



Manifesto 2014

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reconstitute the Indian Republic and
reorient the economy to
**ensure prosperity and
protection for all!**

5 April 2014

Communist Ghadar Party of India
New Delhi

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**Unite around the program to
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The bugle for the 16th Lok Sabha Elections has been sounded at a time when a grave situation confronts our country, amidst growing dissatisfaction among the people with the course being followed.

In spite of widespread rejection by workers, peasants and other self-employed strata, the ruling class is hell-bent on pursuing the program of globalisation of Indian capital, through liberalisation and privatisation. Tatas, Ambanis, Birlas and other Indian capitalist houses want to continue taking out enormous amounts of the wealth produced by Indian labour and investing it abroad to exploit the working class of those countries, so as to enhance their global status. Driven by unlimited greed and imperialist aims, the big bourgeoisie is keen to open up all sectors of the economy to foreign capital, to step up the joint plunder of our land and labour.

In the conditions of continuing crisis of the global economy, the finance capitalists of advanced

capitalist countries are keen to penetrate the Indian economy even further to reap maximum profits. They are eyeing the youthful Indian work force that can be super-exploited. They are eyeing the enormous savings of our people, which are currently in the hands of state-owned banks and insurance companies. They are also eyeing the massive potential profits from retail trade, a sector which is largely in the hands of small and medium-scale operators at this time.

The big bourgeoisie of our country wants to use these elections to install a government that can effectively push ahead with its imperialist offensive. The dogfight between the BJP and Congress Party is over which one of them can provide the kind of political leadership that the Indian imperialist bourgeoisie needs at this time, to sort out inter-bourgeois contradictions and crush the resistance of the workers and peasants.

Election campaigns are used by the bourgeoisie to spread maximum confusion about the nature of the problem and its solution, so as to lower the level of public consciousness. The campaign for the 16th Lok Sabha election is being used to promote the notion that the main problem is with corrupt politicians. Rival parties of the bourgeois class, not only Congress and BJP but also the relatively new Aam Aadmi Party, are singing the tune that the problem is not capitalism, but *"crony capitalism"* and corrupt politicians. This is

aimed at diverting the rising anger of the toiling masses of people, away from the liberalisation and privatisation program, away from capitalism and the Indian State that defends it.

The problem of corruption is rooted in the capitalist system and in the extortionist character of the Indian state, which is an inheritance from colonial times. Hence the struggle against corruption is a component part of the struggle against the exploitative economic system and the oppressive political power that defends it.

Our society needs to be saved from the capital-centered economic orientation and the threat of escalated imperialist plunder and loot of our wealth and financial savings. We need to be saved from the imperialist drive of the big bourgeoisie.

Neither a BJP-led front nor a Congress-led front can save India from the present dangerous course. No coalition of regional bourgeois parties can do so. Life experience of the people in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Bihar, Odisha and other places has shown that regional bourgeois parties such as AIADMK, DMK, Akali Dal, Shiv Sena, Janata Dal (United), Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, Trinamul Congress and Biju Janata Dal are all committed to implement the capital-centered program of liberalisation and privatisation in their respective states.

There is growing realisation among workers, peasants and other self-employed people that the program of liberalisation and privatisation only serves to enrich an exploiting minority at their expense. Mass resistance is growing to this anti-worker, anti-peasant and anti-national program. However, the working class is being prevented from realizing its potential as the leader of all the exploited, and as the grave-digger of capitalism, by those in the communist movement who are spreading harmful illusions and compromising the class struggle.

Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its allies in the parliament have been repeatedly reconciling workers and peasants to the capitalist *mantra* that there is no alternative to the liberalisation and privatisation program. They have been spreading harmful illusions about the Congress Party being “less evil” than the BJP, and about a “Third Front” of regional bourgeois parties being able to implement an “alternative trajectory”. They are blocking the development of the revolutionary force that can save India.

The first and most essential step is to unlock the revolutionary potential of the working class and toiling masses, by building political unity around the alternative to the program of globalisation through liberalisation and privatisation.

