

CHAPTER VIII

The Workers' Party and Its Immediate Tasks

210. In the light of the foregoing analysis of events and trends it becomes evident that only a revolutionary party of the working class in India, armed with correct principles, can lead the people's struggle for liberation to victory. The Workers' Party of India is pledged to build itself up as such a party.

Our Theory

211. Correct theory is extremely important for a political party functioning in the present-day world of very rapid and epoch-making changes. No programme or plan of action that is based on a partial or superficial view of events, on incomplete and incorrect understanding of the processes of change, the factors involved and the relation of forces in their dynamic aspects, can hold on today ; every partial explanation and plan of action based on such explanation has to be discarded sooner or later ; adherents of such views and plans have to become inconsistent, self-contradictory ; unprincipled short-sighted opportunism becomes a characteristic feature of such people.

212. Only a scientific theory that can adequately explain the changes around us and can correctly

indicate the probable course of developments, can help the party of the working-class. It is a requirement of our life, not a matter of intellectual luxury, It has to be a guide to action, a theory of practice, based on practice, and not a merely subjective construction of concepts and categories isolated from real problems, and from real action to solve those problems. It is not something to be committed to memory once for all and stored up in our brains ; it is a weapon by means of which we grapple with reality, a weapon to be applied, to be kept sharp and shining by constant use.

213. Marxism-Leninism, and Marxism-Leninism alone, provides us with such a theory. That is why the Workers' Party of India is a Marxist-Leninist party.

214. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. It is a scientific guide to action. It urges us constantly to examine living reality. It teaches us to examine facts correctly and accurately, in their interrelation ; it teaches us to distinguish between forces of major and minor significance, between forces that are growing and forces that are declining, between forces that prevail for a short while and forces that work over long periods.

215. Marxism-Leninism opposes dogmatism. It opposes doctrines of infallibility of individuals or groups of individuals. It demands active thinking and opposes mechanical application of ready-made recipes and formulas.

216. Marxism-Leninism equally opposes opportunistic jettisoning of basic principles on grounds of expediency alone, and resists all attempts to revise principles when such revision is not warranted by new and relevant facts.

217. Marxism-Leninism is not an esoteric cult. It is opposed to all kinds of subjective attitudes and beliefs based on distorted and partial views of reality, and it holds objective truth as the only guide. Therefore, conclusions arrived at by objective analyses of experiences of people are bound to correspond to Marxist-Leninist positions. Marxism-Leninism does not run counter to common-sense.

Triumph of Marxism-Leninism

218. Marxism-Leninism has all along been opposed by various brands of bourgeois ideology. It is a fact of history that while the different brands of bourgeois ideology that opposed Marxism in the past have all decayed and disappeared, Marxism-Leninism has been spreading and is still spreading. It is a victorious ideology moving from triumph to triumph, fighting against reactionaries, deviationists and revisionists, as well as dogmatists and sectarians. It is a fact of history that no ideology has arisen upto this day that can replace Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, those who raise the cry, now fashionable among certain sections of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals, that Marxism-Leninism has become out of date, indulge in wishful thinking.

219. It is claimed by some people that certain discoveries of modern science have proved Marxism-Leninism to be mistaken. In fact, however, modern discoveries of science have shown that the old mechanistic view of the world is inadequate, and the method of dialectical materialism, the philosophy of Marxism, is more relevant for the extremely complex tasks of modern science.

220. It is claimed by some people that modern technology and present-day theories of capitalist economics have rendered the Marxist-Leninist theory of economics out of date. In fact, however, modern technology has intensified the contradiction between the forces of production and the capitalist theory of production, and is paving the way for a complete triumph of Marxism-Leninism all over the world. The failures of non-Marxist economic theory to solve the problems of the capitalist world are all too evident.

221. It is claimed by some people that modern developments of knowledge and ideas about human history show that the Marxist-Leninist view of history is wrong. In fact, however, real knowledge and real advance in knowledge of history has been possible only on the basis of Marxist or near-Marxist methods of historical study and analysis.

222. A characteristic feature of most of the present-day variants of bourgeois ideology is a denial of possibility of knowledge, denial of possibility of any theory; it is not without significance that non-Marxist ideologies tend to judge particulars,

atomized facts, as self-contained or self-sufficient, and evade the responsibility of judging them in their relations. This is a clear sign of the disintegration of bourgeois ideology.

