursue the same course with new slogans and tactics.

While claiming to be for change and calling itself 'progressive', the Congress led alliance in power and its Common Minimum Programme fail to address the demands of the people for changes in the political process towards their empowerment. The fact of the matter is that in spite of all the efforts of the people, political power remains out of their reach. This is because the party dominated political process, called 'multi-party representative democracy', is designed to ensure that only the parties of the big bourgeois class will be entrusted with the management of state power.

The elections were used by the bourgeoisie to change its management team and its tactics of implementing the capitalist reform program. In place of the openly anti-Communist and belligerent BJP, there is now a Congress led alliance that promises to implement capitalist reforms with a 'human face'. It has included the leaders of CPI(M) and other members of the 'left aristocracy'

in an Advisory Council. Taking into account the mood of the people, the ruling class has adjusted its tactics. It is pursuing the same strategic aim as before while trying to reconcile the class contradictions in its favour. This is being achieved by striking a treacherous deal with the conciliators with social-democracy in the working class and communist movement. These conciliators have been assigned the task of ensuring that the working class movement is kept as a tail of the bourgeoisie.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh claims that his government has the people's mandate for change—for 'reforms with a human face' and for 'good governance'. He has also declared that he respects and hopes to do business amicably with communists of the type who lead the CPI(M). On the ground, what his government has delivered is rape and terror by the so-called security forces, in Kashmir and in the states of the North-East. The central armed forces continue to occupy and terrorise the people of Kashmir, Manipur and other states of the North-East in as gruesome a manner as the US imperialist forces have been treating the prisoners at Abu Ghraib. While the Prime Minister talks of 'good governance' in the style of Bush and Blair, the blatant violation of human rights is being justified in the name of 'national security', 'defending the unity and integrity of India' and crushing 'terrorism and extremism'.

The UPA Government's first budget was presented by its Finance Minister Chidambaram on 8th July 2004. It signalled clearly that this new government was going to march further on the road of the old government. It is committed to implement the same so-called second-generation reform program, whose aim is to ensure maximum rates of profit for the super-rich monopolies and financial giants, at the expense of everybody else in society. The budget estimated that in the year 2004-05, as much as 84% of gross revenues collected by the Government of India would flow into the coffers of the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Life

Insurance Corporation of India, Industrial Development Bank of India and numerous other lending institutions, including commercial banks. Military and arms spending would consume another 17%, thereby exhausting the entire annual revenue. For every other kind of spending need, such as elementary education and employment programs, the Government wants to borrow afresh from the World Bank and other financial institutions, and levy new taxes such as the education cess.

The crisis of livelihood of the peasantry remains extremely acute, as the banks and insurance companies demand compliance at any cost with the stipulated debt servicing schedule. Reports of suicides are not only continuing but also growing in number and in geographical spread. The leaders of the Congress Party have been thrown on the defensive on this question and on the question of unemployment, which goes from bad to worse. They are under pressure from all sides to show some results on the ground, in terms of implementing the so-called pro-poor programs and promises contained in the Common Minimum Programme. The 'new deal' for the farmers is turning out to be no new deal at all.

Montek Singh Ahluwalia, who returned from his IMF position to become Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, has allocated at least some of the promised Rs. 10,000 crore additional spending in 2004-05 on elementary education, school meal scheme, food-for-work and other government programs allegedly intended to alleviate poverty. While the bourgeois propaganda used to claim that market oriented reforms would lead to job creation and reduce unemployment, real life experience has exposed these claims as nothing but empty words. This is forcing the bourgeoisie to once again talk about government programs to create employment, even without the fiscal strength to implement such programs. Serious discussions are going on between the

Ministry of Finance and the World Bank, to scale up lending from this biggest international institution of finance capital, allegedly to accelerate poverty reduction.

It ought to be clear to every politically conscious force that neither the class content of political power nor the orientation of the economy has changed as a result of the replacement of the BJP led coalition by a Congress Party led coalition. However, many illusions are being created among the people about the significance of this change. The Communist Party of India (Marxist), which has led three other parties to collaborate with the Congress Party and its Common Minimum Programme (CMP), is spreading maximum illusions about this so-called common program of the working class and bourgeoisie. It is propagating the falsehood that the implementation of the CMP will eliminate hunger and unemployment and improve the conditions of the toilers and tillers, even while the profits of Indian and foreign finance capitalists are safeguarded, and the pace of militarisation is stepped up. The CPI(M) is also creating the illusion that the danger of communal violence has been reduced with the coming to power of the 'secular' Congress-led coalition. It also claims that some 'democratic space' has been created as a result of the change in government.

The COMMUNIST GHADAR PARTY OF INDIA and other progressive forces organised to ensure that the first budget of the new government was greeted by a mass demonstration outside the Parliament on 6th July 2004. A large number of organisations of workers, peasants, working intellectuals, women, youth and others fighting in defence of individual and collective rights, participated in this political action. They issued a Joint Declaration of their intention to continue the struggle until the people actually become the sovereign masters of their own destiny. This historic action brought forth a new quality, namely, the political unity of all the

oppressed against the continuing bourgeois offensive, and around an alternative program aimed at establishing the rule of the workers and peasants.

The program to bring the workers and peasants to power has taken birth within the movement against the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie. This program is still in its infancy. There are opportunities for it to grow; while it faces serious dangers as well. The challenge that we face, as do all Indian communists, is to ensure that this fighting program to establish the rule of workers and peasants and reconstitute India as a voluntary union of consenting nations, nationalities and peoples does indeed grow and expand its reach among the workers and peasants, driving out all forms of opportunism and conciliation with capitalist reform from within the communist movement.

Challenge facing Indian communists

Within Indian society today, there are varied currents of opposition to the rule of the bourgeoisie and its anti-social offensive. The working class, led by its vanguard party, faces the challenging task of unifying these currents of opposition into one mighty force that can defeat and overthrow the bourgeois class in power. This requires a coherent policy and plan guided by the most advanced philosophy and political theory, a concrete program of immediate and ultimate aims and conscious organisation for the realisation of the program. Those within the communist movement who are advancing bourgeois conceptions of the struggle and its aims are preventing the fulfilment of these subjective conditions for revolution.

The independent program of the toilers and tillers is aimed at political empowerment, that is for the workers and peasants themselves to become the rulers of the country. This independent

program has emerged, and needs to be nurtured. There is an inevitable struggle between the communists who want to nurture this program and expand its space, and those within the communist movement who are promoting one version or another of the bourgeois program of finding the "better road to the market". In short, it is a struggle between the road to socialism and communism, and the road for perpetuating capitalism at its moribund stage.

The working class, which is objectively the most revolutionary class in society, is being called upon by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and others of the Left Front in Parliament, to abandon its independent aims. The CPI(M) is calling on the working class to consider the implementation of the Common Minimum Programme of the Congress Party led United Progressive Alliance as its aim. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has played a similar role before, extending support to a bourgeois coalition. It did so during the 1996-98 period, for instance, when a United Front government was formed, in which the Communist Party of India participated and managed the Home Ministry. However, what is specific about the present arrangement is that the leaders of CPI(M), in particular, are being given a visible and special role as the conscience keepers and advisors of the UPA government.

There are two courses open to India. The first is that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in India is resolved in favour of the working class and people, with the workers and peasants establishing their own rule. Then India will take the high road of civilisation. The other course is that the reactionary bourgeoisie, in pursuit of its imperialist ambitions, pushes the peoples of India and the region into fratricidal conflicts. The formidable challenge that faces us today is to avert this possibility and ensure that Indian society takes the first course.

The coming to power of the UPA, with the support of the Left Front, has raised expectations in the working class and fuelled demands for an end to the anti-social offensive. This is compelling the CPI(M) leadership to call for mass actions on various issues, while at the same time striving to contain the street actions within limits acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The persistent demands and rising expectations of the masses of workers opens up possibilities to organise the working class to break out of the shackles of bourgeois politics.

Appropriate initiatives are required to be taken by the Communist Ghadar Party of India and other revolutionary parties and groups in the communist movement, in order to raise the consciousness of the working class and its level of preparedness for the struggles ahead. This includes its consciousness about the danger posed by class conciliation, in general, and the line of conciliating with the 'human face' of the Congress Party, in particular. We must adopt innovative methods of reaching out to the class, engaging the union activists and local organisers in political discussion and in the organising of united actions. We must persist in our efforts to build and strengthen the unity in the ranks of working class so that the working class enunciates its program for ending the liberalisation and privatisation agenda, for lifting Indian society out of the crisis and opening the door to the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism.

The challenging task facing us includes making the working class activists grasp that for workers to entertain any illusions about the Common Minimum Programme means to make common cause with our exploiters and class enemy—the bourgeoisie. It means to give up the struggle to halt and reverse the privatisation program and defeat the bourgeois offensive. We must agitate among the workers that they must not permit their unions to become the tail

of the Congress Party. We cannot afford to become slaves to the illusion of a 'middle path' that would allegedly lead to prosperity for the bourgeoisie as well as the working class.

On the privatisation program, which is now being pursued in a different style than under BJP rule, the key question is a fundamental question of principle—that the government of the day has no right to sell public property to private profiteers. Communists must defend this principle and oppose any form of compromise on this question.

The bourgeois propaganda is based on the *a priori* assumption that the problem is not with privatisation as such, but in the way in which it is implemented. This is the basis for the critique that has been put forward, for instance, by Joseph Stiglitz, former member of the advisory council of the Clinton administration and former Chief Economist of the World Bank. Stiglitz, who has recently turned into a critic of the IMF-World Bank orthodoxy and published a book on Globalisation, praises the Chinese road and gives the call for finding a "better road to the market".

According to the leaders of the CPI(M), the road followed by the BJP to implement market reform was too brazen, whereas the Congress Party and its leftist allies have allegedly discovered a humane way to implement the same inhuman program. This is the infamous doctrine of 'Reforms with a human face'. In effect, the 'Marxists' of the CPI(M) are advancing the same notion as the bourgeois critic, Stiglitz—that what has to be opposed is not privatisation or liberalisation as such, but only the way in which such policies are implemented. By conciliating with bourgeois ideology, they are compromising the struggle to halt and reverse the privatisation and liberalisation program, as part and parcel of the struggle to defeat the anti-social offensive.

The 'Public Sector' in India is and has been a state monopoly capitalist sector. It was set up by the biggest monopoly capitalist houses and is run in their collective interest. The workers and people at large cannot afford to have any illusion on this account. At the same time, they cannot be indifferent to the moves of the bourgeoisie to transform what is currently in the state monopoly capitalist domain into the private monopoly capitalist domain. They cannot be indifferent because the aim of such moves is to intensify the degree of exploitation of labour and charge monopoly prices on hitherto free or subsidised goods and services.

The working class can neither support privatisation and liberalisation, nor just defend the status quo. It can and must demand an immediate halt and reversal of the privatisation program, returning public assets that have been transferred into private hands. The working class must fight with the perspective of establishing social control over all the sectors of the economy that are of vital concern for ensuring the well-being of the toiling masses. Communists must provide this perspective of progressively narrowing and ultimately eliminating the role of private capitalist enterprise in the sphere of social production.

Selective privatisation is a continuation of the strategy that underscored the 'socialistic pattern of society'¹¹. The bourgeoisie decides which sector should be run by the state in the interests of guaranteeing maximum profits for big business, and which sector should be run directly by the monopoly houses themselves, on their private account. Those who promote the line of 'selective privatisation'¹² and pit it against 'strategic sale'¹³ are disarming the working class and compromising the struggle against privatisation.

One of the most important challenges facing Indian communists at the present time is to enable the peasantry to draw the conclusion that the capitalist-imperialist course being followed is the principal

source of their problems. Subordination of agriculture to the motive of reaping the maximum rate of profit for agro-business and trading companies is the biggest danger facing them. While capitalist growth may bring temporary benefits to a minority among the peasantry in some regions, it cannot provide any lasting solution to the question of secure livelihood to the tillers of the soil. On the contrary, it is bound to further aggravate the agrarian crisis.

Communists must organise political support from the cities for the ongoing struggle of the peasantry against the bourgeois offensive. We must provide the ideological arsenal needed by the peasantry to see through the deceptive tactics of the bourgeoisie. We must elaborate the theory of lifting Indian agriculture out of the present crisis, through the establishment of a state power of the workers and peasants, Such a state would ensure guaranteed livelihood for all the tillers of the land and guaranteed supply of food at affordable prices for the urban population. We must organise to block the path to the penetration and plunder of the land and natural resources by monopoly corporations and multinational companies.

Communists must elaborate the philosophy and theory of rights that belong to the tillers of the land, including their right to security of land holding and to guaranteed livelihood. We must defend the principle that rights can neither be given nor taken away; and that the State is duty bound to recognise and safeguard the rights of those who till the land. We must expose and defeat the imperialist big bourgeois tactic of attacking the livelihood and rights of the peasantry under the garb of implementing 'pro-poor' reforms. We must enlighten the peasantry about the dangerous course being followed in the name of economic reform, which is geared to enrich the big capitalist monopoly houses, financial institutions and foreign multinationals, at the expense of the security of livelihood for vast masses of the peasantry.

We communists have to develop the tactics for building the worker-peasant alliance, around the program for reorientation of the economy and for democratic renewal of political institutions, that is for the *Navnirman* of India. We must imbue the working class with the necessity to forge political unity on a class basis—first and foremost the unity of all workers, and then unity with the peasants and other social forces that are fighting against the same ruling bourgeois class and its anti-social program. We must develop political unity around the immediate demand to bring to power a workers’ and peasants’ government. Such a government must be committed to halt the privatisation and liberalisation program and to implement the program for *Navnirman*—aimed at making the workers, peasants, women and youth the masters and rulers of India. We must carry out the exposure of the tactics of the Congress-Left Front alliance and reforms with a ‘human face’ in the course of the struggle to implement this program.

A key challenge facing communists is to elaborate the alternative vision of democracy and political power, which is suited to the demand of the workers and peasants to become the masters of India. Our Party has put forth such a vision in the midst of the movement against the anti-social offensive. We have succeeded in forging political unity around some of the core demands of the program that we adopted at the Second Congress. One proof of this success was the concrete manifestation of a joint declaration of struggle by the numerous organisations that took to the streets on the eve of Chidambaram’s budget in July 2004. This showed that the activists among the workers and peasants are not willing to accept the UPA regime and its Common Minimum Programme as the solution to their problems. It showed their readiness and eagerness to persist in the struggle for the realisation of their just demands. It showed the rising consciousness among the broad masses of people that the solution to their problems cannot be found through the replacement of one bourgeois party or coalition by another. It showed the growing recognition among the masses

of the necessity for a new kind of power and political process, wherein the people will make the decisions while political parties play an enabling role.