There is an urgent need for the workers, peasants and all progressive forces to unite around an immediate program to curb the plunder of our land and labour, halt the imperialist drive of the big bourgeoisie and lay new political foundations for the working people to rule and ensure a human-centered economic orientation.

Communist Ghadar Party calls on all workers, peasants, women and youth to unite and fight for the following program for the Navnirman of India:

Economic Measures

India is endowed with abundant natural resources and a youthful human workforce, with which enough can be produced to fulfill not only basic needs but also ensure prosperity for all. What is blocking the way to the realisation of this possibility is the concentration of ownership of the means of production in a few private hands, leading to the domination of the exorbitant claims of capitalist monopolies for the maximum rate of return on every rupee they advance. This orientation of the economy has to be turned around completely.

Providing for all workers, peasants, women and youth must become the overriding motive force of social production and investments for the future. The big capitalist corporations and banks

must be immediately deprived of their “right” to pocket maximum profits.

Providing for all human beings:

- **Creation of a modern universal Public Distribution System** which ensures that all essential items of consumption (*including wheat, rice, dal, vegetables, milk, meat, oil and fuel*) are available in adequate quantity, good quality and at affordable prices for all. *Of the prices we pay for a kilogram of any food item, the producers and the transporters receive only a fraction; the rest is robbery by merchant companies and other profiteering middlemen. Public control over trade can eliminate this and make it possible to provide goods at no more than the average cost of production and distribution. Budgetary subsidy can be phased out as the productivity of labour rises and unit costs of production decline. Public control must be exercised from the top and from below.*
- **Secure housing, sanitation, safe drinking water and reliable electricity for every household, in the cities, countryside and the hills.** *It is intolerable that working people are compelled to live in temporary shelters, at the mercy of a corrupt law and order machinery, with their houses deemed to be “unauthorised”, and without any basic amenities.*

- **Free preventive and reproductive health care and affordable curative care for all.** *The human productive forces of India, which is our most precious national asset, is suffering from numerous preventable diseases today. Ensuring good health of our population must be placed among the top priorities for budget allocations and for quality control.*
- **Special assistance for those sections of our society who have suffered from historical and social injustice.** *A portion of the surplus generated by the economy must be deployed to fulfill the claims of those disadvantaged physically or by historical social injustices based on caste, gender, nationality or on any other basis. This will ensure that all such victims of injustice can participate in society as equals.*
- **A portion of the surplus generated by the economy to be deployed to look after the natural environment.** *This is an integral part of investing in the future of society.*

Providing for workers:

- **Secure and suitable employment for all.** *Fulfilling the ever-rising needs of the population requires all available human power to be put to work as productively as possible. Everyone in the towns and villages*

can and must be provided with suitable work, in-service training and a secure livelihood.

- **Universal registration of all wage and salaried employment.** *Crores of workers toil without any legal protection of their rights because their employment is not registered, it is off-the-record. Getting all workers registered as workers is an essential step to fight for the universal rights of workers.*
- **Guaranteed minimum wages, pension, and all other rights must be recognised as rights that belong to all wage-workers, without exception.** *Today the most basic rights of labour, including minimum wages, 8 hour limit on the working day, right to form unions and to go on strike, pension, health insurance and paid leave, are denied to the majority of workers including crores of unregistered, temporary and contract workers, as well as workers who are deemed to be “officers” or to be having administrative responsibility, or part of “essential services”.*

Providing for peasants:

- **Enhance public investment to provide agricultural inputs at stable and affordable prices for all.** *It is the duty of the State to ensure the supply of irrigation, suitable fertilisers, seeds and other inputs that peasants need, at affordable prices. Today this is neglected*

and blatantly violated by the central and state governments.