223. Some bourgeois ideologues, however, appear to take slightly different positions instead of direct attacks on Marxism-Leninism. These representatives of bourgeois ideology pretend to accept certain parts of Marxism-Leninism and offer 'friendly' advice to modify certain other parts. They call for revision of certain principles and attitudes, claiming that such revision has become necessary in view of changed situations.

224. Along with such bourgeois 'friends' Marxism-Leninism has to face from time to time confused elements within its own camp who fall easy victims to bourgeois attempts at infiltration and undermining of Marxism-Leninism, and become revisionists inside the revolutionary camp.

225. Present-day revisionists, however, have not been able to raise any new issue that merits serious consideration. They merely present different re-hashed versions of early revisionists.

226. The Workers' Party of India, therefore, rejects all brands of opposition to and revision of Marxism-Leninism and firmly stands by its basic principles. It applies these principles in the concrete situation in India and the world.

Our General Task

227. In the concrete situation now prevailing in India and the world, the Workers' Party of India stands for the fulfilment of the tasks of the working class, which are its own tasks. These tasks may be summarized as follows :—

(i) Attainment of socialist revolution in India through development of revolutionary mass struggles led by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry and all other toiling masses ;

(ii) Attainment of victory for the enslaved peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism ;

(iii) Attainment of greater and greater strength and prosperity in the socialist countries ;

(iv) Intensification of the class-struggles in the capitalist part of the world for the attainment of socialism by the people led by their respective working class ;

(v) Mobilization of all popular forces against the imperialist war-preparations, provocation, intervention, and armaments drive ;

(vi) Weakening and destruction of imperialist economic monopoly in the capitalist part of the world.

These tasks are interrelated and the fulfilment of one depends on and helps the fulfilment of others.

Plan of Organization

228. For the fulfilment of its tasks the Party of the working class needs an appropriate plan of organization based on sound principles. The organizational plan is organically related to the programme of the party ; politics of the party and organization of the party mutually determine each other. Therefore, the Party cannot afford to adopt any arbitrary plan of organization.

229. Marxism-Leninism has developed the revolutionary organizational principle of *democratic centralism*. Our own experiences confirm that this is the only correct principle for us.

Why Democratic Centralism ?

230. From whichever angle we view this question we come to the same conclusion. Democratic centralism is a seed of the future in the present. The Party's objective being socialism, it cannot adopt capitalist principles of organization ; it has to be a projection of the future socialist society even when it acts within capitalism. Parliamentary democracy can have no place in our organization. Our Party must be a unified single body, not divisible into legislature and executive. Every member of the Party must be at once a legislator and an executive. Every member must work to fulfil some part of the Party's tasks, and must have a specific responsibility in this respect.

231. The Party's organization is an arrangement for action, and the Party is not a debating association or a merely deliberative body. Therefore, the Party must take decisions to act in time, and the whole Party must work according to these decisions. Therefore, the Party will seek to arrive at unanimous decisions, but if unanimity is not reached in time, the view of the majority must prevail.

232. Democracy in the Party must be viewed as a constant process of mutual education of members of the Party, as an arrangement for selection of the most suitable persons for particular tasks and responsibilities, and as an arrangement for periodic testing and checking of the party activities.

233. Democracy isolated from action, democracy without education, democracy understood as individualism unrestrained by a common purpose, is positively harmful for our purposes.

234. Centralism is a requirement of any plan of action. Centralism is essential for a revolutionary party engaged in serious struggle against organized forces of imperialism and capitalist reaction. A party divided into separate centres, working in different and opposing directions, always engaged with quarrels in its own ranks, burdened with rival factions and cliques, is utterly unsuitable for any serious action. A revolutionary leadership must be built around a strong centre based on a

hard core of tried and tested elements with some experience and some ability. Without such a centre, enjoying the confidence of the entire party, the party cannot fulfil its tasks.

235. But centralism by itself can degenerate into autocratic commandism, isolated from the dynamic reality; such centralism discourages development of initiative from below, smothers the growth of the party, and actually breeds cliques and factions.