We can and must use the ample evidence that is daily becoming available to expose the fact that multi-party representative democracy is a political process and system most suitable for the bourgeoisie to rule, and for capitalism to flourish. It is a system that marginalises the majority of people from political power. We must mobilise the masses around such immediate demands for changes in the political process that would restrict the monopoly of the 'recognised' parties and expand the space for workers and peasants to bring forward candidates from amongst their midst. The challenge is to further develop communist tactics of intervening in the political process, without falling for the illusions about parliamentary democracy and without abandoning this arena of struggle to the bourgeoisie and its political parties.

The existing definition of democracy and governance is best suited to the interests of monopoly capital and empire builders. In line with the Anglo-American imperialists, the Indian big bourgeoisie is asserting that all peoples must accept this definition, or face the threat of being branded as terrorists or extremists or 'ultras' to be crushed by the military might of the central armed forces. The line of struggle against this bourgeois imperialist pressure is to politically organise the workers and peasants, innovating ways, including use of the electoral arena, for raising the level of political consciousness and activity of the masses. The vanguard party of the working class must not give up the indispensable work of politicising the class and assisting it to become the leading force for creating a new India.

The work carried out by the Communist Ghadar Party of India and other organisations in this period has contributed to the further

development of the movement for political empowerment of the people. These include numerous efforts to intervene in the electoral arena, to enable the selection of people's candidates at mass meetings, and efforts to build local committees in electoral constituencies. Various organisations among the workers, peasants and other sections of the middle strata have begun to take their own non-partisan initiatives to break the monopoly of the 'recognised' parties and enable the people to become decision makers.

The challenge ahead is to raise the level and visibility of this work, so that the movement for political empowerment of the people gains further momentum and contributes to the united front of all those who want to end the colonial legacy and open a new chapter for Indian society. The new society would be based on a system of economy geared to fulfil the needs of all its members; a modern system of democracy where sovereignty will vest in the hands of the people; and a voluntary union of nations, nationalities and peoples, committed to oppose and end all imperialist acts and violation of their rights.

A prominent section of the communist movement is engaged in the imposition of bourgeois ideology on the working class, by conciliating with the notion that there is no alternative to the existing Indian Union. Such conciliators reject the need for overthrowing the colonial legacy. They swear allegiance to the existing Indian Union, which is based on colonial foundations. They virulently oppose or dismiss the necessity for the reconstitution of this Indian Union on a voluntary basis, so that the different nations, nationalities and tribal peoples can affirm their sovereignty. Such a reconstituted Indian Union would recognise and defend the rights of every nation, nationality and tribal people, including the right to self-determination, up to secession, and provide constitutional guarantee to those rights.

Conciliation with the social-democratic line of the Congress Party has led some within the communist movement to call for the defence of the existing Indian State and its 'secular and democratic foundations', from the threat posed by the BJP and the *sangh parivaar*¹⁴. By tailing the Congress Party on this question, they hide the fact that the foundations of the Indian State lies in the communal division of the polity, engineered by the British colonialists and further perfected in the post-colonial period by the Congress Party and others who followed its example. They hide the fact that communalism and 'secularism', in the sense of 'tolerance' and 'not taking sides', have been used as twin weapons to divide and suppress the Indian people, both during colonial rule and after 1947.

Indian society requires a clean break from the colonial legacy, including the communal definition of India as consisting of Hindus, Muslims and other religious minorities. It requires a new state power that recognises and provides constitutional guarantees for human rights, including the right of every human being to his or her conscience, including the right to follow any religious or non-religious system of beliefs.

The line of "defence of the secular foundations of the Indian State from the communal-fascist BJP" serves to divert the struggle against communal violence from being directed against the ruling bourgeoisie and its state. The line of tailing the Congress Party and its secularism blocks the way to punishing the guilty. It blocks the path of building organisations of the people to defend themselves.

The communists who are extending support to the UPA regime are calling on the working class to support the imperialist vision of the Indian big bourgeoisie. They promote a "multi-polar world" which can only result in the Indian people being embroiled in reactionary inter-imperialist wars for the sake of the profits of their exploiters.

They are presenting justifications for state terrorism and war. In sum, they are demanding that the working class should not unfurl its independent banner of social revolution and rally all the toilers and tillers around its own program for the *Navnirman* of India, but should remain at the tail of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle for socialism and communism, which is a historic struggle of one class against another, and of one social system versus another, is being reduced by the class conciliators to a struggle of one bourgeois party versus another, of one policy to develop capitalism versus another policy to develop capitalism. What the working class needs, on the contrary, is a clear vision of the alternative economic system of socialism, of the alternative institutions and political process of proletarian democracy, and a concrete program of struggle towards that vision.

The immediate program of the working class would aim to break with the colonial legacy in economic and political terms, so as to open the door to social progress through deep going transformations. Breaking with the colonial legacy means to end the economic orientation of plunder and the political orientation of excluding the vast majority of Indian people from decision-making power. It means to orient economic decisions towards putting into the economy as much as possible, in place of the capitalist-imperialist orientation of taking out from the economy as much as possible and as rapidly as possible. It means to reconstitute political power as the collective power of the toilers and tillers of the land, based on a voluntary union of different nations, nationalities and tribal peoples. It means to defend and guarantee the right to conscience of all individuals; and the right to self-determination of every nation, nationality and tribal people in this country. Such a program has emerged from the class struggle and the work of the communists to sum up the experience of this struggle in general terms. Our Party has been working might and

main to organise the working class, peasantry and all the oppressed to take up this program as their own. The challenge we face is to learn from this experience, build on our successes, and organise for the realisation of this program.

The Left Front in Parliament led by the CPI(M), sat together with the Congress Party, the trusted party of the big bourgeoisie, and worked out a Common Minimum Programme. What does this convey to the working class and people at large? It conveys the message that the interests of the working class and of the bourgeoisie can be reconciled. There is allegedly a common meeting ground, a path wherein the interests of both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat can be defended and advanced. To the class-conscious workers, it conveys the message that the leaders of CPI(M) have given up the most basic conclusion of Marxism.

The historic experience and conclusion of the working class movement, as summed up in the doctrine of Karl Marx, is that the interests of the working class and that of the bourgeoisie are irreconcilable. Capitalist growth can only bring ruin and devastation for the working class and peasantry. Moreover, the working class has the historic mission of being the gravedigger of capitalism. And it can dig this grave only through a conscious movement led by its vanguard party, without the baggage of some factions within the vanguard collaborating with the bourgeoisie and seeking common cause with it

Today, neither Prime Minister Manmohan Singh nor Finance Minister Chidambaram even claims that he is trying to build any kind of socialism. They claim that they are building capitalism with a 'human face'. The CPI and CPI(M), who in an earlier period had conciliated with the Nehruvian vision of a 'socialistic pattern of society', have adjusted their position further backwards to accommodate the bourgeoisie's program of privatisation and

liberalisation. They are attempting to justify this backward shift with the claim that capitalist reform will be implemented allegedly with a human face.

West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya has declared publicly that he is committed to implement ‘reforms with a human face’. The CPI(M) led government has implemented an allegedly worker-friendly program of ‘early retirement schemes’ and of ‘transition to joint ventures’, which is a euphemism for privatisation. In spite of all their public posturing, in terms of actual substance, it is hard to distinguish between the position of these ‘Marxists’ and the position of the World Bank experts who preach the *mantra*¹⁵ of reforms to accelerate capitalist growth with poverty reduction.

At the bottom of both the left and right wings of the bourgeoisie today is the vision of a reformed capitalism, capitalism without all the diseases that go with it, which is objectively not possible. In a situation where the majority of markets of the world are dominated by monopolies and oligopolies, ‘free market reform’ has revealed itself to be a euphemism for unbridled penetration and plunder by monopoly capital and the expansion of space for such plunder.

The struggle, in the final analysis, is not between the right wing and the left wing of the bourgeoisie. The struggle is between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is not between one method or road to implement capitalist reform, and another allegedly better road to the same goal. The struggle is between two opposing social systems—socialism against capitalism.

The alternative to the existing inhuman system is an economic system based on social property and control over the means of social production, oriented towards the maximum degree of fulfilment of

the rising material and cultural needs of the population. That is the socialist system. Communists must openly proclaim and educate the working class on the need to establish socialism as the condition for solving the problems confronting the Indian people.

The first step in the direction of reorienting the economy is to halt the bourgeois offensive, issue a moratorium on debt service payments, cut back arms spending, seize the hoards of black money by issuing new currency, and organise the state take over of external and wholesale internal trade. This will begin to restrict the hold of finance capital over the Indian economy and restrict the space for capitalism to flourish. It will enable the creation and extension of a modern, universal public distribution system that ensures affordable and adequate supply of all essential mass consumption articles. One important sector of the economy, international and domestic wholesale trade, will be taken out of the sphere of the law of surplus value¹⁶, and reoriented to fulfil the needs of the toiling masses. The working class can and must declare that any private party that stands in the way of this program would be expropriated without compensation—that is, their property will be converted into social property with no payment involved.

Communists must lead the working class to agitate, on an immediate basis, for taking the first step in reorienting the economy towards socialism. The first step would pave the way for the next step, one leading to the other, to establish the socialist system. Communists cannot and must not create illusions that this first step is enough, or that even the first step can be taken without the workers and peasants coming to power. We must pay maximum attention to preparing the working class for socialism and communism, and building the united front of workers and peasants around the immediate program, shatter any illusions that the bourgeoisie or any of its parties will be able to solve or ameliorate the problem of poverty.

The class conciliators in the communist movement foster the illusion that the capitalist system can be reformed, step-by-step, in favour of the toiling masses, without any need for revolution. By supporting the bourgeois platform of reforms with a human face, the class conciliators are actually preventing the workers and peasants from emerging with an immediate program on the economic and political front and fighting for its implementation. They are sabotaging the war against poverty in the name of fighting for the poor.

The Common Minimum Programme of the UPA is not a program of the working class. It is a program of the bourgeoisie. It does not include any measure to halt or curb the exploitation and plunder that is going on. It accepts the capitalist-imperialist plunder as a given fact, to which there is allegedly no alternative. The motor of capitalism will continue to run, generating wealth at one pole and multiplying poverty at the other pole. Unproductive debt servicing and arms spending budgets will continue to eat up the revenues that flow to the government's coffers, forcing the central and state governments to borrow more to finance even the lowest level of spending on social services and rural development programs.

The Congress Party led UPA government has responded to the demand for the right to work with a proposed Employment Guarantee Act. While proclaiming employment guarantee as its aim, this proposed Act does not actually guarantee jobs for all. It promises some minimal amount of employment for one member of a rural family in some of the poor districts. How many persons are actually expected to benefit and by how much, is being watered down step by step to fit the limited budget that has been allocated.

Communists are duty bound to fight for the principle that opportunity to work and earn a livelihood is a matter of right of every individual. It is the duty of the state to ensure that this right is realised. We must

oppose the bourgeois notion that work and livelihood are privileges that can be given to some and not to others. We must also oppose the notion that rights can be given or taken away depending on whatever the ruling party or coalition decides. In the final analysis, the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism is the necessary condition for the actualisation of the right to work, as a guaranteed right of all members of society. Hence the communists must wage the immediate struggle in defence of the right to work as a component part of the struggle against capitalism and for its replacement by socialism.

Reorientation of the economy to wipe out poverty and provide human conditions for all members of society is a program that, by its very nature, generates a tremendous demand for productive work—so as to feed, clothe, shelter, educate and care for the young in all families in society. It is therefore an economic program that is consistent with the demand to actualise the right to work. Indeed, the goal of eliminating poverty cannot be achieved without mobilising the productive potential of the entire population, making sure that everyone has space to contribute and be taken care of by society.

The Government of India has an external debt of over US\$100 billion, on one side, and foreign currency reserves of around the same amount, on the other side. The response of bourgeois economists to this situation has been to propose that some of the reserves be used for prepaying some of the debt. The Government of India has indeed done this kind of thing to some extent already. However, the demand of the working class and people of India is that the Central Government should use its strong reserve position to declare a moratorium on debt service payments to all external creditors, along with a moratorium on any further borrowing from abroad. Such a measure would remove, at one stroke, the burden of servicing the external debt, and reduce India's dependence on foreign financial institutions . It would make it unnecessary to

borrow a single dollar more from the World Bank or any other external lending agency.

The principal reason that the Indian government keeps borrowing from abroad even though it has massive foreign exchange reserves is that this is the course that suits the interest of finance capital in India and internationally. The communists in the Parliament do not raise such demands as a moratorium on servicing the debt to external lending agencies and on further borrowing from them. In West Bengal, the left-front government led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has negotiated loans from the Asian Development Bank, as well as loans from the World Bank for investing in health centres. The CPI(M) approaches the question of finance capital and of foreign capital without any principles, just like other bourgeois parties in power. It compromises the struggle against the road of ever increasing dependence on foreign debt, by accepting World Bank loans as given, accepting dependence on foreign capital as given, and refusing to contest this path by raising demands such as a moratorium on servicing external debt.

The CPI(M) has made a big noise over the induction of 'experts' from international financial institutions in the advisory committees of the Planning Commission. To pacify these 'reasonable and nice' communists, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh agreed that this open form would not be used. The backroom advising and monitoring by the World Bank 'experts' will carry on as in the past. As far as Indians in the finance ministry having close links with the foreign financial institutions is concerned, the CPI(M) does nothing more than bemoan the fact.

The point is that there was no clean break with imperialism in August 1947. The colonial state was part of the imperialist system; and the post-colonial state retains this characteristic. The entire period of the 'socialistic pattern of society' witnessed the Indian

State taking massive credits and aid from the different imperialist powers and their agencies. The imperialists had a say not only in how this aid money was used but also in how the economy was run. This feature has been further strengthened through the 1990s, with the Indian big bourgeoisie and its political representatives quite comfortably sitting and discussing the course of the Indian economy with the representatives of international finance capital. The form corresponds to the content. The CPI(M) does not wage a principled struggle against the imperialist content of the relationship. In fact, the CPI(M) extends support to the promotion of the imperialist vision of India as a 'developed nation' by 2020. In such circumstances, the opposition to foreign consultants is just a matter of a show of its 'anti-imperialist' character, meant to cover up its actual conciliation with the domination of finance capital, Indian and international.