- **Creation of a reliable and efficient Public Procurement System that will ensure stable and remunerative prices for all agricultural produce.** *Those who till the land to feed the population cannot and must not be left to fend for themselves. Trade liberalisation and growing penetration of capitalist corporations in crop procurement has led to extreme insecurity, driving lakhs of peasants to suicide in recent years.*
- **State guaranteed insurance against crop failure due to natural calamities** *Peasants need to be protected against the risk of losses due to drought, floods, unexpected pest attacks, etc.*
- **Ban on any acquisition of agricultural land pending the enactment of a new Land Law, which must guarantee secure possession of arable land in the hands of those who are tilling it.**

Before the British colonial conquest, land was never bought and sold in our society. While an individual had secure possession of the land, he could not sell it to anyone else. The right to secure possession of land in the hands of the tillers went hand in hand with their responsibility to use it productively for society. If the land is misused, it could be taken away

and reallocated to someone else by the Raja. But even the Raja could not touch the land of those who were tilling it and contributing to the social surplus. Today, Indian and foreign capitalists are keen on developing a land market, paving the way for more rapid concentration of land in their hands. Big monopoly corporations want to buy whatever land they please, and want the State to step in and forcibly acquire land from those who refuse to sell. It is essential to halt this offensive. Land use must be regulated according to a social plan that takes into consideration the needs of agriculture, industry, services, residential space and other social needs.

Providing for women:

- **The rights of women at the workplace must be guaranteed.** *Women must be paid equal wages for the same work done by men. The state must ensure full maternity benefits and provision of child care facilities at the most suitable locations.*
- **Guarantee of safe pregnancy, childbirth and post-natal care for all.** *Women have a special role in human reproduction. The state must provide all necessary medical services towards this.*
- **Guarantee of safety and security of women.** *Women must be enabled to feel safe and*

secure wherever they may be. Violence against women in any form and by any person, including army and police officials, and those holding the highest offices, cannot be tolerated, and must be severely punished.

- **Creation of a social support system for the caring of infants and the elderly.** *Leaving it to every individual family to fend for its young children and the elderly increases the domestic burden on women. It is essential to ease this burden through social support, to enable women to fully participate in social production and public affairs.*

Providing for youth:

- **Guaranteed free school education of uniform quality to every child.** *Today there are huge differences in the quality of education provided by private and government schools. Thousands of children do not go to school at all because they have to work for their livelihood at a tender age. It is the responsibility of the state to provide free education up to the high school, of uniform good quality to every child in the country.*
- **Enabling access to higher education through subsidy and scholarships for the sons and daughters of the working class and peasantry.** *Today, millions of children of working families have to give up their aspirations for*

professional and higher education because their families cannot afford the fees. The State should be responsible to provide equal opportunity to all for higher education.

- **Guaranteed access to sports and cultural facilities for all youth.** *Sports and cultural facilities are necessary for the all-round physical, mental and social development of youth.*

Halting and Curbing the Loot:

In order to ensure that the wealth produced by the toil of workers and peasants is used for ensuring the above provisions, it is essential to halt and curb the loot and plunder of our land and labour through the following measures:

- **Immediate confiscation of all unaccounted hoards of cash – by issuing new Rupee notes in place of the existing ones.** *Tapping the unaccounted profits of capitalists, on which they have evaded tax, is a key part of mobilizing resources to provide for all.*
- **Ban on the export of capital by any private Indian company.** *Blocking the export of Indian capital would curb the foreign exchange and capital deficit, which is being used as the excuse for inviting foreign capital in all sectors of the economy today.*

- **Withdrawal of tax waivers and tax holidays to capitalist corporations and capitalists.** *Several of the country's top profit-making companies pay little or no tax under various provisions, amounting to thousands of crores of rupees every year. Huge tax waivers are given to capitalists on their income from ownership of companies and sale of shares.*
- **Withdrawal of state guaranteed profit rates for private companies.** *Central and state governments and regulatory authorities are providing guaranteed rates of return for private companies in various sectors including petroleum, electricity and fertilizer.*
- **Moratorium on interest payments by Government to the big banks and other financial monopolies, Indian and foreign.** *Charging commercial interest rates on loans to the government means to claim a share of the surplus where no surplus is generated. It is the biggest loot of public funds that takes place all the time.*
- **Cutback on the huge unproductive expenditures on arms and the armed forces.** *Much of what is spent on "defence" is actually for deploying the central armed forces against Indian citizens. Much of what is spent on "security" provides protection only to the so-called Very Important Persons (VIPs). Rising*

import of weapons of mass destruction are not for defensive but for offensive aims.