236. Democratic centralism is a single unified principle, and not a mechanical mixture of so-called democratic features with so-called centralist features. The party organization is an arrangement for continuous struggle for the upholding of this principle, against deviations and distortions.

237. The Constitution of the Workers' Party of India, binding on all its members, is an embodiment of the principle of democratic centralism.

Struggle for Socialism Now

238. The struggle for socialist revolution is not a struggle to be undertaken on some future date. It is a struggle that is going on now, and has to be developed over a whole period. The struggle is developed by organizing, uniting, and interlinking various struggles of the people on various issues,

economic and political, social and cultural. The Workers' Party of India participates in all struggles of the people, and seeks to develop them along radical lines,—developing the class-consciousness of the toilers, raising the struggles on higher levels, relating partial struggles to general social and political objectives, forming instrument of mass struggles as and when suitable, isolating reactionary and deviationist leaderships in the process, developing a cadre of advanced fighters, equipping them with theoretical and practical training, and building up a mass base for the Party.

Immediate Demands

239. Thus, the Workers' Party of India formulates and raises appropriate demands on behalf of the people, exerts pressure on the government and the ruling class for the fulfilment of these demands through mass campaigns, parliamentary struggles, and mass struggles. The Party clearly declares that all the rightful demands of the people cannot be fulfilled if the capitalist system is retained, and the logic of the people's struggles is the development of struggle for socialism. But the Party at the same time declares that it is possible to secure minor reliefs and reforms by means of organised campaigns and struggles.

Nationalization

240. Thus, the Workers' Party of India demands immediate nationalization of all large-scale enter-

prises and syndicated industries (like Iron and Steel, Oil, Coal, Cement, Shipping, Jute, Sugar, Plantations, Textiles, etc.). The Party demands nationalization of power and transport, of all banking and insurance ; the Party demands State Monopoly over all foreign trade.

241. These demands are just demands arising out of the real experiences of the people. Private ownership of these industries and enterprises, which wield decisive influence over the entire economy and which are of key and basic importance for our country, cannot be permitted ; on the contrary, private ownership of these industries is a definite obstacle in the path of India's development along sound lines. Foreign private capitalist ownership in such industries and enterprises as banking and insurance, heavy engineering, oil, etc. is also objectionable on the ground that in many countries such foreign-owned industries and enterprises have provided pretexts for imperialist intervention.

Food & Consumer Goods

242. The Workers' Party, keeping in view the terrible distress that is caused to our people by price-manipulation and hoarding and profiteering in foodgrains, demands state monopoly in wholesale trade of foodgrains.

243. The Party demands setting up of a countrywide chain of People's Stores for sale of

essential goods at cheap rates, and provisions shops and canteens in every establishment.

244. The Party is fully aware that these measures, of nationalization and state-trading, if ever adopted by the present state, will not bring substantial relief and may give rise to many difficulties for the people on account of bureaucracy, red-tapism, dilatoriness, incompetence, and corruption and favouritism in the state apparatus. So long as the state remains an instrument in the hands of the ruling class, and so long as democratically organized people's committees do not exercise authority of inspection and control, these measures will remain half-measures. Even then, fulfilment of these demands will be a step forward out of the present chaos and anarchy, and by eliminating the innumerable private authorities will simplify the tasks of socialist take-over.

Standard of Living

245. The Workers' Party demands a steadily rising standard of living for our people. It demands increase in real wages for all workers and employees. The benefits of increased production must be shared by the people and not accrue to a handful of capitalists.

For the Peasantry

246. The Workers' Party demands a better life for our peasantry :

It demands assured adequate returns for the produce of labour of the toiling peasantry. It demands an end to the manipulation of prices of agricultural commodities by the mill-owners and traders. It demands an end to the exploitation of the poor peasantry by usurious capital, and to this end demands a moratorium on all agricultural loans incurred by the poorer peasants ; further, it demands adequate arrangements by the state for providing credit to the peasantry through countrywide organization of rural banking.

247. The Party demands adequate supply of seeds, fertilizers and implements to the peasantry in time, and at easy rates. It demands scientific and effective arrangements for irrigation and drainage.