There is increasing recognition among the people that the multi-party representative democracy does not represent their will; and that there is no way out of this *sandhi*¹⁷ of alternating rule by the Congress Party and the BJP, within the framework of parliamentary democracy. While this underscores the need for a complete overhaul of the system and renewal of the process of democracy, the problem is that some within the communist movement are blocking the path to this, even in thought! They are continuing to cling to Westminster style parliamentary democracy and extending support to a Congress led coalition.

At a time when ever-increasing sections of the people are showing their disgust with the criminalised political process, the CPI(M) is acting as the greatest defender of bourgeois democracy and the existing political process. It has accepted the offer made by the Congress Party to have Comrade Somnath Chatterjee as the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, giving rise to the strange spectacle of a communist acting as the conscience keeper of bourgeois democracy.

The CPI(M) defends national oppression in India by supporting the Indian bourgeoisie's slogan of defending 'national unity and territorial integrity'. It defends state terrorism against the fighting peoples by labelling them as extremists, terrorists and secessionists. It supports the imperialist and colonial suppression of the peoples of India, the imperialist vision of the Indian big bourgeoisie, as well as Indian hegemonism towards Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. It vigorously participates in the inter-capitalist and inter-imperialist rivalry on behalf of its 'own' bourgeoisie. It refuses to expose the capitalist system, the parliamentary democracy or the colonial and imperialist nature of the Indian State. In a word, it has merged itself with this system and state power.

The most important lesson from the rise and fall of proletarian democracy in the 20th century is that a communist party cannot and must not strive to bring itself to power, or keep itself in power. A proletarian party, by definition, seeks power for its class and not for itself. In order to achieve this goal, it must build the united political front of all the oppressed, and imbue the working class with the consciousness to lead the masses in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish proletarian democracy.

The CPI(M) prides itself in having held power in its hands for the past quarter century and more in West Bengal. The classics of our doctrine teach us that the communist party is the vanguard party of the working class in which the advanced sections of the class militate. The communist party cannot substitute itself for the class. Bourgeois parties fight for power for themselves. A communist party that fights for power for itself becomes transformed into a bourgeois party.

The Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Stalin fought for power in the hands of the soviets of workers and peasants. They did not

fight for power in the hands of the Bolshevik Party. Our Party at its Second Congress analysed the reasons for the degeneration of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevik) in the period following the death of Stalin. One of the main factors in this degeneration was the Party substituting itself for the working class and cooperativist peasantry of the Soviet Union. Instead of the CPSU (B) making the transition from being the leading force of a proletarian state to the stage of leading the people to govern themselves, the party entrenched itself in state power. It converted the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the party of new exploiters.

There is another harmful trend, which in the name of opposing the parliamentary path to socialism, promotes the thesis of “seizure of political power through the barrel of the gun”. Left in the shade is the question: seizure of political power by whom? By the workers and peasants or by a party claiming to represent them?

Several parties claim to be organising armed struggle. The question is: *who is waging the armed struggle and for what purpose?* Is it the workers and peasants of India, who having become conscious of the necessity to establish their own rule, are arming themselves for this purpose? Or is it a party that arms itself, converts itself into a militarist force, and carries out isolated acts of violence? Is the party educating and organising the working class and peasantry to establish their own rule? Or is the party substituting itself for the working class and peasantry, and fighting for power for itself?

A party that fights for power in its own hands, whether through the parliament or through the barrel of the gun, objectively works to prevent the working class and peasantry from establishing their rule. The armed squads of underground parties become the rulers and overlords of the areas they are in control, and extract tribute from the people in the same way as the police and armed forces of

the Indian State do. The people are turned into helpless bystanders with no voice, no say in determining their own destiny. In essence, it is no different from people remaining in the margins by being relegated to the role of “voting cattle” in the current set up.

If the workers, peasants and broad masses of India have to become the rulers of this country, the task of building and strengthening organs of people’s power has to be taken up for solution on an urgent basis. The trade unions and other fighting organisations among the workers, peasants, women and youth need to be strengthened. There is urgent need to build people's committees in the electoral constituencies, cutting across party barriers, as enabling mechanisms for the electors to exercise their political rights. There is need for a united political front of the workers, peasants, working professionals, women and youth, around an independent program for the *Navnirman* of India.

In sum, the current situation is pregnant with grave dangers as well as new possibilities to forge ahead and open the path to revolution. The program for reorienting the economy by establishing the rule of workers and peasants has begun to take roots within the mass movement. There is growing support for the demand to halt and reverse the privatisation and liberalisation program, the demands to suspend debt service payments to the World Bank and other money lending institutions and to cut back on arms spending. There is also growing support for the demand to punish those guilty of communal genocide, immediately withdraw the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and all the fascist laws, dismantle the apparatus of state terrorism and lay the basis for reconstituting the Indian Union on a voluntary basis.

The challenge facing Indian communists in this situation is to organise the working class to lead the building and strengthening of the united political front of workers, peasants and all the

oppressed, against the bourgeoisie, its anti-social offensive and imperialist pursuit. The communists must mercilessly critique the bourgeoisie's program, including its tactics of implementing reforms with a 'human face'. We communists must further popularise and elaborate the program for establishing the rule of workers and peasants, and a voluntary Indian Union, as the only way to lift Indian society out of the crisis. Communists must take all such initiatives that are required to bring to power a workers' and peasants' government at the earliest opportunity, committed to implement the program for the *Navnirman* of India.

Endnotes

- ¹⁰ *dalit*: Oppressed; usually refers to a member of the lowest caste in the brahmanical order who is trampled upon by all the other social strata
- ¹¹ socialistic pattern of society: ????
- ¹² selective privatisation: Transfer of public assets into private hands in selected sectors, while leaving them untouched in other sectors, as distinguished from "indiscriminate privatisation" which means to advocate private ownership in every sector.
- ¹³ strategic sale: Sale of the entire productive assets of a company to a private party (or combination of parties) in one single transaction, as distinct from gradual and partial sale of shares which is called 'disinvestment'.
- ¹⁴ *sangh parivaar*: The Sangh family; collective name used to refer to the Bharatiya Janata Party and a group of organisations that advocate variations of Hindu revivalist and anti-Islamic ideology, including the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP).
- ¹⁵ *mantra*: A magical formula, spell or Vedic incantation.
- ¹⁶ law of surplus value: Economic law of capitalism that was discovered by Karl Marx, whereby the source of the profit, rent or interest pocketed by the owner of capital was traced to the excess of value produced by labour over the value paid to the labourers as wages. In short, the exploitation of labour is the source of the private profit made by capital. The law of surplus value operates in any sphere of the economy where the means of production are owned as private capitalist property, with wage labour being hired for the purpose of earning private profit and accumulating private wealth.
- ¹⁷ *sandhi*: Twilight zone or borderline between one state of being and another, such as between an old society in crisis and the new that is yet to be born

Plan of Action

Plan of Action

In a class divided society such as India, where capitalism is the motor of the economy linked inseparably with the world imperialist system, there can be only two basic kinds of programs. One is the program of the bourgeoisie to preserve and further expand the space for monopoly capitalism and imperialism, by defending and further perfecting the existing state system and political process. The other is the program of the working class to shut the door to imperialist plunder and open the door to the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, through the establishment of the rule of the workers and peasants and a voluntary Indian Union. Consistent with this conclusion and aim and after a thorough study of contemporary conditions, our Party adopted at its Second Congress in 1998 the Program for the reorientation of the economy; political empowerment of the people; and the *Navnirman* or democratic renewal of India.

The Program of the Party is a weapon to arm the workers, peasants and all the oppressed in battling the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie and in preparing to launch their own counter offensive. It arms the broad masses of people to insist on livelihood as a matter of right and that the state is duty bound to ensure prosperity for all. It arms them to demand the right to conscience and insist that the state is duty bound to ensure protection for all. It arms

them to sharpen the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The aim of the counter offensive is to establish the rule of workers and peasants in the country. It is to put an end to the entire legacy of colonialism and create a modern political foundation for the Union of peoples who constitute India, so that they can take control of their lives and their destiny. Armed with such a revolutionary fighting program, our Party welcomed the new millennium with the clarion call, "*Nayi sadi ki hai yeh maang! Hindostan ka Navnirman!*"¹⁸

The Second Congress resolutions set the task of organising to enable the working class to emerge at the head of the struggle against the bourgeois offensive. It set the task of enabling workers, peasants, women, youth, oppressed nationalities and others to take up the program for the *Navnirman* of India as their own. It set the task of enabling them to further enrich the program by drawing from their collective experience. It set the task of building the revolutionary united front around one fighting program of the toilers and tillers. It set the task of waging a stern ideological struggle against all forms of illusion mongering about a so-called middle path between socialism and capitalism. It set the task of working for the restoration of communist unity through uncompromising struggle against those who conciliate with social-democracy. It set the task of building and strengthening the Party—setting up and strengthening basic organisations among the workers, peasants, women and youth—as the essential condition for success in all the other tasks.

The past six years of the Party's experience in implementing these tasks has confirmed the correctness of the program we have adopted in this period. Summing up our experience also points to the course along which this program must be further enriched. The advance in the class struggle has given rise to new demands, while the establishment of workers' and peasants' rule and a voluntary Indian

Union remains the political aim. Communists have to make sure that this working class program is defended and taken forward, in the face of all the diversions that the bourgeoisie is throwing at the people, such as the so-called Common Minimum Programme of the Congress Party led UPA Government.

The Party must step up the organising work to enable the working class to spearhead the building of one political united front around one program of the toilers and tillers. The most immediate basis for political unity is the necessity to end the anti-worker, anti-people, anti-national program of privatisation and liberalisation; and for the *Navnirman* of India to lift society out of the crisis. Workers and peasants have to wage a united struggle for political power so as to overthrow capitalism, which is the condition for the completion of the democratic, anti-colonial, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. The Party must continue to elaborate the vision of socialism and organise the advanced detachment of the working class, peasantry and other friendly classes to work in unison for the victory of the proletarian revolutionary program, inspiring and mobilising the broad masses around it.

The Party has to sharpen the ideological and polemical struggle against the bourgeoisie and its agents who seek to suppress and divert the mass movement against the anti-social offensive, either through repression or through co-option into the parliamentary process. The Party must sharpen the polemic on the question as to which class actually stands to gain from the Common Minimum Programme of the UPA Government.

Within the communist movement, the Party must agitate for the principle that those who call themselves Marxists cannot and must not preach to the working class that their interests can be accommodated within the rule and program of the bourgeoisie, through the addition of a 'human face'. To do so means to ask the

working class to give up all thoughts of establishing its own united front and political power in alliance with the peasantry and implement its own program to open the door to socialism. It means to condemn the working class to remain permanently at the mercy of the institutions of bourgeois political power. The Party must mobilise the working class and people to confront and defeat such class conciliation within the movement.

The Party must agitate for the principle of national sovereignty and oppose any kind of apology for its violation. For a party that swears by socialism and communism to justify army rule and state terrorism against nations, nationalities and tribal peoples within India, in the name of 'defending national unity and territorial integrity', amounts to completely departing from communist principles. It is nothing but social-imperialism, which means to preach socialism in words and practise imperialism in deeds. The Party must take steps to make this a matter of lively debate and agitation within the communist movement in a way that forces everyone to render account for his or her deeds.

The Party must lead the working class to contest the imperialist vision of the bourgeoisie by putting forth its own vision of a modern India on the high road of civilisation. In political terms, the vision of the working class is that the workers and peasants of every nationality, every people in every region of the country, become their own decision makers; and come together on a voluntary basis to create mutually beneficial arrangements at the all-India level. They will create these arrangements to deal with their common enemies and common problems. A voluntary union means that each people belonging to the union will have control over their own destiny, and together, the peoples will have the union as a bulwark against imperialist predators. Such a state power will be a bulwark against war in the region, in Asia and on the world scale.

The vision of the working class is to create a *Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics of India*. This will be a modern proletarian democratic state, based on a new fundamental law and Constitution. It will treat every member of society as a human being, and provide constitutional guarantee with enabling mechanisms for human rights, including the right to conscience and right to a livelihood; and the rights of women, as human beings and as women. It will be a state that guarantees universal democratic rights, including the right to elect and be elected, to propose legislation and to recall elected representatives. It will be a state that provides constitutional guarantee for the national rights of each and every people within India, including the right to secede from this union if the arrangement does not suit their needs for progress.

Such a *Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics of India* will be an instrument for successfully waging and winning the war against poverty, by eliminating feudal oppression and imperialist plunder, and for progressively narrowing and ultimately eliminating the role of private capitalist enterprise in the sphere of social production. It will be an instrument for the masses of peoples of India to set their own policy and orientation for society, based on the principle of self-reliance. It will deprive the international financial institutions and imperialist mechanisms such as the IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organisation from having any say or influence in policy making in the country. It will take all such measures that will ensure the fulfillment of the basic needs of the toiling masses. Any private party that stands in the way of this mission would be expropriated without compensation.

With this exciting perspective, we must build and multiply party basic organisations among the ranks of the workers, peasants, working intellectuals, women and youth. Every basic organisation must work for the intensification of the revolutionary class struggle, through the building and strengthening of mass organisations and

*sangharsh samitis*¹⁹ among the people. The challenge is to ensure that the line of revolutionary class struggle expands its influence through the Party press and the work taken up around it.

Building communist cells among the workers, and among other fighting sections, with the Party press providing the focus for political organising work, is the essential condition for enabling the working class to emerge at the head of the ongoing struggle of the vast majority of people. It is the necessary condition for defeating and overcoming the influence of class conciliation within the working class movement. It is the condition for shattering the illusion that an alternative to the bourgeois program can be found within bourgeois democracy, in alliance with one section of the big bourgeoisie; and the illusion that poverty can be tackled without upsetting capitalism and the interests of the big business houses. Communist cells organising the masses of people to build their own local organs of struggle, as potential organs of power, is the condition for ushering in the rule of workers and peasants and a voluntary Indian Union.

The necessity for establishing such a Union has become especially urgent at this time, when the global imperialist system is hurtling headlong towards fascist rule and destructive wars for the re-division of the world. In its drive to conquer Asia, US imperialism is trying to impose Anglo-American style 'democratic republics' in Asian countries, destroying their states and decimating nations through brute force in the name of fighting terrorism. Such 'nation building' projects as in Afghanistan and Iraq are based on the conception of the unbridled rights of capital to flow and dominate everywhere, negating the very existence of nations with sovereign rights.

