

CONCLUSION

The post-election situation and our tasks do not come within the scope of this review. However some observations in conclusion will not be perhaps out of place here.

We have definitely entered a new period of deepening political and economic crisis—a period unpredictable in many ways, a period in which all manner of social, economic, political explosions are to be expected. The sunny days of the stability of the bourgeois rule are over. A period of uncertainty and instability has begun. Of which one manifestation is likely to be governmental crises and mid-term elections. The centre-state relations will assume new

dimension underlying struggles between the democratic and reactionary forces.

As the discredited Congress party disintegrates and goes downhill and as its moral and political authority slumps more and more, a political vacuum is being created in the life of the nation. Which forces are going to fill this vacuum is the most challenging question of the post-election situation.

In the coming days the polarisation between the forces of democracy and those of reaction is bound to immensely grow. Non-congressism of the day will appear more and more in radically opposite shades also in the eyes of the masses and the non-congress governments in which we participate will have to face serious internal contradictions. Much will depend on how rapidly and widely this sentiment of non-congressism is transformed into conscious identification with the left and democratic positions.

As far as the forces of reaction, both within and outside the Congress, they will try to turn the course of post-election situation to their advantage. The fear of defection is already haunting those in the Congress party as it is being played up by those who want to pressurise the present weak-kneed capitulatory central government.

The idea of a coalition government at the centre has already been mooted by Rajaji, S. K. Patil, Jaya Prakash Narayan, J. R. D. Tata and the like. And we know this so-called 'coalition' is prescribed for regaining some measure of stability for the bourgeois rule and for the capitalist path. This sort of coalition is meant to be a political arrangement of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie in which the monopolists and their representatives expect to gain decisive position. The Americans are much active and their important political instrument on the opposition side for this game is the Swatantra Party.

The coalition is the plan to prolong the exclusive bourgeois rule and ruling class is getting itself attuned to the ideas of multiparty government to salvage and ensure the class power of the bourgeoisie. Their capacity to

manoeuvre must not be minimised. They will use many methods including diversionary invocations as well as bribery and splitting of the left and democratic fronts.

In this background naturally the leftist and democratic forces are called upon to develop to the maximum possible extent their own initiative and their unity to forestall the plans of the reactionaries, to build a viable national alternative to the Congress and make a vigorous and purposeful bid to take the country in a leftist direction. By all means all manoeuvres and plans for reactionary coalition at the centre have got to be thoroughly exposed and thwarted by the left and democratic movement. The Americans now greatly pin their hopes precisely on these sinister plans. In this context, due note has to be taken of the fact that people immediately look forward to a non-congress coalition at the centre for relief to the masses who have been reduced to a state of desperation under the twenty-year congress rule.

The conditions for a leftward swing are favourable, particularly because the massive anti-congress votes, no matter who secured them, represent a national upsurge against the anti-people and anti-democratic policies of the congress regime. The masses want things to change in the direction of not what the Swatantra Party stands for but in the direction of a national-democratic revolution—i.e., what we stand for. It is now the task of the left and democratic movement to channelise and elevate to higher level in the post-election period this great upsurge into a conscious political national movement for radical social, economic and political changes.

In order that the socialist and other leftist forces can assume their role in full measure, the division in India's communist movement must be overcome. No single task is more pressing, more important than this in left and democratic camp. The post-election conditions are certainly favourable.

The non-congress popular governments especially those oriented towards the working people are called upon to

fulfil a historic role basing themselves on growing mass movements and broadening popular unity. Their achievements will go a long way to galvanise further popular forces, give the masses confidence and draw them towards the organised left and democratic movement. The future of the democratic movement is interwoven with the day to day successes and achievements of these popular non-congress governments.

The real source of strength in the new situation however is to be found in broad united mass movements, in rallying in a common front based on a common minimum programme of all those who firmly stand for progress. It goes without saying that communists and socialist forces by their united actions can constitute a formidable driving force. In the election it has been witnessed that wherever these forces are well organised and strong the people's preference has by and large gone to them.

The building of the national and democratic alternative to the Congress is the task to which all leftist parties and all genuine progressives are called upon to dedicate themselves. Historic development in this direction in the post-election period is inconceivable without a mass communist party taking its rightful place in the life of the nation and carrying out its national and democratic responsibilities with wisdom, courage and correct comprehension of the perspective.

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