248. The Party demands extensive planned measures for rural housing with modern sanitary arrangements and supply of filtered water.

249. The Party demands higher wages for agricultural labour. The Party demands full employment of the labour force everywhere, and diversified industrial and constructive projects for removing seasonal unemployment in the countryside.

250. The Party demands rapid progress in the development of our agriculture. With this end in view, the Party demands establishment and development of large-scale modern farming under

state ownership and control. The Party demands full utilization of all opportunities for developing co-operative farms.

251. The Party demands an end to absentee landlordism. It demands equitable redistribution of land-holdings along with measures to encourage joint farming and co-operative farming.

252. In order to prevent concentration of land-holdings in private hands and fragmentation of land, as well as to ensure better production, the Party demands an end to speculative trading in land-holdings.

Food Production

253. The Party demands effective steps for increasing the production of food-stuff in our country. Besides measures for improvement of our agriculture, the Party demands measures for large-scale farming of poultry, dairy, fishery and vegetables. The Party demands development of improved and adequate livestock and provisions of adequate grazing grounds and fodder for the animals.

Education & Culture

254. The Party demands an end to illiteracy in the country, and an end to the chaos now prevailing in education. A properly balanced,

growing, and up-to-date system of education is essential for our country, and the Party fights for improvement of teachers' salaries and living conditions, as well as for improvement of the standards and quality of education. The Party demands real education through the medium of the mother-tongue for all levels, and demands serious and vigorous efforts for the fulfilment of this objective.

255. The Party demands extensive arrangements to enforce free and compulsory primary education and free education up to the secondary stage for all children of the country. The Party demands establishment of at least one primary school within a mile of every village or equivalent residential area. The Party demands substantially increased aids for schools and effective arrangements for proper spending of the sums allotted. The Party demands supply of substantial midday meals free of charge to every child in all schools.

256. The Party demands immediate liquidation of special types of schools for the children of the rich, and abolition of all discriminatory arrangements in education.

257. The Party demands more schools, colleges, libraries, training institutes, students' hostels, public halls and auditoria, fields and stadia for sports and games, film and sound studios, and facilities for all-round educational and cultural progress.

News & Broadcasting

258. The Party demands measures to ensure adequate dissemination of news. The Party demands an end to the monopoly rule of chain newspapers owned by the rich, and end of all difficulties and obstacles in the path of small newspapers and newspapers of the poorer sections of the people. The Party demands that the people's right to have correct and objective reports of events shall be protected, and newspaper proprietors shall not have powers to override this right of the people.

259. The Party demands that public broadcasting shall be put to effective use as an instrument for education of the people and cultural progress. The Party demands that the Radio shall become a public utility service and not a mere propaganda agency for the ruling party.

Housing, Health & Roads

260. The Party fights for removal of unhygienic, insanitary conditions in housing. The Party demands better roads and communication, adequate transport, and an end to overcrowding in cities and towns.

261. The Party demands more hospitals, clinics, sanatoria and wide preventive measures

against recurrent epidemics and infectious diseases. The Party demands adequate arrangements for supply of filtered water everywhere. The Party demands supply of electricity at reasonable rates all over the country.

Employment

262. The Party is fully aware that fulfilment of these demands requires hard and honest labour of the entire people, and therefore the Party demands employment for all people. Unemployment is a great social wastage which India cannot afford.

263. The Party demands ruthless measures against all wastages; the Party demands an end to the luxurious and wasteful living of the rich.

Civil Rights & Liberties

264. The Party demands full civil rights and liberties for our people. The Party demands immediate withdrawal of the unwarranted State of Emergency kept in force by the Congress Government. The Party demands an end of the unnatural restrictions imposed on residents of many industrial townships like Chittaranjan, Batanagar, Tatanagar etc., and demands full civil and political rights for employees of state enterprises.

Measures against Anti-Social Elements & Enemies of the People

265. The Party demands ruthless measures against all anti-social elements who engage in blackmarketing and profiteering, various trades and traffic in vice, adulteration of food and medicine, etc. The Party demands the death-penalty and also confiscation of property for offences of adulteration and blackmarketing.