South Asia is a region with a vast youthful population. It is strategically located and has vast natural resources. It is potentially an important source of raw materials, human resources and a huge

market. It is also a region where numerous nations, nationalities and peoples exist, with their unfulfilled aspirations. These are peoples who have been deprived of sovereignty as a result of the legacy of colonialism and capitalist development within post-colonial arrangements, which are based on communal division and partition of the peoples. Apart from the unresolved problems posed by the partition of Punjab, Bengal and Kashmir, forced annexation of nations and state repression of peoples in Manipur and elsewhere, there are also numerous inter-state conflicts. There are conflicts between tribal peoples and the state over their traditional land and water resources.

US interference in the region has greatly intensified, along with the pursuit of the Indian big bourgeoisie for big power status. These are factors that aggravate the danger of South Asia getting embroiled in dangerous and destructive wars, to redraw boundaries in favour of predatory powers.

The Indian big bourgeoisie is pursuing its own imperialist aims, colluding and contending with other imperial powers to expand its own sphere of influence, as in Nepal and Afghanistan. Mobilising the working class and peoples against the dangerous imperialist course being pursued by the Indian ruling class has become an urgent necessity.

The Party must step up its work to build the fraternal unity of the peoples of South Asia on an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and modern foundation. The diabolical plans of the imperialists to carve up and conquer South Asia can and must be foiled. India and the South Asian region must not be allowed to become the battleground of rival imperialist interests and the source of instability and war in Asia. The peoples of India and other countries of South Asia have a crucial role to play in staying the hands of the imperialist warmongers, including and especially the US imperialists.

The Party must sharpen the critique and exposure of the compromising positions taken by India and other governments in the region, and popularise the demand that every state in South Asia must halt its militarisation program and cut back on arms spending. We must sharpen the critique of those within the communist movement who conciliate with Indian chauvinism and the colonial and expansionist policy of the Indian big bourgeoisie.

The advance in the struggles of various oppressed peoples of India has increasingly exposed the Indian Union as a prison house of all the nations, nationalities and tribal peoples in our country—as the biggest roadblock to the affirmation of their sovereign right to control their own destiny. The demand for sovereignty is now being raised not only in Manipur and other border regions of the Indian Union, but also from all across the length and breadth of the country. This demand is being raised by those who are being left to perish at the hands of the 'free market' forces and at the hands of big government projects. It is being raised by state governments whose mineral resources are being plundered without giving anything back in return. The Government of India has no answer but repression. If the Party does not lead the working class to champion the defence of sovereignty of the peoples and actively rally all the fighting forces for a voluntary Indian Union, there is a serious danger of the imperialists and reactionary bourgeoisie manipulating the situation in their favour and to the detriment of the peoples.

The demands for changes in the existing political process and proposals for people's participation in governance are being raised more widely and frequently among the people today than ever before. The ideologues of the bourgeoisie are trying to confine these demands within what is acceptable to them as 'good governance'. The class conciliators in the communist movement are acting as the staunchest defenders of the status quo—including the political process of multi-party representative democracy. In

these complicated conditions, the Party has to plan the required theoretical work and practical measures to launch an intensified campaign for the redefinition and renewal of democracy and its political process.

The Party must take steps to further develop the campaign for providing constitutional guarantee for the rights of the peoples; and for creating enabling mechanisms to ensure compliance and enforcement. It must organise the masses to agitate for the immediate annulment of the law on 'Fiscal Responsibility', which guarantees the claims of the money lending institutions while not recognising the responsibility of the state to fulfill the claims of the toilers and tillers. The Party must expose all those in the communist movement who conciliate with the line of the Indian State that it is not possible to make right to a livelihood a justiciable right for all Indians.

The demands of the toiling masses of people for employment and secure livelihood are clashing with the apology offered by the parties in power that after fulfilling the claims of the money lending institutions and armed forces, there is no money left to guarantee livelihood for all. The conditions are ripe to launch a campaign among economists and among political circles including in the Parliament, for calling an immediate halt—until further notice—to interest payments by the Government of India; and redeployment of the monies saved towards ensuring security of livelihood to the toilers and tillers. Over Rs. 130,000 crore would be immediately available if interest payments are suspended for just one year, which is 26 times the amount that Finance Minister Chidambaram allocated for the "employment guarantee scheme" of the UPA regime in 2004-05.

In order to successfully launch such campaigns, it is essential to place all fronts of building non-party organisations and institutions

on a planned, organised and professional footing, defeating all remnants of anarchy and amateurism in our ranks. It is necessary to organise well planned actions that involve the participation of the workers, peasants, women, youth and other oppressed sections in defining and developing the alternative to the bourgeois reform program. We must uncompromisingly fight against liberalism and sectarianism, which come in the way of building political unity. There is need to emulate the positive experiences such as the Joint Declaration of Struggle issued by mass organisations on 6th July 2004.

The Party must step up the work to involve all progressive forces in building the revolutionary united front for the empowerment of the masses. It must ensure that the various mass organisations play their role and take initiatives in this direction. This involves both high profile political expressions and the building of local committees and mass membership. Having gained significant experience in this work over the past six years, we must now set ourselves the target of ensuring that this united front emerges on the political arena as a serious contender for political power over the next few years. This requires local committees to function on a regular basis, meeting not only prior to elections but on a continuous and regular basis, to discuss issues of concern to the people. Such committees can enable the people to develop their charter of demands and to prepare for selecting candidates from among themselves for elections at all levels. They are the building blocks of the new system and process of workers' and peasants' democracy.

For diverse classes and strata to unite and fight to establish their own political power, it is essential that each constituent of this united front wages a strong and uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois offensive. It is essential that every oppressed class and stratum of society is enabled to articulate its own demands, including its economic claims and political rights. The Party must

therefore pay attention to the work of building and strengthening the mass organisations of the workers, peasants, women, youth and the oppressed nationalities and tribal peoples. Enabling the building and strengthening of mass organisations in each of these sections must go hand in hand with the work to build the broad united front against the bourgeoisie.

The struggle of the workers against the privatisation and liberalisation program, and against the proposed reform of labour laws, has advanced and scored important gains over the past six years. The Party has gained rich experience in organising the workers of varied sectors of the economy. We must learn from our positive as well as negative experiences, so as to build and strengthen united working class forums, cutting across party barriers, in various cities and regions. One of the lessons from our past experience is that such work cannot be sustained without building and multiplying basic organisations in the midst of the working class. This is the primary task to be taken up for solution. It is the key to solve the problem of establishing a revolutionary centre of the working class, in each city and on an all-India scale. The work to build an independent centre of working class struggle must go hand in hand with active political participation in existing forums, such as the National Platform of Mass Organisations.

We must agitate among the workers that no compromise must be permitted with the privatisation program, such as in the name of 'selective disinvestment'. No dilution must be allowed in the demand to halt this program *in toto*, and to reverse the anti-worker and anti-social measures that have been taken, such as the sale of Modern Foods and BALCO to private profiteers. We must agitate against any dilution in the defence and affirmation of the inviolable rights of labour, including security of employment and the right to strike, as universal rights. This must cover all who sell their labour power, including contract workers, IT workers, those in so-called

‘unorganised’ sectors and in special export zones. We must agitate against the violation of national sovereignty in the name of complying with the conditions of the WTO.

The struggle of the peasantry has made significant advances against the bourgeois reform program aimed at the globalisation of agricultural trade and agro-business. The peasantry has also been encouraged by the worldwide trend of farmers and peasants rising against the aggressive drive of imperialism and the monopolies to intensify the plunder of their land and robbery through unequal trade. The Party should enable the peasantry to demand and fight for immediate measures required to ensure security of livelihood. While doing so the Party must imbue it with the consciousness that only by uniting with the working class and waging a common struggle for a new political power can it ensure that its interests are actually secured.

The bourgeoisie and its political representatives claim that the central and state governments cannot afford to guarantee input supply at stable prices and output procurement at remunerative prices for all the peasants. The Party must boldly assert that it is both essential and possible to guarantee livelihood to those who till the land. It is possible provided the central and state governments take over and conduct wholesale trade in such a way as to fulfill the needs of the urban and rural masses, while eliminating the role of the private corporate interests in this sphere of the economy. It is possible provided banking and insurance are reoriented to serve the needs of the peasantry, by providing services at cost price, on a no-profit and no-loss basis.

The Party must explain to the masses of peasants how capitalist growth and the bourgeois reform program mean increasing exploitation of the countryside by the cities. They mean heightened plunder of the land and natural resources by the biggest monopoly

corporations, Indian and multinational. In the conditions of the financial oligarchy sucking the life blood of the entire economy through guaranteed interest on its loans and financial investments, and through the concentration of agricultural land in its hands, the Party must illuminate the course the peasants and small producers must take in their struggle against monopoly capital and its growing dictate. The Party must expose those who argue that subsidies to agriculture must be cut allegedly because only rich peasants benefit from them. This is a position that serves the interest of finance capital and not of any poor peasant.

The first step in this battle is the elimination of the possibility of private corporate interests dominating and directing the trade between the towns and villages. This is absolutely essential in order to meet the needs of the toilers and tillers and ensure security of livelihood for all. Social control over external and internal wholesale trade will make it possible to nourish and universalise a modern Public Distribution System that will ensure that nobody is without clothing and shelter or has to go hungry. In order to have such a mutually beneficial trade, it is essential to implement the principle that any private party that acts against this program will be expropriated without compensation, that is their wealth will be declared public property.

The political unity of the working class, peasantry and all the oppressed cannot be built effectively without the active participation of women in politics. Our Party has gained rich experience in the past on the front of organising women as women, to fight uncompromisingly for their rights as human beings and their rights as women. The time has come to take fresh initiatives to reorganise and activate this front of work, of organising women against the anti-social offensive and the threat of war, and for the *Navnirman* of India.

We must build on the successes that have been achieved in recent years in enabling the youth to organise themselves on a political basis. We must persist in mobilising youth for communism, for the new society for which they naturally aspire. We must seek to emulate our positive experiences to ensure that branches of the youth organisation are active in at least two or three regions, to begin with, and in many more regions subsequently.

Culture has an important role to play in preparing the subjective conditions for revolution. We have rich experience in developing visual arts and music in the service of revolutionising the consciousness of the people. We have youthful comrades who are active in developing street theatre and other cultural forms of politicising the masses. Recently, the Party has gained fresh experience on the front of cinema. It is essential to organise to build on these successes in the coming period.

The all-sided work carried out by the Party places us in a position from which further initiatives can be taken towards the restoration of communist unity. The Party must continue to engage all communists in united actions, in taking common political positions and in analysing the situation so as to act on the basis of this analysis.

As part of its proletarian internationalist duty, the Party must strive to develop stronger and closer relations with other Marxist-Leninist parties and progressive organisations all over the world.

The key to success in implementing this Plan of Action is the building and strengthening of the Party, with every Party organisation releasing its initiative and playing its role to maximum capacity for the realisation of this plan.

The Constitution of the Party, which will be adopted by this Congress, is a weapon for building the Party in the coming period and further expanding its ranks. It is a weapon for tempering its steel-like unity and further enhancing its revolutionary initiative—to turn its words into deeds and its successes into victory in the coming period.

Come Comrades, let us march forward with our heads held high into this, the 25th year in the life of the Communist Ghadar Party of India! Let every Party organisation set bold targets to be met by the end of this year, when we will be celebrating 25 years of the Communist Ghadar Party of India and 80 years of the Communist Party on Indian soil. Let the path for the progress of society be opened, and let revolution advance! Victory belongs to us, to all those who struggle and fight for the realisation of their noble aims!

Inquilab Zindabad!

Endnotes

¹⁸ *Nayi sadi ki hai yeh maang! Hindostan ka Navnirman!*: Reconstitution of India is the demand of the new century!

¹⁹ *sangharsh samitis*: committee for waging the struggle

About the Communist Ghadar Party of India

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The Communist Ghadar Party of India is a party of the Indian working class, with the mission of leading the class in its struggle to emancipate itself and the whole of Indian society from all forms of exploitation and oppression of persons by persons. The Communist Ghadar Party of India works for the establishment of communism in India, which is the condition for the emancipation of the working class and all of society. The Communist Ghadar Party of India firmly believes that the overthrow of the capitalist system through the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the necessary condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is working to establish the rule of the workers and peasants and a voluntary Indian Union to open the path for progress for Indian society. The democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants must be established as the initial form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India has taken up the definite practical tasks of the time around which it works to unite the working class and broad masses of people. These are: an immediate end to the bourgeoisie's anti-worker, anti-people and anti-national program of privatisation and liberalisation; *Navnirman* or the

thoroughgoing renewal of India so as to lift society out of the crisis; the overthrow of capitalism as the condition for the completion of the democratic, anti-colonial, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle; and the building of socialism through revolution.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is the inheritor of the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the Indian people, including the heroes of 1857, the Ghadari babas, martyrs of the anti-colonial struggle and the heroes of Telengana, Tebhaga and Naxalbari.

It is a contingent of the international communist movement. While working for the victory of revolution in India, the Communist Ghadar Party of India supports the struggle of the working class of all countries against their bourgeoisie and the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism for freedom and sovereignty. It seeks to build and strengthen fraternal relations with communist parties of other countries for achieving the vision of communism on the world scale.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is an instrument for the empowerment of the working class and all the oppressed. It does not substitute itself for the working class. It does not seek power for itself. The Party uses the electoral arena to popularise the program of the working class and for raising the level of political consciousness of the masses. It is not an electoral machine. The Communist Ghadar Party of India is committed to replacing the existing system of European representative democracy with direct democracy where the broad masses of people will rule themselves, with political parties playing an enabling role by making the people conscious and by providing them with a vision.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India upholds the principle that all human beings throughout the world have rights by dint of being human which cannot be given or taken away; these include the right

to conscience and the right to life and livelihood. The Party upholds the inviolable rights of collectives in society, which they have by virtue of their conditions of existence, including the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination, as well as the rights of women, of workers, of tillers of the land. It believes that the capitalist ‘right’ to private ownership of the means of social production, so as to live off the labour of others, has become a roadblock to social progress and must therefore be suppressed and negated in the interests of the toiling majority, and in the general interests of society.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is guided in all its work by Marxism-Leninism. The Party is committed to defending and developing contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought.

Contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought is the summation, taken in general form, of the experience of the application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and to the struggle against modern revisionism and capitalist restoration. It is also the summation of the application of Marxism-Leninism to the struggle of the people against fascism, militarism and imperialism, as well as the struggle to end social backwardness. Contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought is Marxism-Leninism as enriched and developed by the practice of revolution. It is an affirmation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and their higher development. Contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought is not the final form of Marxism-Leninism under the present conditions but its continuation and enrichment.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is committed to the development of Indian revolutionary theory—a theory that emerges out of the conditions of India and suitable for the development of communism in these conditions. It is committed to modernising the Indian Philosophy of *Darshan*, whose fundamental premise is

that *Maya*—the entire universe of matter and thought, exists in a state of *Awagaman*—of coming into being and passing away; and that all things and phenomenon reveal themselves in their state of motion and development.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India believes that such a materialist rendering of the Indian outlook is an excellent starting point for the development of Indian revolutionary theory. Modern Indian revolutionary theory will necessarily be consistent with the most advanced philosophy and theory of our time, Marxism-Leninism and contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, and will in turn contribute to its enrichment.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is opposed to revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and leads a consistent struggle against all forms of conciliation with social-democracy and the idea of a 'middle road' between capitalism and socialism. The Communist Ghadar Party of India opposes all illusion mongering about the State of the Indian Union, which is the bulwark of the colonial legacy, an instrument of capitalist and feudal exploitation and imperialist plunder. The Communist Ghadar Party of India opposes those who justify state terrorism in the name of defending 'national unity and territorial integrity'.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is fighting for the realisation of "One Working Class, One Program, One Communist Party". It believes that it is essential that the working class is united as one political force around the aim of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism, with one revolutionary communist party at its head. It works to unite all communists, irrespective of party affiliations, in the course of providing leadership to the class struggle and preparing the subjective conditions for ending all exploitation of persons by persons, for the victory of revolution and communism on Indian soil. It is

opposed to splitting the Indian communist movement in the name of ideological struggle divorced from concerns of the class.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India is constituted by conscious revolutionaries who have volunteered to fight for the cause of socialism and communism. It recruits its members from the most politically conscious and active workers, peasants, women, youth and working intellectuals of India, including those resident abroad.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India calls on all communists and progressive forces, all those who desire deep-going transformations to join the ranks of the Party. Revolution is our right and duty. Come, let us unitedly take up the task of ending the crisis and opening the door to progress of Indian society.

The Genesis of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

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The Communist Ghadar Party of India was founded at a time when the communist movement in India was in a fragmented state. Following the major split within the Communist Party of India in 1964, engineered by those who established the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the movement became the victim of factional strife. Different factions played their disruptive role by creating illusions about the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian state, about parliamentary democracy and the Nehruvian ‘socialistic pattern of society’.

The Naxalbari uprising in April 1967 jolted the politics of class conciliation that dominated the movement and breathed fresh life into it. The clarion call of Naxalbari brought home the truth that Indian society cannot make any real and lasting progress unless it shakes off its entire colonial baggage through a social revolution. It shook the illusion promoted by both the CPI and CPI(M) at that time that a so-called peaceful and parliamentary path to socialism, without revolution, was possible..

Revolutionary Indian Communists, within India as well as abroad, responded to the call of Naxalbari. They united under the leadership of the new revolutionary party that emerged out of the Naxalbari trend—the Communist Party of India (Marxist-

Leninist), with Comrade Charu Mazumdar at the head. Indian communist revolutionaries abroad formed the Hindustani Ghadar Party (Organisation of Indian Marxist-Leninists Abroad) to contribute to the cause of the Indian revolution and the work of the CPI(M-L).

The CPI(M-L) came under the influence of theories such as "encircling the cities from the countryside" and waging "two line struggle" within the party, which were not consistent with the Marxist-Leninist science and the cause of the working class. The workers in the cities were left in the hands of class conciliators and bourgeois reformists. In the face of severe repression unleashed by the Indian State, the CPI(M-L) broke up into several factions, fighting openly against one another in the name of waging two-line struggle.

In such conditions, revolutionary Indian communists reassembled to take stock of the situation. In the course of several conferences and extraordinary meetings, held within India and abroad, these communists came to the conclusion that the most urgent task facing the Indian revolution was the reconstitution of the vanguard party, based on Marxism-Leninism. *People's Voice* began to be published in 1978, as a monthly organ of all those who wish to restore the unity of Indian communists in one revolutionary party. Through the pages of this monthly organ, a consistent struggle was waged in defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, in opposition to revisionism and opportunism of all hues. The HGP(OIMLA) played an important role in all this work.

An extraordinary conference of communists was convened in Jalandhar in August 1980, at which 95 delegates attended, from all over India and from abroad. This conference discussed the progress made in contacting all the communists, and agitating for the need to unite in a single vanguard party. This conference resolved that it was essential

to establish a party that would lift the communist movement out of the morass of parliamentarism and factional strife—a party capable of uniting and leading the working class on the road of the revolution. The Founding Congress of the Party was convened in New Delhi on 25th December 1980 and it was decided to call the new party - Communist Ghadar Party of India.

In the first ten years following the Founding Congress, the Party developed its roots among the ranks of the working class and its allies, starting with some of the major industrial centres of the country. Party organisations were established and built in several regions, with basic units reporting to the respective regional committees, all united like steel around the Party line and around the Central Committee, vigilant against factionalism of any kind.

The Party organisations developed practical methods of providing leadership to the class struggle. We learnt how to build and lead mass organisations among the workers, peasants, women and youth. The 1980s witnessed the emergence of the Communist Ghadar Party of India fighter against state terrorism including state-organised communal violence.

The First Congress of the Party was held in Mumbai on 25-26 December 1990, when abrupt changes were unfolding on the world scale; it was the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state. With great foresight, the First Congress took measures to address the implications for Indian revolution in the new period that had begun. The Congress set the task of elaborating the General Line for this new period. It affirmed the important principle that *we are our own models*. This meant a clean break with the tendency of looking towards some foreign experience and some foreign party as the model. This meant adhering firmly to the fundamental principles and conclusion of Marxism-Leninism, and paying attention to the task of developing Indian revolutionary theory.

In the 1990's, following the First Congress, the Communist Ghadar Party of India organised several all-India consultative conferences as well as regional conferences to involve the entire membership of the Party in the discussion of the general line and program to be adopted in this new period. Several documents were released for discussion among Indian communists in this period, including *What Kind of Party* (December 1993), *Whither India* (December 1995) and *Breaking the Barriers to Unity* (January 1998).

The Second Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, held in New Delhi in October 1998, established the General Line of march for the period. It confirmed the conclusion that this is a new period within the same epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The Congress established the definite practical tasks of the time, around which the working class and all the oppressed must be united on a political basis.

The program for the reorientation of the economy, political empowerment of the people and the democratic renewal of India that was adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India aims to make workers, peasants, women and youth the *malik* (masters) of India. This is to be accomplished by breaking with the entire colonial legacy and by innovating a modern state and economic system that would ensure prosperity and security for all.

Having established the General Line and having adopted the Party Program at the Second Congress, the entire Party plunged into the work to implement the agreed upon decisions. As a result of the close attention paid to strengthening the organisation, the Party has come to the Third Congress strongly united around its line and the program.

Constitution of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

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Constitution of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

(I) Party Members, their Duties and Rights

1.1. Any resident of India or person of Indian origin, who does not exploit the labour of others, who is at least 18 years of age, and who accepts the Program and the Constitution of the Party and who works actively to put them into practice, who takes part and works in one of the party organisations, who carries out all the decisions of the Party and who regularly pays membership dues can be a member of the Communist Ghadar Party of India.

1.2. The duties of the Party members are:

- a) to work in an organisation of the Party and come under its discipline
- b) to resolutely defend the unity of the Party, to vigorously fight all factionalist activity, to wage a relentless struggle against all alien, bourgeois ideologies and theories, to wage a relentless struggle against liberalism, anarchism, cronyism and bureaucratism, to defend the Party, its general line and integrity at all costs and to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, and to strictly abide by and implement the policy and decisions of the Party.

It is not enough for the Party member merely to accept the decisions of the Party, he must also be an active fighter for carrying them out; a passive and formal attitude of communists towards party decisions weakens the fighting capacity of the Party.

The Party member should always take a revolutionary stand in regard to party decisions.

There cannot be two disciplines in the Party, one for the leaders and one for the rank-and-file; the Party has only one discipline, which is equally obligatory on all the Party members, regardless of the merits and the position any individual may have;

- c) to work untiringly to master the Marxist-Leninist theory, linking it closely with life, with the practice of revolution, to fight relentlessly to temper one's own revolutionary consciousness; to harmonise one's individual interests with the interests of the working class and the general interests of society; in short, to think, work and live like a revolutionary and to put communist politics in command of all of one's activity;
- d) to continuously strengthen one's ties with the people, to live up to one's principles of justice, honesty and modesty; to win the respect and confidence of the masses of the working people; to be a vanguard fighter everywhere and at all times; to not separate words from deeds; to fight conceit, arrogance, servility, career-seeking, indifference, liberalism and authoritarianism; to learn from the people and be their leader and educator, to explain the policy and decisions of the Party to the working people; to work actively in the mass organisations; to be an agitator, propagandist, an ardent defender of the line of the Party; in short, to always uphold communist morality;
- e) to set an example of conscientious work, to be a tireless worker, to work ceaselessly to raise one's educational and cultural level, to enhance one's professional abilities, to master technology,

- to aim for high quality in all work, to fight any alien attitude towards work, to energetically support the progressive new and fight for its dissemination, all in the service of the Party;
- f) to continuously raise the level, activation and participation of all communists in the life and work of the Party; to develop a comradely spirit throughout the Party and never consider as unnecessary expenditure of time or effort the work of fostering, training and educating new communists; also to work to gain new recruits for the Party;
 - g) to be a ruthless and courageous fighter against the class enemy, to wage the class struggle unhesitatingly and without let-up, to constantly sharpen one's revolutionary vigilance in defence of the Party, Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism; to rise courageously against any distortion and wavering in the implementation of the line of the Party, against any influence of bourgeois ideologies;
 - h) to consider the preservation of Party secrets and organisational details a sacred duty, to be constantly vigilant against the class enemy and its attacks on the Party, to unwaveringly abide by the rules of secrecy on all fronts and under all conditions;
 - i) to be an open book in front of the Party; to conceal nothing from the Party;
 - j) to develop unrestricted criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below-up, to be severe and merciless towards one's own shortcomings and errors, which one should not conceal from the Party, as well as towards the shortcomings and errors of others, to expose them, and through example and just struggle help to correct them, to be irreconcilable with those who suppress criticism or hamper its development and replace it with bombastic words and praises; to struggle against being satisfied with little, against being complacent or becoming dizzy with success;
 - k) to intervene energetically to correct shortcomings and weaknesses observed in work and unjust attitudes, and, if

necessary, to report them to the leading organs of the Party right up to the Central Committee, without hesitation and regardless of what person may be involved; the Party member should never conceal an unsatisfactory state of affairs, and should allow no unjust actions, which harm the interests of the Party and revolution;

If a member fails to carry out the above duties properly, he or she is subject to criticism and disciplinary measures of an educative character. In cases when the member violates them seriously, breaches the unity of the Party, transgresses the decisions of the Party, damages Party property or deceives the Party, he or she is punished severely, up to expulsion from the Party.

1.3. The Party member has the right:

- a) to take part freely and actively in the discussion of issues regarding party policy and plan, at Party meetings and in the Party press;
- b) to criticise, at Party meetings, the activity and conduct of any Party member, regardless of the post the member holds;
- c) to elect and to be elected to the leading organs of the Party;
- d) to take part personally on all occasions at which a decision is taken concerning one's own activity or conduct;
- e) to address oneself to the leading organs of the Party, up to the Central Committee over any personal or Party problems and to ask any questions, and make any requests, statements and proposals to them.

(II) Party Membership

Admission to Party is done in an individual manner only. New members are admitted only from the ranks of candidates for Party membership, who have completed the required probation period.

The new members admitted to the Party must be conscientious, active, of strong character, and excellent conduct and morality, ready for any sacrifice, clear politically and ideologically, consistent revolutionaries, linked with the masses and of proven loyalty to the cause of communism.

The rules for admission to the Party are as follows;

1. Anyone who satisfies the conditions of clause 1.1 is eligible to be a member of the Party;
2. All those who wish to become members of the Party should have first served a probationary period for one year as a candidate member of the Party. This period is crucial in order for the candidate for membership to get to know well the programme, policy and strategy and tactics of the Party, and to actively participate in the life and work of the Party; for the basic organisation to get to know the comrade's qualities, adherence to the general line of the Party and, above all, practical implementation of the line, and to learn whether the candidate member has the full qualities necessary for Party membership;
3. Candidate members participate fully in the life and work of the basic organisation; such a member has the same duties and rights as full members of the Party, except the right to vote or elect or be elected to any leading bodies or posts of responsibility in the Party. In the basic organisation, a candidate member has the right to a consultative vote;
4. The party basic organisation has the duty to help the candidate member to prepare for admission to the Party. After the candidate has completed the probation period, the Party basic organisation must immediately take up the question of the candidate for Party membership up at its meeting to decide whether the candidate is worthy of being admitted as a member of the Party;

5. The length of Party membership of the person who is admitted as a Party member from the ranks of candidate members starts from the day when the meeting of the party basic organisation admits him as a party member;
6. When the Party organisation has proof that the candidate is either not yet prepared for Party membership or not worthy of being admitted to Party membership, it takes the decision either to extend the probation period of candidate membership or to expel the candidate from the ranks of the candidates for membership of the Party;
7. Those who have been members of other parties can be admitted to the Party only with the recommendation of three Party members, two of whom must have been Party members for not less than five years, while the other must have been a Party member for at least 15 years; the admission is done only through the Party basic organisation and comes into force only after being approved by the Central Committee of the Party;
8. The Congress, and, when the Congress is not in session, the Central Committee, has final and overall authority and responsibility on all questions concerning Party membership.

(III) Party Discipline

1. Party discipline is imperative and indispensable; it is organised on the basis of one uniform discipline from top to bottom and is obligatory and equal for all Party members and candidate members. There cannot be two disciplines in the Party, one for the leaders and one for the rank-and-file; the Party has only one discipline, which is equally obligatory on all the Party members, regardless of the merits and the position any individual may have.
2. Any member who acts against the unity of the Party, who acts contrary to the Constitution and Program of the Party, who fails to implement the decisions of the Party and its various

bodies, who violates the principles of democratic centralism, who does not attend meetings of the basic organisation and/or does not pay membership dues for 6 months, who neglects duties, who exploits authority, or who harms the Party and the cause of the working class and people, is liable to disciplinary measures.