- **Halt and Reversal of Privatisation in any form, including Disinvestment and PPP.** *Transfer of ownership from public to private hands is a regressive step, which is anti-worker and anti-social. This is the case no matter whether it is transferred in one go or piece by piece over time. So-called public-private partnerships (PPP) are another form of looting the public, by guaranteeing that profits are private while losses fall on the heads of the entire people.*
- **Nationalisation of foreign trade, internal wholesale trade and large-scale retail trade so as to eliminate private profiteering in this sphere.** *The penetration of private corporations have added to the profiteering by traders through hoarding and creating artificial shortages. Nationalisation is a necessary condition for the creation of a universal Public Distribution System and Public Procurement System.*
- **Ban on foreign ownership of banking and other financial assets.** *Indian households have one of the highest rates of saving in the world. American and European banks that have played havoc in the west are keen to gain access to these savings for their speculative ventures. It is such speculation that led to the*

global crisis that broke out in 2008, causing enormous damage to the social production process and to the livelihood and savings of millions around the world.

- **Banking and insurance to be nationalised and reoriented from profit maximisation towards fulfilling social needs.** *Banks and insurance companies play a crucial role in gathering the savings of households and making them available for financing productive investments. To have such a function driven by the private profit motive means to leave the fate of society in the hands of gamblers and swindlers. To have banks chasing maximum profit at all times means to increase the danger of people losing their hard earned savings. Profiteering banks resort to massive speculation so as to keep pocketing maximum profits even when productive activity is down.*
- **Natural wealth to be treated as national and collective property.** *The forests, rivers, seas and minerals belong to the peoples of the different nations, nationalities and tribes. There are common property resources at the village level. None of these must be allowed to be exploited and plundered for private profit.*

All private enterprises that do not fall in line with the above plan to provide for all will be expropriated without compensation.

Political Measures

Ensuring that Rights are Inviolable

The vast majority of people have no guarantee for any basic right under the existing Constitution. At the other end, a privileged few get anything they want because they have money power or some special “*approach*”. Recent decades have witnessed a rapid rise in the degree of criminalization of politics, of state terrorism and communal violence. Arrests of youth in the name of fighting “*cross border terrorism*”, fake encounter killings and other attacks on human and democratic rights have become rampant.

- **Constitutional guarantee for all human rights.** *Whether it is the right to work, to secure livelihood, safe motherhood or to life itself, rights cannot be given at one time and taken away at another time. All human rights need to be provided with constitutional guarantee and enabling laws.*
- **AFSPA, UAPA and all other draconian laws must be immediately revoked.** *The armed forces presently deployed against civilian populations in Kashmir, the North-east and other regions must be immediately withdrawn to their barracks. All fascist laws passed by the Central government or various state governments such as MESMA, the Chhattisgarh Public Safety Act, etc must be immediately revoked.*

- **Repeal and reformulation of the colonial era Criminal Law, as an essential step in providing safety and security for all.** *The law, as well as the machinery that enforces it, are biased against workers, peasants, women, youth, tribal peoples, minorities, and others who do not belong to the ruling elite. A complete reformulation of criminal law is required for ensuring that all human beings are protected without any exception, and without any discrimination or harassment.*
- **All those guilty of organising communal violence, fake encounters and other such terrorist acts must be speedily tried and punished.** *This includes the powerful persons and parties guilty of communal genocide in 1984, 1992-93 and 2002, including those who held command responsibility.*

Electoral Reforms to Empower the Electorate

The existing political process and electoral system do not enable people to select and elect those known to them and trusted by them. Every election puts pressure on people to align along the lines of caste, religion or narrow party rivalry. People are made to choose between candidates who they neither know nor really trust. The system discriminates between candidates nominated by registered political parties and all other candidates, by calling the latter as “*independent*” candidates and denying them an organizational identity or

symbol. Furthermore, within the candidates of registered parties, it discriminates between a few “*recognized*” parties and all others. All such discrimination can and must be immediately ended, without which the universal and equal right to elect and be elected is a farce.