266. The Party demands ruthless measures against those officials of the state who are corrupt, or who are disloyal to the people; the Party demands severe punishment for officials who, by their indifference or incompetence, laziness or bureaucratic red-tapism, greed for bribe and gratification, cause delays, and disrupt execution of public duties.

267. The Party demands severe punishment for enemies of the people who disrupt the unity of the people by fomenting communal and sectarian dissensions.

268. The Party demands ruthless measures against agents of imperialism, and newspapers and periodicals which spread imperialist propaganda against socialism and anti-imperialist struggles. The Party demands effective measures against war-mongering.

Parliamentary Struggles

169. In fighting for these demands and developing the people's struggles on the basis of these and similar other demands that may arise, the Party makes use of all available forms of struggle. Parliamentary struggles, as distinct from parliamentarism, is an important form of struggle. So long as it is open to us, it should be used in conjunction with mass struggles. Therefore, the Workers' Party contests elections to legislatures and public bodies, as and when occasions arise, with its own programme. The Party conducts its election campaign as a campaign for mass political education on fundamental issues. The Party wants to send its own representatives to the legislatures and public bodies for the purpose of conducting the parliamentary struggle along right lines, for resisting the anti-people measures and policies of the government, for broadcasting its alternative proposals and for unifying and mobilising the people's struggles. While the Party's objective is liquidation of the capitalist order, and not mere change of ministers, and the Party shall constantly tell the people that change of ministers does not remove the main obstacles, at the same time the Party wants discredited governments of the bourgeoisie to fall and quit office recording their failure and giving expression to the people's loss of confidence in them. Therefore, the Party encourages and supports moves to remove the ministries and on this issue co-operates with other forces.

Principles in Immediate Struggles

270. The Party co-operates with other parties and organizations, even those with whom it has fundamental differences, on specific issues. The Party stands for the broadest possible mobilization of mass opinion and mass struggles on any issue, and seeks to draw in all forces who are genuinely concerned on the issue in question. While working for the broadest mobilization on specific issues, the Party at the same time carries on an unceasing struggle against opportunist and reactionary elements and ideologies within the mobilizations.

271. The Party stands for unity in movements. It lays particular emphasis on the unity of the trade union movement of the workers, and opposes sectarian disruption of trade unions and other mass organizations of toilers. The Party stands for the slogan of 'One Factory, One Union' and combination of unions on industry and regional basis. It stands for a single central organization of all trade unions in the country. It considers the Struggle for Unity of the workers as an essential part of the struggle for socialism.

272. The Workers' Party stands for democratization and activation of all mass organizations of the toilers. It seeks greater and greater active participation of the members in the work of such organizations, and demands that the activities of such organizations be conducted in the interests

of the toilers with their informed and conscious consent. The Workers' Party opposes all forms of rule by party-coteries and cliques in mass organizations.

To Develop the Party

273. Fighting for these principles and working for the development of the struggles along the correct path indicated by the concrete historical situation, the Workers' Party aims at building up itself as the true leadership of the working class. The Party lays the greatest emphasis on the qualitative development of its members, while working for its quantitative growth. The Party is aware that it must start with a small team of workers, working in a determined and disciplined manner, with courage and conviction, never yielding to temptations and frustrations, steeled through tests and trials, never giving ground to complacency or despair, not following but leading public opinion, constantly educating themselves, learning from the people, and setting examples for the people. At the same time, the Party is confident that the rapidly developing situation is creating conditions in which larger and larger numbers of people will come over to the Party and the Party will soon become fully equipped for the fulfilment of its tasks.

274. With the emergence of the Workers' Party as the leadership of the toilers' movements, the struggle for socialism in India will enter a decisive

phase. And, in that decisive phase, this land of many martyrs and many heroes, this ancient cradle of human civilization, this immense dwelling-place of teeming millions, will not fail ; she will arise again, taking her rightful place of honour in the world, a great socialist republic in the socialist camp. With India's advance to socialism, the world will advance, delivering a mighty blow against warmongering imperialism, securing the smaller countries against imperialist threats, and registering another mighty stride towards the establishment of a world of peace and prosperity for all peoples.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF OUR MARTYRS

LONG LIVE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM

VICTORY TO THE FREEDOM MOVEMENTS OF

ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

INQILAB ZINDABAD

26th January, 1965.