3. The disciplinary measures are decided by a meeting of the basic organisation in which the person is a member or candidate member, and can consist of education, a warning, a serious warning, the removal from posts of responsibility in the basic organisation, suspension, reduction of status to that of the candidate members, or expulsion from the Party.
4. Expulsion from the Party, which is the highest and most severe form of Party discipline, as well as reduction in status to that of candidate member or removal from posts or suspension, can only be implemented by the basic organisation after approval from the Regional Committee, the Central Committee having been informed.
5. The basic organisation cannot expel members of the Party or reduce their status if they are members of the Central Committee of the Party or of the Regional Committee. In such cases, the basic organisation reports its complaints and the results of its investigations, and gives its proposals with reasons for disciplinary action against such a member to the higher bodies.
6. The question of expulsion of a member of the Regional Committee of the Party from the Regional Committee, as well as of reduction in status or expulsion from the Party, of a member of the Regional Committee, is decided by the Regional Committee, implementing its decisions only after approval by the Central Committee.
7. The question of expulsion of a member of the Central Committee of the Party from the Central Committee, as well as of reduction in status or expulsion from the Party, of a member of the Central Committee, is decided by the Congress,

and, when the Congress is not in session, the plenum of the Central Committee, with a majority of two-thirds of votes of the members of the Central Committee.

8. All decisions concerning disciplinary action, especially involving expulsion, reduction in status or removal from posts, must be taken only after a thorough examination of the charges brought against the member, after these have been judged in a comradely spirit and in line with the principles and general line of the Party, with justice and maturity and with due consideration as to the precise disciplinary measures to be taken in relation to the seriousness of the faults and mistakes made.
9. During the investigation, the member can be suspended from posts and/or responsibilities pending the outcome of the investigation. Such suspension, except under exceptional circumstances, can only be implemented after gaining the approval of the higher body.
10. A Party member under investigation for violation of Party discipline has the right to defend himself or herself and appeal against the charges. The decisions reached at the end of the investigation, and the reasons for taking them, must, except in specific cases such as questions of party organisational security, be made known to the member.
11. Any Party member has the right to appeal against a Party disciplinary action, starting from their basic organisation, up to and including the Central Committee. Any appeal against expulsion from the Party or reduction in status is finally discussed in the Central Committee, which takes the final decision.
12. Any member who is expelled from the Party and whose appeal has been rejected loses all status in the Party. An expelled member can only gain admission to the Party again after a long probationary period and after going through all of the procedures; the final decision to readmit the person can only be made after consideration and approval by the Central Committee.
13. Proven renegades, enemy agents and hardened revisionist and

- opportunistic elements will not be readmitted into the Party.
14. A member who has been reduced to the status of a candidate member has only the same rights as other candidate members of the Party. Readmission to full membership of the Party is made only after the completion of the probationary period set by the basic organisation and approved by the Regional Committee and it has been shown in practice that the errors have been earnestly corrected.
 15. The return to the Party of a member, unjustly expelled from it, is decided by all the organs of the Party which have approved the expulsion.
 16. All party organisations, members and candidate members have the right and duty to make their opinions known to higher bodies in cases where they consider Party investigation and/or disciplinary action should be taken against a Party member at any level.
 17. In cases where a Party basic organisation seriously violates Party decisions, or violates the unity of the Party or displays other grave faults, even after explanation by the higher body to the basic organisation about its grave errors, the basic organisation concerned can be dissolved on the decision of the Central Committee (and only the Central Committee) and a general re-enrolment of members carried out.
 18. Disciplinary measures against candidate members of the Party, when they fail to carry out their duties and abide by the rules set by the Party, follow the same procedures as for members of the Party.
 19. If the basic organisation considers that a candidate member, upon completing his/her probationary period, is unworthy of Party membership, then, with the approval of the Regional Committee, it takes the decision to expel the person from the ranks of candidate members.
 20. All resignations from membership or candidate membership of the Party must be investigated by the basic organisation and

a decision taken on the resignation; a report must be submitted to the Regional Committee and approval sought for the decision.

(IV) Structure and Internal Democracy of Party

1. The Party is a system of organisations, linked to each other in a hierarchical arrangement of higher and lower bodies. It is organised on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. The fundamental principles of democratic centralism are:
 - a) only collectives have the power to make decisions about party work, assign responsibilities to individuals and check up on their fulfillment;
 - b) collective decisions are arrived at after full and frank discussion, either unanimously or by a majority vote;
 - c) once taken, all individual members are obliged to implement the decision of the collective;
 - d) all higher bodies are elected from below upwards, by general meetings of party members, at a conference or congress,
 - e) all elected bodies are duty bound to periodically render account to the forum that elected it;
 - f) the decision of a higher body is binding on all the lower bodies that report to it; and
 - g) all higher bodies must study continuously the opinions, proposals and experience of the lower bodies and all Party members; they must never suppress criticism and must provide solutions for the problems facing the lower bodies;
2. Under the particular conditions of illegality there may well have to be some necessary restrictions on democracy within the Party. These restrictions, which are set only by the Central Committee, must only be those necessary to safeguard the party and must be lifted when conditions allow.
3. The Party fosters full and frank discussion about the line and

policy of the Party in the various Party organisations. This means that every individual has the right as well as duty to air his or her views on the subject under discussion, without fear of any kind of pressure. Mistaken views are corrected through the method of persuasion; serious mistakes and violation of discipline are dealt with through the method of criticism and self-criticism.

4. The Party organises discussions through regular summing-up meetings and conferences at various levels. It is on the basis of such discussions that the activity and initiative of the Party members can be developed. It is only on this basis that the discipline and unity of the Party—which must be conscious and not blind or mechanical—be strengthened.
5. The Party and all members must be extremely vigilant against those who try to misuse the internal democracy of the Party, to impose their will upon the majority, to attempt to break the unity of the Party and form factions. They must be vigilant against any attempt to weaken the Party and the authority of its Congress, the Central Committee and higher bodies, or to paralyse the Party through endless discussions while the crucial task of the implementation of the line is neglected.
6. Once a collective decision has been taken at the meeting of a party organisation, or at a Regional Conference or Party Congress, then it is the duty of every individual member to defend that decision outside that forum and fight for its implementation. Any individual member has the right to have his or her dissenting view recorded in the minutes, for discussion in the future, along with the duty to defend and implement the decision of the collective. Nobody has the right to use any differences to create factions within the Party.
7. Internal democracy of the Party has nothing to do with the ultra democratic line of demanding broad Party-wide discussions on every question and before any decision can be taken by the higher bodies. In fact broad, party-wide discussions

can be considered necessary only when:

- a) the need for this is expressed by a definite number of Party Regional Committees and is considered by the Central Committee to be of assistance in further strengthening the Party;
 - b) there is no stable majority in the Central Committee on major questions of Party policy; or
 - c) while the Central Committee has a stable majority on a certain question, it considers it both useful and necessary to organise such a broad discussion in the Party in order to make the members conscious of and verify the correctness of the decision.
8. All the organisations of the Party implement the method of combining collective leadership with individual responsibility and initiative. Every important question is discussed, solved and decided upon collectively, with the individual members playing their role and developing their individual responsibilities, leadership and initiative. They develop these in conformity with the rules of the collective work and decisions, on the basis of accountability to the collective. The Party firmly opposes all forms of bourgeois individualism and upholds that the revolutionary role and personality of the individual can only flourish and develop when the individual fights for the collective and for the collective spirit.
9. The Party is organised on the basis of production and territories. This means that:
- a) party basic organisations are set up in production enterprises, institutions, or in other centres and places of work; and
 - b) party organisations in a given territory (in a state, district or region, village or mohalla) are united in a single party organisation;
 - c) the organisation of the Party in a given territory are higher

- than all the organisations of the Party which are active in a part of the territory or a particular work centre.
10. The highest leading body of each Party organisation is:
 - a) the meeting of the organisation in the case of the basic organisation;
 - b) the Regional Conference in the case of the regional organisations; and
 - c) the Party Congress in the case of the entire Party.
 11. Every elected committee in the Party, with the exception of the Central Committee, must be elected afresh every year.
 12. All the organisations of the Party analyse their local conditions and, in conformity with the general line and decisions of the Party, set their local tasks themselves. They develop revolutionary initiative in implementing the decisions of the Party, doing so without waiting for orders and directives from the higher bodies, but, at the same time, reporting to them and gaining authorisation for all major initiatives, programs and decisions taken in their respective bodies. Every party organisation enjoys the right to publish literature in its name consistent with the party line and with the authorisation of the higher body.
 13. A party body and its members are not allowed to establish organisational relations with any other Party bodies and their members, except with the higher body to which they are subordinate and the lower bodies for which they are responsible.
 14. Every party organisation meets regularly, at a fixed frequency, records minutes of each meeting, which is ratified at the following meeting and a copy of the draft minutes must be submitted promptly after each meeting (within 48 hours of the meeting) to the higher body to which that party organisation reports. Regular reporting and submission of minutes by all the party organisations is essential to ensure the unified leadership of the Party over all aspects of the work.

(V) Central Organisations of the Party

1. The highest body of the Party is the Congress where the entire membership is represented by delegates who are elected by all the Party organisations, according to guidelines provided by the Central Committee. The Congress sets the General Line of march and adopts the Program and Constitution of the Party; and only the Congress has the right to make any change in the General Line, Program or Constitution.
2. The Congress is convened normally once in 4 years.
3. Under exceptional circumstances, the Congress may be convened before its due date, or the convening of the Congress may be postponed beyond its due date. The Congress is convened at the decision of the Central Committee (CC) or if one third of the delegates of the previous Party Congress so demand in writing. The decision to convene the Congress, along with proposed agenda, must be communicated to all members at least 2 months in advance.
4. The Central Committee, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, determines the rules for representation at the Congress and the method of electing delegates.
5. The Party Congress is conducted by a Presidium elected by the delegates, based on a list presented by the outgoing Central Committee.
6. The Congress of the Party:
 - a) sums up the entire work of the Party, draws up the balance sheet of the successes and failures of the work of the Party, studies and approves the report submitted by the Central Committee;
 - b) reviews and amends the Constitution and Program of the Party as required;
 - c) determines the general tactical line on the important questions concerning Party policy;
 - d) elects the Central Committee of the Party.

7. The Congress of the Party fixes the number of the members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Party. In case where one or more members of the Central Committee of the Party leave the Central Committee, their places are filled by candidate members of the Central Committee elected at the congress.
8. The new Central Committee, is charged with the responsibility to lead the entire work until the next Congress session, and ensure that the decisions of the Congress are implemented. The Central Committee is the highest body when the Congress is not in session.
9. The Central Committee elects its Secretary, who is called the General Secretary of the Party. The Central Committee also can select one or more public spokespersons for the Party. The full meeting of the Central Committee, called a Plenum, must be convened at least once every quarter, i.e. four times each year. The candidate members of the CC take part in the meetings of the Plenums of the CC with the right of consultative vote.
10. The Central Committee elects its Secretariat, to take care of the day-to-day work of checking up on the implementation of CC decisions. The General Secretary of the Party heads the Secretariat of the CC.
11. In order to carry out its work, the CC may establish Party organisations that directly report to it. It appoints the Editorial Board of the central Party organ [print and electronic medium] which it leads directly. It gives permission for the publication of organs of the press by the regional organisations of the Party.
12. The CC pays special attention to the development of revolutionary theory. It appoints the Theoretical Group to carry out this task on a consistent and professional basis.
13. The Central Committee receives the reports and minutes of meetings from, and provides guidance to, the Regional Committees (RCs), which are the highest level of elected committee in every region of the country. For this. it establishes a Central Control

Committee (minutes) which is responsible for:

- a) checking up on compliance with the Constitution and norms of the Party at all levels through a regular review of the minutes;
 - b) checking up on Party discipline and the use of disciplinary measures; and
 - c) considering appeals/complaints of members and candidate members,
14. The CC manages the central budget of the Party. It establishes a Central Finance Committee, which is responsible for auditing the finances of all the Party organisations, including the Central Committee.
 15. The CC can establish special Party organisations to take care of important fronts of work, such as the united front of all the oppressed sections, organising of youth, women, etc.
 16. The CC uses the weapon of criticism and self-criticism as a habit and method of work in the life and work of the CC. It ensures that the CC comrades with resolute spirit expose and eliminate errors and shortcomings in individual and collective work and it exposes and wages a resolute struggle against any violations of the Program and Constitution of the Party.
 17. The CC defends the internal information of the Party, defends the line of the Party on secrecy and organisational matters.
 18. The CC fights resolutely against disorganisation and mismanagement in every area of work, as well as against sluggishness and bureaucracy.
 19. A member of the CC cannot bypass one level and deal directly with a lower level of organisation. If and when there is a need for the CC to deal with a local problem, it shall be done in consultation with the secretary and secretariat of the regional committees without bypassing anyone.

(VI) Party organisations in the Regions

1. The Regional Party Conference is the highest body of the Party in every region. The Regional Party Conference is convened once every year and elects the Regional Committee. Under certain circumstances it may be held before its due date or, in exceptional circumstances, postponed. In the period between two conferences, the Regional Committee of the region is the highest body.
2. In their work and activity, these bodies are guided by the line and decisions of the Party and its Central Committee.
3. The Regional Committee calls the Regional Party Conference, with the authorisation and direction of the Central Committee. The Conference can also be convened if this is requested by one half of the Party members of the region. Observer/s appointed by the CC oversee the conduct of the Regional Party Conference as well as conduct the election of the new Regional Committee (RC).
4. The rule for representation at the Regional Party Conference and the method of electing delegates is determined by the Regional Committee.
5. The Regional Party Conference studies and approves the report of the Regional Committee, studies the work and problems of Party activity in the region and works out the general guidelines for future work.
6. The Regional Party Conference elects the Regional Committee of the Party. The number of members and candidate members of the Regional Committee are determined by the Regional Party Conference.
7. All decisions of the Regional Party Conference are subject to the approval of the Central Committee.
8. A full meeting of the Regional Committee is convened at least once every two months.

9. The meeting of the Regional Committee is convened by the Regional Secretariat or on the request of one half of the members of the Regional Committee.
10. The Regional Committee leads the activities of all Party organisations under its responsibility in the region. It ensures the implementation of the general line of the Party. The RC approves the establishment of basic organisations in their respective areas, which report to it. It reaffirms or re-organises existing basic organisations according to the needs of the work. It plans systematically, deploys the forces of the Party in the region, organises various regional activities to further advance the work of the Party in the region and manages the regional budget.
11. The Regional Committee receives regular minutes and reports from the basic organisations under its responsibility. It delivers regular (at least quarterly) reports of its work and activity to the Central Committee, and regularly reports on its work to the Party organisations within the region.
12. The Regional Committee elects the Regional Secretariat, which includes the Regional Secretary. The size of Regional Secretariat is determined by the Regional Committee. The Regional Secretariat is charged with the responsibility of leading the daily affairs of the Regional Committee, carrying out the decisions and tasks of the Regional Committee, organising and controlling the implementation of decisions in the region between sessions of the Regional Committee.
13. The RC uses the weapon of criticism and self-criticism as a habit and method of work in the life and work of the RC. It imbues the comrades with resolute spirit of exposing and eliminating errors and shortcomings in individual and collective work and it exposes and wages a resolute struggle against any violations of the Program and Constitution of the Party.
14. The RC defends the internal information of the Party, defends the line of the Party on secrecy and organisational matters.