- **No election without people’s selection of candidates!** *Parties backed by economically powerful interests presently enjoy the right to field as many candidates as they please, imposing their choice on the people. The right to select candidates must be taken out of their hands and placed in the hands of the people. The electorate must have the final say in selecting, from those nominated, the final shortlist of candidates from whom one will be elected. An elected Committee must be established in each constituency, mandated with powers to enable the people to exercise their political rights, including their right to select candidates before any election is held. Such constituency committees must become the foundation of a reconstituted Election Commission in each State and at the Union level.*
- **State must fund the electoral process.** *All those candidates who have gone through the process of selection and approval by the people must be given equal opportunity to put their proposals and manifestos before*

the electorate. No individual candidate or party must be permitted to spend monies on election campaigns. The entire cost of the selection and election process must be borne by the government.

- **State must not fund any political party.** *A political party is an organisation formed by a group of people who share a common ideology and political aim, who are free to persuade others to join them. There is no reason why any party should receive official “recognition” or public financial support, thereby giving it a privileged status over others. All political parties must finance their activities from the voluntary contributions of their respective members and supporters.*
- **People must have the right to initiate legislation, to approve major public decisions through referendums, and the right to recall at any time the one they elected.** *The Constituency Committees must be empowered to enable the people to exercise these rights. Those elected must be required to regularly render accounts to those who elected them.*

Reconstitution of the Republic and Union of India

Our country is made up of numerous nations, nationalities and peoples with distinct cultures,

languages, territories and a long history of experience with statecraft. Not one of them is free from national oppression of one form or another. The Indian Republic retains the colonial character of being an instrument for foreign capital to plunder all the nations and peoples of our country, and for Indian monopoly capital to do the same.

- **India must be reconstituted as a free and equal union of all the nations, nationalities and tribal peoples who make up this country.** *The colonial imperialist vision of India propagated by the ruling class which denies the reality that our country consists of numerous nations and peoples, large and small, must be rejected. All the peoples constituting India have made their own unique contributions to the overall development of India and its civilisation. All the nations, nationalities and tribal peoples must be assisted to develop their languages, cultures and traditions. All the languages of the peoples must have equal status in the polity. The right to self-determination, up to and including secession, must be ensured for every national constituent of the union.*
- **Election of a Constituent Assembly to formulate a draft Constitution that vests sovereignty in the people.** *The existing Constitution of the Indian Republic is based on the principle of “parliamentary sovereignty” based on English political thought. It*

concentrates power in the Cabinet within the parliament, formed and controlled by a party that is backed by the most powerful economic interests. This Constitution does not guarantee human rights or democratic rights, or protect national rights. It permits the continuation and escalation of all-sided plunder of our land and labour. It was not adopted by the people but by a privileged few. It serves to maintain the rule of an exploiting minority. It is high time that the people of India establish a new Constitution that makes a complete break with the legacy of colonialism and realizes the aspiration of our martyrs that India belongs to her people.

Foreign Policy Measures

Overcoming the bitter legacy of the communal Partition of the subcontinent, the legacy of strife, discord and war among the peoples of South Asia, is an important requirement for liberating the peoples of this region from all forms of enslavement. The foreign policy of India, however, is not a factor that strengthens the unity of the nations and peoples of South Asia against imperialism. On the contrary, it is driven by the narrow selfish pursuit of the monopoly bourgeoisie, to ensure a place for India in the league of biggest imperialist powers of the world.