15. The RC fights against disorganisation and mismanagement in every area of work, as well as against sluggishness and bureaucracy.
16. An RC can organise, with the approval of the CC and of the Regional Conference, sub-regional area conferences. At such a conference, area committees can be elected (such as a District Committee or a City Committee) which work under the leadership of the RC. The District Committee is elected at a delegate conference of the Party basic organisations in a given district; it elects its own District Secretariat and has the responsibility of leading the implementation of the general line of the national and regional bodies in the given district.
17. The rules, norms and procedures governing the operation of the District Committees are the same as those governing the Regional Committees, except the higher body in relation to the District Committee is the Regional Committee to which it is subordinate.
18. In order to assist its work, the Regional Committee can establish sub-groups and commissions within its apparatus as necessary. Such bodies have no other function and rights but to assist the work of the Regional Committee and, on a day-to-day basis, are led by the Regional Secretariat.

(VII) Basic Organisations of the Party

1. Basic organisations are the foundation and lifeblood of the Party, the organs of class struggle among the masses. They are normally established among the masses of people, where they work or live—such as in a factory or office, residential colony or *mohalla*, college or school campus, plantation or village. Each basic organisation must consist of at least 3 members, including at least 2 full members of the Party.
2. Basic organisations can be established with the approval of the Regional Committee. It elects its Secretary, and if required, a Secretariat. The Secretary/Secretariat is responsible for calling

the meeting of the basic organisation, preparing its agenda, conducting the meeting and for ensuring that the minutes are prepared and handed to the next higher Party organisation within the stipulated time.

3. The basic organisations meet regularly; make plans necessary to carry out their work, in line with the plans drawn up by the next higher body in accordance with the general line of the Party. They set bold targets, assign individual responsibilities, and check up on their fulfillment and sum up the experience at the basic organisation meeting.
4. Basic organisations constitute the channels through which the Party influences the movement of various classes in society and through which it recruits new members into its ranks.
5. The basic organisations are the schools of communism. They have the responsibility and duty to:
 - a) Assist and train individual members to practice the highest standards of communist morality and take an irreconcilable attitude towards all bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends;
 - b) Use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism as a habit and method of work in the life and work of the basic organisation. The basic organisation imbues the comrades with resolute spirit of exposing and eliminating errors and shortcomings in individual and collective work and it exposes and wages a resolute struggle against any violations of the Program and Constitution of the Party;
 - c) Carry out political, ideological, propaganda and organisational work for the application of the line of the Party and its decisions and directives, for the education of the workers, peasants and toiling masses;
 - d) Work to strengthen the Party ranks, to preserve their purity, solidarity and unity, to admit new members to the Party and to ensure the education of the new communists, to defend and respect the rights of the Party members;

- e) Defend the internal information of the Party, and the line of the Party on secrecy and organisational matters;
- f) Organise the political, ideological, educational, and cultural training of the Party members and candidates for membership, to check up on whether they have mastered the political and ideological line of the Party, and the essentials of Marxism-Leninism;
- g) Assign duties to the members and the candidate members in order to develop maximum initiative and training. The basic organisation ensures that the collective method in the taking of decisions and their implementation is followed. It constantly checks up on the work assigned, guides the members in implementing the decisions of the Party in a thorough and revolutionary way. The Party basic organisations must become genuine centres producing revolutionaries and great schools of communist tempering and education;
- h) Fight against disorganisation and mismanagement in every area of work, as well as against sluggishness and bureaucracy;
- i) Study and discuss the publications of the Party, especially the regular Party paper. The organisation must devote at least 25% of its energies by writing, providing feedback and in distributing the paper;
- j) Meet normally once every week, or at least once in two weeks. They must submit their minutes regularly, within 48 hours of each meeting, to the higher body to which they report, and also submit reports (at least monthly) after discussion in the organisation;
- k) Collect monthly dues from the members and candidate members towards contribution to the Party. The organisations also have the responsibility of raising funds from the people among whom they work. All these are contributions towards financing the work of the organisation and of the higher bodies.

6. Basic organisations can be dissolved by the Regional Committee, as part of reorganisation of work in the region, only with the approval of the Central Committee.

(VIII) Role of Secretaries

1. Every Party organisation elects a Secretary to take overall responsibility for the work of that organisation. The Secretary has the duty to convene the meetings of the organisation on a regular basis, prepare the proposed agenda for each meeting, conduct the meetings and in between meetings monitor the implementation of agreed upon decisions of the organisation. The Party organisation may also elect a Secretariat to take care of the day-to-day work of checking up on the implementation of the decisions of the Party organisation.
2. During the meeting of the Party organisation, the Secretary conducts and leads the discussion but does not enjoy any special privileges; the Secretary has equal rights as every other member of the organisation and is subject to the same uniform discipline that is binding on all Party members.
3. The decision-making authority with respect to any aspect of Party work is the meeting of the concerned Party organisation. Neither the Secretary nor the Secretariat of that organisation can be a substitute for the full meeting of the Party organisation. And when the meeting is in session, the Secretariat must not act like a faction at the meeting.
4. It is the duty of the Secretary to maintain regular contact with each individual member of the Party organisation and ensure that the meetings are well prepared, that issues emerging from the work of the organisation is discussed thoroughly, that all members feel free to speak their minds. It is also the duty of the Secretary to ensure that the minutes are prepared and submitted to the next higher body within the stipulated time.
5. The Secretary must ensure that there is frank, militant criticism

and self-criticism in the party organisation. In the interests of overcoming shortcomings and advancing the work, the Secretary should defend the principle of criticism and self-criticism and should lead by example.

6. The Secretary of every Party organisation is responsible for proposing the appointment of a Second Secretary to act as the Secretary when he or she is absent. Such appointment becomes effective once it is approved at the meeting of the Party organisation.

(IX) Party Media

1. The Party Media refers collectively to all its publications, including all editions in all languages that bear the name of the Party.
2. The Party paper *Mazdoor Ekta Lehar*, in all its language editions, is the organ of the Central Committee. It is addressed to the advanced section of the working class, including all Party members, other communists and organisers in the class.
3. The Party paper is a propagandist, agitator as well as an organiser. It is a weapon in the hands of Party activists to propagate the views of the Party, to organise political agitation in different places on common issues as well as to develop contacts, recruit new members and establish new basic organisations.
4. Production of the Party paper in web and printed editions is the responsibility of the Central Committee, which it delegates to an Editorial Board. It is the responsibility of the Party to extend the reach of the Party to all the peoples of India as well as Indians resident in other countries. Each Regional Committee must appoint an Editorial Board for the production and strengthening of the language edition in the region. The regional and language editions should carry reports of local meetings, agitations, and other issues that affect the people in that region. The RCs are responsible for ensuring that the policy and line

followed by regional and language editions are consistent with the line of the Party.

5. The Party press and media provides leadership in dealing with political, organisational and ideological problems encountered in the course of organising the working class for the revolution and socialism. It helps to educate the members and supporters of the Party to assimilate the General Line of the Party and revolutionary theory. It arms all political activists with information, news analysis and arguments to serve them in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie.
6. Each State, Regional and District Committee, and the basic organisations that report to them, must place advance orders on the number of copies of the Party paper and other publications they need for distribution. They must make regular payments in advance of collecting the copies, and maintain accounts of sales and collections, to be submitted every quarter to the CC, through the appropriate channel.
7. It is the collective responsibility of all basic organisations to strengthen and sustain the Party paper through active participation by contributing articles, letters, reports, and in translating, regularly distributing the Party paper and with financial contributions.

(X) The Party and Mass Organisations

The Communist Ghadar Party of India seeks unity and co-operation with all organisations among the masses in the common struggle against the anti-social offensive of imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

It seeks to build mechanisms through which unified political leadership can be provided for the oppressed masses of India that are engaged in this struggle.

It initiates and leads the establishment of mass organisations of strategic importance, as well as participates in the work of the existing mass organisations among the workers, peasants, women, intelligentsia and the youth.

Participation of Party members in mass organisations is an important means of developing the work of the Party in building the political unity of the class and its allies. Every Party member who works in a mass organisation should strive to set an example to the masses through his or her dedication to finding revolutionary solutions to the problems facing the masses of people.

Through active participation in the life of the mass organisation, members of the Communist Ghadar Party of India must strive to ensure that political leadership and organisational cohesion are provided to the mass struggle so that it contributes its maximum potential to the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. They must develop initiatives, forms of struggle and organisation for the implementation of the political line of the Party.

Party comrades working in the mass organisations must work to ensure full and conscious participation by all non-Party members of the mass organisation in planning and implementation of its work. The Party members must constantly strive to build and strengthen political unity of the mass organisations around the correct political line.

Party members working in mass organisations should regularly and promptly report their activities to the Party organisation to which they belong.

(XI) Party Finances

1. The Party relies on the broad masses for financial support for its activities. The basic organisations that are carrying out work among the masses must strive to raise funds from supporters and sympathisers, to finance its work. The Party upholds the principle of self-reliance, which all its organisations must defend and implement.
2. Since the principal source of funds is the broad masses, the main fund raising activity has to be carried out by those Party organisations, which engage in mass work, namely the basic organisations. Every basic organisation must strive to raise funds from members, supporters and sympathisers, to finance the political activities of the organisation as well as to contribute towards the expenses of higher bodies. Financial support is, in general, from the lower bodies to the higher bodies.
3. The Central Committee finances its work from the monthly collections sent by the Regional Committees, as their contribution towards central expenses. Central expenses include the cost of the CC publications, of events and projects organised by the CC. The CC may also raise funds through specific campaigns among all members and supporters for specific projects.
4. Every Regional Committee, as well as other elected area committees where they exist, will finance its activities from the contributions received from the lower bodies and from its own fund raising activities. Every such committee will contribute at least 10 percent of its collections (excluding paper sales that are separately accounted for) to the Central Committee, which contribution will be sent through the Secretaries of the appropriate higher bodies.
5. The minimum monthly dues of every member and candidate member of the Party is set as a proportion of his or her wage,

salary or earning. It is set as equal to one day's earning or 4 % of monthly income. In the case of non-earning members, such as students, unemployed and dependents, the monthly due is agreed upon with the secretary of the basic organisation with due regard to paying capacity, with Rs. 10 being the absolute minimum monthly due.

6. Every basic organisation should submit periodical (monthly) accounts to the next higher body and every RC should submit periodical (quarterly) accounts to the CC. These reports must be a part of the regular report to the higher body. The CC and every RC establishes a Treasurer or a Finance Committee charged with the responsibility of overseeing the finances at that level and of preparing the accounts.
7. Party organisations at all levels must strictly monitor the finances, fight against wasteful expenditure, and judiciously use the funds collected in advancing the work of the Party. It is the Party organisation that collectively decides on all expenditures related to the work of that organisation.

(XII) International Relations

1. The Communist Ghadar Party of India seeks to build fraternal relations of unity and mutual support with other parties and organisations in the international communist and working class movement, based on proletarian internationalism. In its relations with sister parties in the communist movement, the Party adheres to the principles of independence, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal fraternal cooperation and aid to one another. Relations with fraternal parties are established and handled through the Central Committee of the Party.
2. The Communist Ghadar Party of India seeks friendship and close cooperation with all the peoples of the world who are

fighting against imperialism, and supports with all its strength the revolutionary liberation movements of the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world.

(XIII) Party Symbol and Flag

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag with the Party symbol on it. The length of the flag shall be one and half times its width. The Party symbol shall be a crossed hammer and sickle together encapsulating the globe. At the top edge of the globe shall be a five-pointed star in the proportion 3:2. The hammer and sickle, the star, and the globe shall be in golden yellow. The hammer and sickle symbolise the alliance of workers and peasants. The star and the globe symbolise proletarian internationalism.

Messages

- Message of Greetings to the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India from the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)
- Message from Chris Coleman, National Spokesperson of Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

**Message of Greetings to the Third Congress
of the Communist Ghadar Party of India
from the Communist Party of Canada
(Marxist-Leninist)**

**Comrade Lal Singh,
Comrades of the Presidium,
Fraternal Comrades
Comrade Delegates and Friends**

It is my greatest honour to bring to you the greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and of all its members and supporters, who stand as one with you in this most important event in the life of your Party.

Comrade Sandra Smith has asked me to convey her warmest greetings, and her regrets that she cannot be here in person to share this most important moment with you. The revolutionary enthusiasm with which you are tackling the problems of the Indian revolution and party-building, so as to provide your revolution with the leadership it requires to culminate in victory, are a source of encouragement to all those around the world who are doing the same.

Today, the world as a whole and your country, in particular, is reeling under the weight of the crisis exacerbated by the retreat of revolution. But of greatest significance is the headway the peoples of this country are making by stepping up their resistance to the

merciless oppression and exploitation by the native and foreign capitalists. Everyday through every action they show their determination to thwart all attempts to deprive them of any role in bringing about the necessary changes. We are certain that this is way to open society's path to progress.

Dear comrades, permit me on this occasion, to quote from our founder and leader, Comrade Hardial Bains, the truest son of the people of Punjab and India and product of the revolutionary struggle of the Canadian working class, of which the people of India are an integral part:

“Our hearts throb with the throbbing of the hearts of millions upon millions of workers. It is this which gives us our ideology, which tells us what is truth and what is falsehood, and on this basis we advance.”

We are not wrong when we put real life as the basis of our development and Marxism-Leninism as our guide, Comrade Bains said. On this basis, we identify with those who have taken up the task to carry out everything consciously and with a plan, he pointed out.

Today, it does not matter which question is taken up, the bourgeoisie cannot find a solution. It activates the anti-human factor, anti-consciousness, and for its own vainglory, it has embarked on a brutal path of destroying everything humankind has achieved in the past. It must not pass.