Facts and phenomena have revealed that the Anglo-American imperialists and their agencies in India and Pakistan are the biggest sponsors of terrorism and roadblocks to peace in South Asia. However, the Indian imperialist bourgeoisie trusts the Anglo-American imperialist agencies, while spewing hatred against Pakistan.

- **Halt and forbid any form of chauvinist hysteria against Pakistan or any other country in this region.** *When Indians and Pakistanis fight each other, it is foreign imperialist powers that benefit.*
- **All secret treaties with foreign countries must be repudiated and all foreign policy issues subjected to country-wide discussion and approval.** *Secret commitments made to the United States for the sake of gaining acceptance into the nuclear club must be made public and then openly repudiated.*
- **A permanent mechanism should be created to resolve problems between the countries of South Asia through discussion and without the use of force or blackmail.** *The Indian authorities share intelligence with the CIA and FBI but not with the authorities of Pakistan. South Asia will be secure if and only if each South Asian state trusts its neighbours while suspecting aggressors from afar, especially*

those with proven imperialist, colonialist and racist credentials.

The United States is openly proclaimed by its President to be an exceptional member of the United Nations. Obama claims that Amercia has the “*right*” to impose its dictate on all countries of the world through military aggression and conquest, threats and blackmail, economic blockade and sanctions, as well as the incitement of civil war and “*mass movements*” for regime change. As its relative economic weight within the world declines, US imperialism is growing more ferocious and aggressive, hell-bent on conquering Asia as the stepping stone to global hegemony. Principled opposition to this aggressive imperialist drive is an urgent imperative. The foreign policy of our country needs to be turned around to make India a factor for peace and against imperialism and war.

India must be a factor for the democratisation of international relations, based on the principles of equality of nations, big and small, and of mutual respect for sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

- **The United Nations must be democratised and the special rights of the permanent members of the Security Council must be abolished.**
The United Nations Security Council must

be a fully elected body subordinate to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

- **Immediate end to the US economic blockade and 'sanctions' against Cuba, Iran and North Korea.** *There is no justification for the discrimination and economic hardships being imposed on these states, merely because they do not follow the US prescriptions.*
- **Immediate halt to the US drone attacks on the territory of Pakistan.** *Drones are planes without pilots, operated through remote control; it is a cowardly form of war being waged in our neighbourhood. It is a shameful and a criminal conduct. There is no justification for the indiscriminate murder of whoever the American rulers identify to be "terrorists".*
- **Speedy international trial, conviction and punishment for those responsible for such crimes against humanity as the aggression and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the incitement of civil war in Libya and Syria.** *It is by now a proven fact that the American leaders deliberately lied to the world that Saddam Hussein possessed "weapons of mass destruction". Without being put on trial for a proven crime against humanity, such as its destructive occupation of Iraq, US imperialism has brazenly continued to spread lies and criminally intervene anywhere it*

pleases. It has no respect whatsoever for the sovereignty of any nation or state in the world other than itself. It has repeatedly spread lies to justify its criminal conduct, as seen most recently in Venezuela and Ukraine. It is high time that the biggest criminals and terrorists in the world are punished for their crimes!

Not a Wishful Dream but a Concrete Plan

We have seen many manifestos and programs that various parties publish at the time of elections. They usually promise what the people want, including the eradication of poverty and hunger, homelessness, illiteracy and ill health, corruption in politics, etc. However, the noble objectives stated in such election manifestos remain nothing but wishful dreams. The reason lies in the fact that parties wanting to manage the existing State do not have any plan to restrict and overthrow the capitalist relations of production and distribution, which are responsible for the devastation of our people. They do not have a plan to transfer political power from the hands of the minority of exploiters into the hands of the toiling majority of people.

In contrast, the program for the *Navnirman* of India sets out not only the objectives but also the measures to realise them. It is a program that has emerged from the struggles of the working

class and all the oppressed. The human force that can implement this program consists of the workers, peasants, women and youth of our country. Recognizing that this human force is reduced to voting cattle in the existing political system, the program includes measures for the empowerment of this human force.