Comrades, we are pleased to inform you that CPC(M-L) has embarked on the third five year plan of its Historic Initiative so that in this defining moment for people of world, consciousness plays its decisive role. Considering that bringing the role of

consciousness into play will create the conditions for social progress, CPC(M-L) is going all out to mobilise the Canadian working class and people to find a way out of the crisis on a basis that favours their interests, not those of the international financial oligarchy. In this regard, the sharpest struggle is taking place on the question of kind of democracy and the kind of system which should be established in every country according to each people's needs, concrete reality and thought material.

We are striving to create the kind of party, which can intervene in this situation in a manner which favours the working class and people, which puts the working class at the head of a nation-building project and opens society's path to progress. We are convinced that it is the work for the democratic renewal of the political process, which is crucial to rid humankind of the Anglo-American imposition of the system called a representative democracy. This system is so anachronistic and reactionary that it permits the most degenerate and backward elements in the society to take decisions, which deepen the all-sided crisis, block society's progress and pose the ever-greater danger of fascism and war.

Our Party firmly believes that every effort must be devoted to enable the peoples at every level of society, in every endeavour, to participate in providing the problems they face with solutions in a manner that favours them under the concrete conditions and circumstances.

It is not for nothing that the more this system shows how rotten it is, the U.S. imperialist chieftain George W. Bush uses the occasion of his inauguration as a fraudulently elected president for a second term, to threaten the whole world with even more terrible consequences if the peoples refuse to implement this system. This would mean negating their right to self-determination, which means that their very right to be, and succumbing to the U.S. dictate.

In the opinion of the CPC(M-L), the right of each people to decide the kind of system they want to have is not merely a political point. Comrade Bains pointed out that for us to have proletarian internationalism, to create one human race, the precondition is the thinking of all peoples within their own national conditions. This is the first step to seizing power, the kind of power, which is the result of the claim of the oppressed class for definite aims. By intervening in the real life struggles of the people with the aim of empowering them, we learn and gain the confidence to go from one level of struggle to the next. This is what safeguards the revolutionary interest and ensures that we remain revolutionary Marxists-Leninists as the people demand of us.

Comrades, permit me to express my personal great joy at being in the midst of the best representatives of the heroic Indian people about whom legends are written and in the homeland of Comrade Bains, with whom I fought side by side since the first days of the Reorganisation of the Internationalists in 1968 in Montreal. Thanks to the leadership of Comrade Bains and the Party he founded and led for nearly thirty years and which today marches militantly following his example, I am not only a Canadian proletariat and an ardent Greek patriot, an ardent anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist communist, but also able to continue making my own contribution on the revolutionary road.

Like the millions of sons and daughters of the peoples of South Asia, for generations, we Greeks have fought for our freedom, for our dignity, our culture. We have been forced into emigration, far from our homeland and suffered great indignities. But this has also afforded us the possibility to proletarianise ourselves and unite with our class brothers and sisters all over the world so as to strengthen our fight to bring into being the next stage of social development, the other world which lies in the bosom of the old and which is striving to be born.

Personally, this visit is a voyage of discovery. Not only is this the land that Alexander, King of Macedonia, was unable to conquer in spite of his great feats, but it is the land which has given rise to its own thought material on governance which is calling out to be brought into the present and put in the service of the coming generations. Far from accepting the misrepresentation of the rendering of Greek philosophy as love of wisdom, our philosophy, speaking as both a person of Greek origin and a Canadian Marxist-Leninist, like yours seeks to elucidate the relations between human beings and human beings, and between human beings and nature so as to further develop these relations in a manner which creates a social and natural environment fit for human beings.

Permit to express our confidence that the deliberations of your Third Congress will guide you in making further advances in the coming period and the conviction that today, it is the peoples who are the heroes and heroines who will save this world from disasters the imperialists and all reactionaries have in store for them. Guided by their revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, which uses Marxism-Leninism as a guide to its thinking and action, they will be invincible.

*Hail the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party
of India!*

Long live the fighting unity between our two Parties!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Workers and oppressed peoples of all countries unite!

Message from Chris Coleman, National Spokesperson of Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

It is with the greatest joy that our delegation has been participating in your Third Congress. We bring from our Central Committee and our entire Party warmest congratulations and greetings to this most important event in the life of your Party in its 25th anniversary year.

It has been a great honour and very humbling to have sat here in such a gathering of fighters from all corners of this great country, stretching from veteran communists who have had rich experience in the movement, to the youth, and so many of them, who have imbued the struggles of the people with their vigour. We have been moved by the passion and seriousness of the participants in the discussions.

When you look at the histories of our two parties, which have emerged from the womb of our working classes, from the fire of the class struggle, whose ideological, theoretical and organizational principles stem from the work of Comrade Hardial Bains, in India and then abroad, you see inextricable links between our two parties stretching back to the 1979 and 1980 period of our foundings and before.

I myself, along with many Indian workers and others, participated in the celebration of the founding of your Party held in Coventry.

Comrade John Buckle, the late General Secretary of our Party, visited India several times in the 1980's and worked closely with you. I had the honour of attending your First Congress in 1990 in Mumbai and I remember it very vividly. I have worked closely with Comrade Lal Singh over many years. I believe that the links and cooperation built up between our three parties represented here should be upheld and strengthened, and extended to other parties as well.

We live in dangerous times. As Comrade Bains pointed out so perceptively in 1994, and as was reflected in our documents and in your document *Whither India*, in this period of retreat of revolution the forces of retrogression are trying to destroy all the gains of humankind since time immemorial and impose the kind of bestiality of the Nazis. The recent events in Iraq confirm this. War is being used as the main instrument of foreign policy by Anglo-American imperialism. International law and the principle of sovereignty are cast aside. The rights of people are under the fiercest attack. Meanwhile the policies of privatisation and neoliberal globalisation see the selling off for private profit of the assets created by the people. The peoples of the world are threatened with devastating war and fascism.

In the face of this brutal assault, people very often lose their bearings. But still millions upon millions of people are standing up to affirm themselves and carry further forward the achievements of humankind to their full fruition. A huge worldwide movement is arising to fight for an alternative and another world, against the impending catastrophe. Such a situation cries out for consciousness and organization and a vision of a new society. It is only the communists, with contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought as their guide, who can provide this.

When we speak of Britain, Blair and his government, like all other bourgeois governments and parliamentary parties, have revealed themselves as instruments of the bourgeoisie, and the crisis of such governments and parties is the crisis of the capitalist system. At the beginning of this epoch, the October Revolution ushered in a new world. The British bourgeoisie and other bourgeois states pinned their hopes on fascism to destroy this new world and all its possibilities. But they did not succeed. They were drawn into an inter-imperialist war and eventually into the anti-fascist alliance that defeated German Nazism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism. The times cried out for the furtherance of peace, democracy and the well being of the people. Instead the anti-fascist alliance was transformed into a crusade against communism. In Britain, as in other countries, a social welfare state was established, in part to divert the working people from socialism. This did not work. By the 1970's severe economic crisis had set in. Again instead of moving forward, the bourgeoisie moved backward. They imposed the economic policies of Thatcher and Reagan, but these too did not work. The bourgeoisie again went backwards and brought in Tony Blair to take Thatcherism further, when the Tories were no longer able, under slogans such as "social justice" and in the name of Labour.

While some might have had illusions in 1997 when Blair came to power, over time Tony Blair's administrations have been revealed as outright warmongers, as international criminals pushing 19th century colonialism and chauvinism, putting into place the structures of a corporate fascist state. Since 9/11 a state of emergency has been imposed in Britain, characterised by rule by exception. Blair himself, called to account when the facts condemned him over the Iraq war, claimed that all that counted was his "conviction": he had only to answer to his maker! In other words, the will of the leader was paramount. Pure Hitlerism!

A huge movement for an alternative has developed in Britain of unprecedented diversity. Two million people marched in London against the war on February 15. Among several interesting initiatives, a People's Parliament was set up by the anti-war movement with several thousand delegates representing their peer groups. But this initiative, as others, was organized in the old way, with decisions made behind closed doors beforehand and a block on mass participation in decision-making. It fizzled out. What is called for in our opinion is coherence and new ways of organization. Our Party has called for a widespread discussion amongst the people on what is the way forward, focusing on the real problems facing the people, taking political stands irrespective of ideological differences and finding organisational forms for the work, building the Workers Opposition so that the working class can take the lead in enabling the people themselves to set the agenda and control their own lives. As in 1945, people are today faced with the same issues—democracy, peace and the well being of the people.

Elections are pending and our Party is working out ways to intervene, how to manoeuvre, and provide leadership. Our comrades are active in various fronts of work for democratic renewal, in the anti-war movement, among workers, women, youth and national minorities. We work for the political unity of the people and for the unity of the communists.

One of the effects of British colonialism has been the vast movement of population from India, some to the cold and distant shores of Britain. The result has been that workers of Indian origin have become an integral and cherished part of the working class in Britain. No doubt because of the revolutionary traditions of this country, they have played a role in the political life of the country far in excess of their numbers. Indian comrades have played an important role in the work of our Party, and in such organisations as the Indian Workers Association (Great Britain), which has always

upheld that Indian workers are part of the British working class, has fought racism and discrimination, and provided information and support to the struggles at home. At the same time our Party has always stressed that it is the duty of the entire working class to fight racism and discrimination, to smash the chauvinism that the bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy try to impose on them. We also stress the duty to support the struggles of the peoples of all lands. The workers and people of Indian origin are greatly cherished and provide a bridge between our two peoples. However, the key link is the link between our parties as the vanguards of our working classes. We stand shoulder to shoulder with you, as with others, principally by waging revolution in our own country and supporting those who are doing the same in their countries.

On this occasion we wish the Communist Ghadar Party of India every success in implementing the decisions of your Third Congress and developing its plan, in the work of developing Indian theory, in providing consciousness and organisation to the people in renovating Indian society, in smashing the brutal capitalism, which is the colonial legacy.

Long live the unity between our two Parties!

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!

Workers of the all countries unite!

Resolutions adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

- 1) On the Report
- 2) On the Constitution of the Communist Ghadar
Party of India
- 3) On the Plan of Action
- 4) Salute to the fighting forces in all countries
- 5) On South Asia

Resolve

Resolutions adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

1) On the Report

Having discussed the Report presented by the Central Committee on the work of building the Party in the course of leading the class struggle; and on the road towards workers' and peasants' rule and a voluntary Indian Union; and

Noting that the analysis and assessment presented is consistent with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the General Line of the Party and all its decisions,

We, the Delegates who have assembled at the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi on January 27–29, 2005,

Resolve to adopt the Report and call upon the Central Committee to release it for publication and dissemination.

2) On the Constitution of the Communist Ghadar Party of India

Having deliberated on the Constitution drafted with the participation of the entire Party in the course of Party building,

and satisfied that it embodies the experience of building the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, in India and on the world scale,

We, the Delegates who have assembled at the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi on January 27–29, 2005,

Resolve to adopt the Constitution as presented, and call upon the Central Committee to release the final document, taking into consideration the views presented at this Congress.

3) On the Plan of Action

We, the Delegates who have assembled at the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi on January 27–29, 2005,

Adopt the Plan of Action as presented and discussed here, which accurately reflects the needs of the movement in India, and

Directs the Central Committee to take all necessary measures for the realisation of this plan.

4) Salute to the fighting forces in all countries

We, the Delegates who have assembled at the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi on January 27–29, 2005,

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to all the fraternal communist and workers' parties of all lands, who are courageously leading the working class and people in their respective countries

in defence of their rights, against the anti-social offensive of the bourgeoisie, for peace and democratic renewal of the political process, to open the door to the revolution and socialism;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to the governments and peoples of Cuba, North Korea and other countries, who are bravely resisting the imperialist encirclement and resolutely pursuing the path of building their own economic and political systems, towards the goal of socialism;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to the national liberation fighters in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and other lands, who are fighting courageously against imperialist aggression and occupation, to affirm their national sovereignty;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to the peoples and governments of Venezuela, Brazil, Iran, Malaysia, Zimbabwe and all other countries, who are defending their national sovereignty and resisting the imperialist dictate;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to the people of Nepal, who are bravely fighting for their national and social liberation and for their sovereign rights;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to the courageous fighters for national and social liberation in Philippines, Columbia and other countries;

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to all the fighting forces who are taking to the streets against the anti-social offensive of globalisation, liberalisation, privatisation and 'fiscal austerity' measures, in defence of their rights and for a pro-social program; and

Salute and send our revolutionary greetings to all the forces fighting against imperialist war, war preparations, militarisation, violation of international law and the use of force to settle differences between states, nations and peoples; and

RESOLVE to build and strengthen the peoples' movements within India as a component part of the worldwide front of the people against the front of imperialism.

5) On South Asia

Recognising that the fate of South Asia has great implication for the fate of the world today; that

The peoples of South Asia are waging all-sided struggle in defence of their rights, including armed insurgencies,

US imperialism and other imperialist powers are working feverishly to re-divide Asia among themselves;

India has joined as a contender in this imperialist rivalry for supremacy in South Asia;

This century would be one of peace or of war depending on whether the problems of poverty and exploitation, national rights, state terrorism, inter-state conflicts and sectarian strife are resolved in favour of the people or not;

We, the Delegates who have assembled at the Third Congress of the Communist Ghadar Party of India, in New Delhi on January 27–29, 2005,

CONDEMN the states and governments of South Asia that are facilitating penetration by imperialism through military means,

the repression of the struggles of the peoples by their respective governments, including the armed occupation and brutal repression of the people of Manipur by the Indian Union; and

the support of the Indian state to other repressive regimes, such as in Nepal, Afghanistan, etc.;

DEMAND that all foreign troops get out of the South Asian region, including and especially those of US imperialism; and

Resolve

To work for the unity of the movements of the working class and peoples in the countries of South Asia;

To build working relations among the parties and organisations leading the struggles;

and

To uncompromisingly oppose all imperialist machinations, war preparations, interference and violation of the sovereignty of the peoples; and

to organise the working class and people of India in opposition to the Indian bourgeoisie's drive for big power status, through militarisation and war preparations, imperialist penetration and interference in other peoples' affairs.

This is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. However with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world revolutionary process experienced a period of retreat. While the forces of retrogression are still on the offensive, the struggles of the working class and of the oppressed nations and peoples are growing more intense. The tide of revolution is poised to turn from ebb to flow.

In these conditions, the challenge facing the communist movement in India is to enable the working class to emerge as a united force that forges a political front with the peasants and all the oppressed. Such a united front must be organised to wrest power from the hands of the exploiting minority and establish a voluntary Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

Not to take on this challenge would result in the further worsening of the misery and oppression of the masses and in the further exacerbation of the threat of war, fascism and violence against the peoples.

The Communist Ghadar Party of India can and will take on this formidable challenge.

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