There are only two possible programs emerging from the objective conditions of India today. One program is for the defence of the capitalist system and the status quo, the defence of the interests of those in power. The other program is for undermining the capitalist system, upsetting the status quo, and bringing the toiling masses to power. There can be no third program within the present conditions.

Unity of workers' and peasants' unions, organisations of women and youth, and all progressive and revolutionary parties can and must be built in the course of fighting for this alternative program. The *Navnirman* of India must become the focal point for the unity of all the fighting people of our land.

A powerful weapon

Uniting around this program will assist in creating a mighty force that will sweep away all that is moribund and rotten in our society. It will unleash the bottled-up creative energies of

our people for the construction of a new society. This program is a powerful weapon in battling the anti-social offensive of the Indian ruling class and world imperialism on all fronts. Uniting around this program will prepare the ground for the working class and people to launch the counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie and imperialism in the future, when the tide turns in favour of the revolution worldwide. Agitating for the implementation of this program will assist in developing the subjective factors so necessary for the fulfilment of the strategic aim.

The strategic aim of the Communist Ghadar Party of India is the building of a socialist and communist society free from exploitation of persons by persons. The fulfilment of this strategic aim requires the elimination of capitalism, remnants of feudalism and the caste order, imperialism and the colonial legacy. It requires a thoroughgoing reorganisation of the economic base and political superstructure of society. The principal means of production, which are today in the hands of the bourgeoisie, need to be taken over by the working class and brought under social ownership. The party dominated system of democracy, through which the bourgeoisie exercises its dictatorship, needs to be replaced by proletarian democracy, with the party of the working class enabling the toiling majority to rule. The present Indian Union, which is a prison house of nations, needs to

be replaced by a free and voluntary union. The forging of a revolutionary united front of workers and peasants and all the oppressed is a necessary condition for the triumph of this goal.

It is the urgent necessity of the time that all communists take up the task of rallying the workers, peasants, women, youth and the oppressed of all nationalities and tribes in a revolutionary united front for the *Navnirman* of India.

If we communists do not rise to the occasion, the worker-peasant front cannot be built as a powerful political force. The agenda of the big bourgeoisie will advance, wreaking havoc on the toiling masses and on the self-reliance and sovereignty of India.

History has shown that an electoral alliance of regional bourgeois parties with left support cannot and will not change the capital-centered economic orientation or the oppressive and exclusive character of the state and political process. This is not the epoch of the bourgeoisie. It is the epoch of the proletariat. No section of the bourgeoisie can bring about any democratic or progressive change in society. Only the working class, in alliance with the peasants and all the oppressed, can do so.

Workers, peasants, women, youth and the oppressed of all nationalities!

The times are demanding that we challenge the claims of the ruling class and their parties that there is no alternative to the present system and the present course being pursued. We have before us a plan of action to reorganise the economic and political life of our country in order that our concerns, our present and future, are taken care of.

Organise around this program wherever you work, and wherever you live. Discuss the program and elaborate your own views on the program. Discuss it in every collective you belong to - whether it be a political party, workers' or peasants' union, women's organisation, youth or student organisation. Discuss how this program should be implemented.

Demand that all those who are communists, all those who are for the emancipation of the toiling masses, deliberate seriously on this program so that all the healthy political forces in our country can take up one single program to save India and open the path to all-round progress.

The heroes of the Ghadar of 1857 declared, *"Hindustan belongs to us! We are her master!"* Even though colonial rule came to an end 66

years ago, an exploiting minority continues to be the master. The existing capital-centered system of democracy and orientation of economy needs to be replaced by a human-centered system of democracy and orientation of economy. This is the call of the times.

***Workers, peasants, women and youth –
We constitute India! We are her master!***

***It is the epoch of the proletariat!
Let us march towards Lok Raj!
The Ghadar continues!***



Communist Ghadar Party of India
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